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MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

EDWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

VOL. II.

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MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

EDWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

WITH

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

BY JOHN LORD SHEFFIELD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

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AND G. FOLINGSBY.

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&c. &c.

N° XXXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

DEAR HOLROYD, BOODLE'S, May 11, 1773.

I AM full of worldly cares, anxious about the great twenty-fourth, plagued with the Public Advertiser, distressed by the most dismal dispatches from Hugonin. Mrs. Lee claims a million of repairs, which will cost a million of money.

The House of Commons sat late last night. Burgoyne made some spirited motions—"That the territorial acquisitions in India belonged to the state (that was the word); that grants to the servants of the company (such as jaghires) were illegal; and that there could be no true repentance without restitution." Wedderburne defended the nabobs with great eloquence, but little argument. The motions were carried without a division; and the hounds go out again next Friday. They are in high spirits; but the more sagacious ones have no idea they shall kill. Lord North spoke for the inquiry, but faintly and reluctantly. Lady * * * * is said to be in town at her mother's, and a separation is unavoidable; but there is nothing certain.

Adieu.

Sincerely yours.

N° XL.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire at* Edinburgh.

DEAR HOLROYD, BENTINCK-STREET, Aug. 7, 1773.

I BEG ten thousand pardons for not being dead, as I certainly ought to be. But such is my abject nature, that I had rather live in Bentinck-street, attainted and convicted of the sin of laziness, than enjoy your applause either at old Nick's or even in the Elysian Fields. After all, could you expect that I should honour with my correspondence a wild barbarian of the Bogs of Erin? Had the natives intercepted my letter, the terrors occasioned by such unknown magic characters might have been fatal to you. But now you have escaped the fury of their hospitality, and are arrived among a cee-vi-leezed nation, I may venture to renew my intercourse.

You tell me of a long list of dukes, lords, and chieftains of renown to whom you are introduced; were I with you, I should prefer one *David* to them all. When you are at Edinburgh, I hope you will not fail to visit the stye of that fattest of Epicurus's hogs, and inform yourself whether there remains no hope of its recovering the use of its right paw. There is another animal of *great*, though not perhaps of *equal*, and certainly not of *similar* merit, one Robertson; has he almost created the new world? Many other men you have undoubtedly seen, in the country where you are at present, who must have commanded your esteem: but when you return, if you are not very honest, you will possess great advantages over me in any dispute concerning Caledonian merit.

Boodle's and Atwood's are now no more. The last stragglers, and Godfrey Clarke in the rear of all, are moved

moved away to their several castles; and I now enjoy, in the midst of London, a delicious solitude, My library, Kensington Gardens, and a few parties with new acquaintance who are chained to London, (among whom I reckon Goldsmith and Sir Joshua Reynolds,) fill up my time, and the monster *Ennui* preserves a very respectful distance. By the bye, your friends Batt, Sir John Russel, and Lascelles, dined with me one day before they set off; for I sometimes give the prettiest little dinner in the world. But all this composure draws near its conclusion. About the sixteenth of this month Mr. Elliot carries me away, and after picking up Mrs. Gibbon at Bath, sets me down at Port Eliot: there I shall certainly remain six weeks, or, in other words, to the end of September. My future motions, whether to London, Derbyshire, or a longer stay in Cornwall, (pray is not "motion to stay" rather in the Hibernian style?) will depend on the life of Port Eliot, the time of the meeting of parliament, and perhaps the impatience of Mr. * * * * * *, Lord of Lenborough. One of my pleasures in town I forgot to mention, the unexpected visit of Deyverdun, who accompanies his young lord (very young indeed!) on a two months tour to England. He took the opportunity of the Earl's going down to the Duke of * * * * * * *, to spend a fortnight (nor do I recollect a more pleasant one) in Bentinck-street. They are now gone together into Yorkshire, and I think it doubtful whether I shall see him again before his return to Leipsic. It is a melancholy reflection that while one is plagued with acquaintance at the corner of every street, real friends should be separated from each other by unsurmountable bars, and obliged to catch at a few transient moments of interview. I desire that you and my Lady (whom I most respectfully greet) would take your share of that very new and acute observation, not so large a share indeed as my Swiss friend, since nature and fortune give *us* more frequent opportunities of being together. You cannot expect news from a

deſart, and ſuch is London at preſent. The papers give you the full harveſt of public intelligence; and I imagine that the eloquent nymphs of Twickenham * communicate all the tranſactions of the polite, the amorous and the marrying world. The great pantomime of Portſmouth was univerſally admired; and I am angry at my own lazineſs in neglecting an excellent opportunity of ſeeing it. Foote has given us the Bankrupt, a ſerious and ſentimental piece, with very ſevere ſtrictures on the licence of ſcandal in attacking private characters. Adieu. Forgive and epiſtolize me. I ſhall not believe you ſincere in the former, unleſs you make Bentinck-ſtreet your inn. I fear I ſhall be gone; but Mrs. Ford† and the parrot will be proud to receive you and my Lady after your long peregrination, from which I expect great improvements. Has ſhe got the brogue upon the tip of her tongue‡?

N° XLI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

DEAR HOLROYD, PORT ELIOT, Sept. 10th, 1775.

BY this time you have ſurely finiſhed your tour, touched at Edinburgh, where you found a letter, which you have not anſwered, and are now contemplating the beauties of the Weald of Suſſex. I ſhall demand a long and particular account of your peregrinations, but will excuſe it till we meet; and for the preſent expect only a ſhort memorandum of your health and ſituation, together with that of my much-honoured friend Mrs. Abigail Holroyd. A word too, if you pleaſe, concerning father

* Miſs Cambridges. † His houſekeeper.

‡ Mr. and Mrs. Holroyd made a tour to Ireland and Scotland this ſummer.

father and ſiſter; to the latter I encloſe a receipt from Mrs. G. who is now with me at Port Eliot.

Blind as you accuſe me of being to the beauties of nature, I am wonderfully pleaſed with this country. Of her three dull notes, *ground*, *plants*, and *water*, Cornwall poſſeſſes the firſt and laſt in very high perfection. Think of a hundred ſolitary ſtreams peacefully gliding between amazing cliffs on one ſide, and rich meadows on the other, gradually ſwelling by the aid of the tide into noble rivers, ſucceſſively loſing themſelves in each other, and all at length terminating in the harbour of Plymouth, whoſe broad expanſe is irregularly *dotted* with two-and-forty line of battle ſhips. In plants indeed we are deficient; and though all the gentlemen now attend to poſterity, the country will for a long time be very naked. We have ſpent ſeveral days agreeably enough in little parties; but in general our time rolls away in complete uniformity. Our landlord poſſeſſes neither a pack of hounds, nor a ſtable of running horſes, nor a large farm, nor a good library. The laſt only could intereſt me; but it is ſingular that a man of fortune, who chooſes to paſs nine months of the year in the country, ſhould have none of them.

According to our preſent deſign, Mrs. G. and myſelf return to Bath about the beginning of next month. I ſhall probably make but a ſhort ſtay with her, and defer my Derbyſhire journey till another year. Sufficient for the ſummer is the evil thereof, *viz.* one diſtant country excurſion. Natural inclination, the proſecution of my great work, and the concluſion of my Lenborough buſineſs, plead ſtrongly in favour of London. However I deſire, and one always finds time for what one really deſires, to viſit Sheffield-Place before the end of October, ſhould it only be for a few days. I know ſeveral houſes where I am invited to think myſelf at home, but I know no other where I ſeem inclined to accept of the invitation.

I forgot

I forgot to tell you, that I have declined the publication of Lord Chesterfield's Letters. The public will see them, and upon the whole, I think with pleasure; but the family were strongly bent against it; and especially on Deyverdun's account, I deemed it more prudent to avoid making them my personal enemies.

N° XLII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

January 1774.

I HAVE a letter from Hugonin, a *dreadful* one I believe, but it has lain four days unperused in my drawer. Let me turn it over to you.

Foster is playing at what he calls whist; his partner swearing inwardly. He would write to you to-night, but he thinks he had rather write *next* post; he will think so a good while. Every thing public, still as death. Our Committee of the Catch Club has done more business this morning than all those of the House of Commons since their meeting. Roberts does not petition. This from the best authority, and perhaps totally false. Hare married to Sir Abraham Hume's daughter. You see how hard pressed I am for news. Besides, at any time, I had rather talk an hour, than write a page. Therefore adieu. I am glad to hear of your speedy removal. Remember Bentinck-street.

N° XLIII.

The Same to the Same.

January 29th, 1774.

I AM now getting acquainted with authors, managers, &c. good company to know, but not to live with. Yeſterday I dined at the Britiſh Coffee-houſe, with Garrick, Colman, Goldſmith, Macpherſon, John Hume, &c. I am this moment come from Colman's Man of Buſineſs. We dined at the Shakeſpeare, and went in a body to ſupport it. Between friends, though we got a verdict for our client, his cauſe was but a bad one. It is a very confuſed miſcellany of ſeveral plays and tales; ſets out brilliantly enough, but as we advance the plot grows thicker, the wit thinner, till the lucky fall of the curtain preſerves us from total chaos.

Bentinck-ſtreet has viſited Welbeck-ſtreet. Sappho is very happy that ſhe is there yet: on Sheffield-place ſhe ſquints with regret and gratitude. Mamma conſulted me about buying coals; we cannot get any round ones. Quintus is gone to head the civil war. Of Mrs. * * * * I have nothing to ſay. I have got my intelligence for inſuring, and will immediately get the preſervative againſt fire. Foſter has ſent me eight-and-twenty pair of Paris ſilk ſtockings, with an intimation that my lady wiſhed for half-a-dozen. They are much at her ſervice; but if ſhe will look into David Hume's Eſſay on National Characters, ſhe will ſee that I durſt not offer them to a Queen of Spain. *Sachez qu'une reine d'Eſpagne n'a point de jambes.* Adieu.

N° XLIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

1774.

WE have conquered; * * * was amazed at the tempest just ready to break over his head. He does not desire to go to law, wishes to live in peace, has no complaints to make, hopes for a little indulgence. *Hugonin is now in the attitude* of St. Michael trampling upon Satan; he holds him down, till Andrews has prepared *a little chain of adamant* to bind the foul fiend. In return, receive my congratulation on your Irish victory. Batt told me yesterday, as from good authority, that administration designed a second attempt this session; but to-day I have it from much better, that they always discouraged it, and that it was *totally an Hibernian scheme.* You remark that I saw Batt. He passed two hours with me; a pleasant man! He and Sir John Russel dine with me *next week:* you will *have both their portraits*; *the originals are engaged.*

N° XLV.

The Same to the Same.

February 1774.

DID you get down safe and early? Is my lady in good spirits and humour? You do not deserve that she should, for hurrying her away. Does Maria coquet with Divedown*? Adieu. Bentinck-street looks very dismal. You may suppose that nothing very important has occurred since you left town: but I will send you some account of America after Monday, though indeed my anxiety about

* Dr. Downes.

about an old manor takes away much of my attention from a new continent. The mildneſs of Godfrey Clarke is rouſed into military fury; but he is an old Tory, and you only ſuppoſe yourſelf an old Whig. I alone am a true Engliſhman, Philoſopher and Whig.

N° XLVI.

The Same to the Same.

BOODLES, Wedneſday Evening, March 16th, 1774.

I WAS this morning with * * *. He was poſitive that the attempt to ſettle the preliminaries of arbitration by letters, would lead us on to the middle of the ſummer, and that a meeting was the only practicable meaſure. I acquieſced, and we blended his epiſtle and yours into one, which goes by this poſt. If you can contrive to ſuit to it your Oxford journey, your preſence at the meeting would be received as the deſcent of a guardian angel.

Very little that is ſatisfactory has tranſpired of America. On Monday Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to remove the cuſtoms and courts of juſtice from Boſton to New Salem; a ſtep ſo detrimental to the former town, as muſt ſoon reduce it to your own terms; and yet of ſo mild an appearance, that it was agreed to, without a diviſion, and almoſt without a debate. Something more is, however, intended, and a committee is appointed to enquire into the general ſtate of America. But adminiſtration keep their ſecret as well as that of free maſonry, and, as Coxe profanely ſuggeſts, for the ſame reaſon.

Don't you remember that in our pantheon walks we admired the *modeſt beauty* of Mrs. * * * *? *Eh bien.* alas! ſhe is * * *. You aſk me with whom? With * * * *, of the guards; both the * * * *'s; * * * *, a ſteward of * * * *'s, her firſt love, and half the town beſides. A meeting of * * * *'s friends aſſembled about a week

a week ago, to consult of the best method of acquainting him with his frontal honours. Edmund Burke was named as the orator, and communicated the transaction in a most eloquent speech.

N. B. The same lady, who at public dinners, appeared to have the most delicate appetite, was accustomed in her own apartment to feast on pork-steaks and sausages, and to swill porter till she was dead drunk. * * * is abused by the * * * family, has been bullied by * * *, and can prove himself a Cornuto, to the satisfaction of every one but a court of justice. O rare matrimony!

N° XLVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

March 29th, 1774.

AMERICA. Had I written Saturday night, as I once intended, fire and sword, oaths of allegiance and high treason tried in England, in consequence of the refusal, would have formed my letter. Lord North, however, opened a most lenient prescription last night; and the utmost attempts towards a new settlement seemed to be no more than investing the governors with a greater share of executive power, nomination of civil officers, (judges, however, for life,) and some regulations of juries. The Boston port bill passed the Lords last night; some lively conversation, but no division.

Bentinck-street. Rose Fuller was against the Boston port bill, and against his niece's going to Boodle's masquerade. He was laughed at in the first instance, but succeeded in the second. Sappho and Fanny very indifferent (as mamma says) about going. They seem of a different opinion. Adieu.

N° XLVIII.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR HOLROYD, April 2d, 1774.

YOU owe me a letter; so this extra goes only to acquaint you with a misfortune that has just happened to poor Clarke, and which he really considers as such, the loss of a very excellent father. The blow was sudden; a thin little man, as abstemious as a hermit, was destroyed by a stroke of apoplexy in his coach as he was going to dinner. He appeared perfectly well, and only two days before had very good-naturedly dined with us at a tavern, a thing he had not done for many years before. I am the only person Clarke wishes to see, except his own family; and I pass a great part of the day with him. A line from you would be kindly received.

Great news, you see, from India. Tanjour four hundred thousand pounds to the company. Suja Dowla six hundred thousand. Adieu.

N° XLIX.

The Same to the Same.

April 13th, 1774.

AT length I am a little more at liberty. Godfrey Clarke went out of town this morning. Instead of going directly into Derbyshire, where he would have been overwhelmed with visits, &c. he has taken his sister, brother, and aunts to a villa near Farnham, in which he has the happiness of having no neighbourhood. If my esteem and friendship for Godfrey had been capable of any addition, it would have been very much increased by the manner in which he felt and lamented his father's death.

death. He is now in very different circumſtances than before; inſtead of an eaſy and ample allowance, he has taken poſſeſſion of a great eſtate, with low rents and high incumbrances. I hope the one may make amends for the other: under your conduct I am ſure they would, and I have freely offered him your aſſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould wiſh to apply for it.

In the mean time I muſt not forget my own affairs, which ſeem to be covered with inextricable perplexity. * * *, as I mentioned about a century ago, promiſed to ſee * * * and his attorney, and to oil the wheels of the arbitration. As yet I have not heard from him. I have ſome thoughts of writing *myſelf* to the jockey, ſtating the various ſteps of the affair, and offering him, with polite firmneſs, the *immediate* choice of Chancery or arbitration.

For the time, however, I forgot all theſe difficulties, in the preſent enjoyment of Deyverdun's company; and I glory in thinking, that although my houſe is ſmall, it is juſt of a ſufficient ſize to hold my real friends, male and *female*; among the latter my Lady holds the very firſt place.

We are all quiet.—American buſineſs is ſuſpended and almoſt forgot. The other day we had a briſk report of a Spaniſh war. It was ſaid they had taken one of our Leeward Iſlands. It ſince turns out, that we are the invaders, but the invaſion is trifling.

Bien obligé non (at preſent) for your invitation. I wiſh my Lady and you would come up to our maſquerade the third of May. The fineſt thing ever ſeen. We ſup in a tranſparent temple that coſts four hundred and fifty pounds.

N° L.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

DEAR HOLROYD, April 21st, 1774.

I BEGIN to flag, and though you already reproach me as a bad correspondent, I much fear that I shall every week become a more hardened sinner. Besides the occasional obstructions of Clarke and Deyverdun, I must intreat you to consider, with your usual candour, 1. The aversion to epistolary conversation, which it has pleased the dæmon to implant in my nature. 2. That I am a very fine gentleman, a subscriber to the masquerade, where you and my Lady ought to come, and am now writing at Boodle's, in a fine velvet coat, with ruffles of my lady's choosing, &c. 3. That the aforesaid fine gentleman is likewise an historian; and in truth, when I am writing a page, I do not only think it a sufficient reason for delay, but even consider myself as writing for you, and that, much more to the purpose than if I were sending you the little tattle of the town, of which indeed there is none stirring. With regard to America, the Minister seems moderate, and the House obedient.

* * *'s last letter, by some unaccountable accident, had never reached me; so that your's, in every instance, amazed me. I immediately dispatched to him groans and approbation. * * *, however, gives me very little uneasiness. I see that he is a bully, and that I have a stick. But the cursed business of Lenborough, in the midst of study, dissipation and friendship, at times almost distracts me. I am surely in a worse situation than before I sold the estate, and what distresses me is, that

His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono.——

Both

Both Deyverdun and Clarke wiſh to be remembered to you. The former, who has more taſte for the country than * * * *, could wiſh to viſit you, but he ſets out in a few days for the continent with Lord Middleton. Adieu.

N° LI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

DEAR HOLROYD, May 4th, 1774.

LAST night was the triumph of Boodle's. Our maſquerade coſt two thouſand guineas; a ſum that might have fertiliſed a province, (I ſpeak in your own ſtyle,) vaniſhed in a few hours, but not without leaving behind it the fame of the moſt ſplendid and elegant *fête* that was perhaps ever given in a ſeat of the arts and opulence. It would be as difficult to deſcribe the magnificence of the ſcene, as it would be eaſy to record the humour of the night. The one was above, the other below, all relation. I left the Pantheon about five this morning, roſe at ten, took a good walk, and returned home to a more rational entertainment of Batt, Sir John Ruſſell, and Laſcelles, who dined with me. They have left me this moment; and were I to enumerate the things ſaid of Sheffield, it would form a much longer letter than I have any inclination to write. Let it ſuffice, that Sir John means to paſs in Suſſex the interval of the two terms. Every thing, in a word, goes on very pleaſantly, except the terreſtrial buſineſs of Lenborough. Laſt Saturday ſe'nnight I wrote to * * * *, to preſs him to ſee * * *, and urge the arbitration. He has not *condeſcended* to anſwer me. All is a dead calm, ſometimes more fatal than a ſtorm. For God's ſake ſend me advice.

Adieu.

N° LII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, BOODLE'S, May 24th, 1774.

DO you remember that there exiſts in the world one Edward Gibbon, a houſekeeper in Bentinck-ſtreet? If the ſtandard of writing and of affection were the ſame, I am ſure he would ill deſerve it. I do not wiſh to diſcover, how many days (I am ſure I ought to uſe another word) have elapſed ſince the date of my laſt, or even of your laſt letter, and yet ſuch is the ſluggiſh nature of the beaſt, that I am afraid nothing but the arrival of Mrs. Bonfoy, and the expectation of Mr. Eliot, could have rouſed me from my lethargy. The Lady gave me great ſatisfaction, by her general account of your health and ſpirits, but communicated ſome uneaſineſs, by the mention of a little encounter, in the ſtyle of one of Don Quixote's, but which proved, I hope, as trifling as you at firſt imagined it. For my own part, I am well in mind and body, buſy with my books, (which may perhaps produce ſomething next year, either to tire or amuſe the world,) and every day more ſatisfied with my preſent mode of life, which I always believed was calculated to make me happy. My only remaining uneaſineſs is Lenborough, which is not terminated. By Holroyd's advice, I rather try what may be obtained by a little more patience, than ruſh at once into the horrors of Chancery. But let us talk of ſomething elſe. Mrs. Porten grows younger every day. You remember, I think, in Newman-ſtreet, an agreeable woman, Miſs W * * * * *. The under-ſecretary is ſeriouſly in love with her, and ſeriouſly uneaſy that his precarious ſituation precludes him from happineſs. We ſhall ſoon ſee which will get the better, love or reaſon. I bet three to two on love.

Gueſs

Gueſs my ſurpriſe, when Mrs. Gibbon of Northamptonſhire ſuddenly communicated her arrival. I immediately went to Surrey-ſtreet, where ſhe lodged, but though it was no more than half an hour after nine, the Saint had finiſhed her evening devotions, and was already retired to reſt. Yeſterday morning (by appointment) I breakfaſted with her at eight o'clock, dined with her today at two in Newman-ſtreet, and am juſt returned from ſetting her down. She is, in truth, a very great curioſity: her dreſs and figure exceed any thing we had at the maſquerade: her language and ideas belong to the laſt century. However, in point of religion ſhe was rational, that is to ſay, ſilent. I do not believe that ſhe aſked a ſingle queſtion, or ſaid the leaſt thing concerning it. To me ſhe behaved with great cordiality, and *in her way*, expreſſed a great regard.

Mrs. Porten tells me, that ſhe has juſt written to you. She ought to go to a maſquerade once a year. Did you think her ſuch a girl?

I am, dear Madam, moſt truly yours.

N° LIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

BOODLE'S, May 24th, 1774.

I WROTE three folio pages to you this morning, and yet you complain. Have reaſon, and have mercy; conſider all the excellent reaſons for ſilence which I gave you in one of my laſt, and expect my arrival in Suſſex, when I ſhall talk more in a quarter of an hour than I could write in a day. *A propos* of that arrival; never pretend to allure me, by painting in odious colours the duſt of London. I love the duſt, and whenever I move into the Weald, it is to viſit you and my Lady, and not your trees.

trees. About this-day-month I mean to give you *a visitation*. I leave it to Guise, Clarke, and the other light horse, to prance down for a day or two. They all talk of mounting, but will not fix the day. Sir John Russell, whom I salute, has brought you, I suppose, all the news of Versailles. Let me only add, that the Mesdames, by attending their father, have both got the small-pox. I can make nothing of * * *, or his lawyer. You will swear at the shortness of this letter.—Swear.

N° LIV.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday evening, August 27th, 1774.

BY your submission to the voice of reason, you eased me of a very heavy load of anxiety. I did not like your enterprise. * * * * * * * * *. As to papers, I will shew you that I can keep them safe till we meet. What think you of the Turks and Russians? Romanzow is a great man. He wrote an account of his amazing successes to Mouskin Pouskin here, and declared his intention of retiring as soon as he had conducted the army home; desiring that Pouskin would send him the best plan he could procure of an English gentleman's farm. In his answer, Pouskin promised to get it; but added, that at the same time he should send the Empress *a plan of Blenheim*. A handsome compliment, I think. My Lady and Maria, as usual.

N° LV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

BENTINCK-STREET, Sept. 10th, 1774.

SINCE Heberden is returned, I think the road lies plain before you, I mean the turnpike road; the only party which in good ſenſe can be embraced is, without delay, to bring my Lady to Bentinck-ſtreet, where you may inhabit two or three nights, and have any advice (Turton, Heberden, &c.) which the town may afford, in a caſe that moſt aſſuredly ought not to be trifled with. Do this as you value our good opinion. The Cantabs are ſtrongly in the ſame ſentiments. There can be no apprehenſion of late hours, &c. as none of Mrs. H.'s raking acquaintance are in town. * * * * * You give me no account of the works. When do you inhabit the library? *Turn over—great things await you.*

'It is ſurely infinite condeſcenſion for a ſenator to beſtow his attention on the affairs of a juryman. A ſenator? Yes, Sir, at laſt

——Quod . . . . Divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en attulit ultro.——

Yeſterday morning, about half an hour after ſeven, as I was deſtroying an army of Barbarians, I heard a double rap at the door, and my friend * * * * was ſoon introduced. After ſome idle converſation he told me, that if I was deſirous of being in parliament, he had an *independent* ſeat very much at my ſervice. * * * * This is a fine proſpect opening upon me, and if next ſpring I ſhould take my ſeat, and publiſh my book, it will be a very memorable æra in my life. I am ignorant whether my borough will be * * *. You deſpiſe boroughs, and fly at nobler game. Adieu.

N° LVI.

The Same to the Same.

December 2d, 1774.

I SEND you incloſed a diſmal letter from Hugonin. Return it without delay, with obſervations. A manifeſto has been ſent to * * *, which muſt, I think, produce immediate peace or war. Adieu. We ſhall have a warm day on the addreſs next Monday. A number of young members! Whitſhed, *a dry man*, aſſured me, that he heard one of them aſk, whether the king always ſat in that chair, pointing to the Speaker's. Adieu.

N° LVII.

The Same to the Same.

Boodle's, Jan. 31ſt, 1775.

SOMETIMES people do not write becauſe they are too idle, and ſometimes becauſe they are too buſy. The former was uſually my caſe, but at preſent it is the latter. The fate of Europe and America ſeems fully ſufficient to take up the time of one man; and eſpecially of a man who gives up a great deal of time for the purpoſe of public and private information. I think I have ſucked Mauduit and Hutcheſon very dry; and if my confidence was equal to my eloquence, and my eloquence to my knowledge, perhaps I might make no very intolerable ſpeaker. At all events, I fancy I ſhall try to expoſe myſelf.

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam?

For my own part, I am more and more convinced that we have both the right and the power on our ſide, and that, though the event may be accompanied with ſome melancholy circumſtances, we are now arrived at the deciſive moment of preſerving, or of loſing for ever, both

our trade and empire. We expect next Thurſday or Friday to be a very great day. Hitherto we have been chiefly employed in reading papers, and rejecting petitions. Petitions were brought from London, Briſtol, Norwich, &c. framed by party, and deſigned to delay. By the aid of ſome parliamentary quirks, they have been all referred to a ſeparate inactive committee, which Burke calls a committee of oblivion, and are now conſidered as dead in law. I could write you fifty little Houſe of Commons ſtories, but from their number and nature they ſuit better a conference than a letter. Our general diviſions are about two hundred and fifty to eighty or ninety. Adieu.

N° LVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, LONDON, Jan. 31ſt, 1775.

AN idle man has no time, and a buſy man very little. As yet the Houſe of Commons turns out very well to me, and though it ſhould never prove of any real benefit to me, I find it at leaſt a very agreeable coffee-houſe. We are plunging every day deeper and deeper into the great buſineſs of America; and I have hitherto been a zealous, though ſilent friend, to the cauſe of government, which, *in this inſtance*, I think the cauſe of England. I paſſed about ten days, as I deſigned, at Uppark. I found Lord * * * and fourſcore fox-hounds.

The troubles of Beriton are perfectly compoſed, and the inſurgents reduced to a ſtate, though not a temper of ſubmiſſion. You may ſuppoſe I heard a great deal of Petersfield. L * * * * means to convict your friend of bribery, to tranſport him for uſing a ſecond time old ſtamps, and to prove that Petersfield is ſtill a part of the manor of Beriton. I remain an impartial ſpectator. I am, dear Madam, moſt truly yours.

N° LIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

February 8th, 1775.

I AM not d——d, according to your charitable wishes, becauſe I have not acted; there was ſuch an inundation of ſpeakers, young ſpeakers in every ſenſe of the word, both on Thurſday in the grand committee, and Monday on the report to the Houſe, that neither Lord George Germaine nor myſelf could find room for a ſingle word. The principal men both days were Fox and Wedderburne, on the oppoſite ſides; the latter diſplayed his uſual talents; the former, taking the vaſt compaſs of the queſtion before us, diſcovered powers for regular debate, which neither his friends hoped, nor his enemies dreaded. We voted an addreſs, (three hundred and four to one hundred and five,) of lives and fortunes, declaring Maſſachuſetts Bay in a ſtate of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of ten thouſand men, at Boſton; three generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. In a few days we ſtop the ports of New England. I cannot write volumes; but I am more and more convinced, that with firmneſs all may go well; yet I ſometimes doubt. I am now writing with ladies, (Sir S. Porten and his bride,) and two card-tables, in the library. As to my ſilence, judge of my ſituation by laſt Monday. I am on the Grenvillian committee of Downton. We always ſit from ten to three and a half; after which, that day, I went into the Houſe, and ſat till three in the morning. Adieu.

N° LX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Esquire*.

February 25th, 1775.

WE go on with regard to America, if we can be said to go on; for on laſt Monday a conciliatory motion of allowing the Colonies to tax themſelves, was introduced by Lord North, in the midſt of lives and fortunes, war and famine. We went into the Houſe in confuſion, every moment expecting that the Bedfords would fly into rebellion againſt thoſe meaſures. Lord North roſe ſix times to appeaſe the ſtorm, but all in vain; till at length Sir Gilbert declared for adminiſtration, and the troops all rallied under their proper ſtandard. On Wedneſday we had the Middleſex election. I was a patriot; ſat by the Lord Mayor, who ſpoke well, and with temper, but before the end of the debate fell faſt aſleep. I am ſtill a mute; it is more tremendous than I imagined; the great ſpeakers fill me with deſpair, the bad ones with terror.

When do you move? My Lady anſwered like a woman of ſenſe, ſpirit, and good nature. Neither ſhe nor I could bear it. She was right, and the Ducheſs of Braganza would have made the ſame anſwer.

Adieu.

N° LXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Mrs.* GIBBON.

DEAR MADAM, March 30th, 1775.

I HARDLY know how to take up the pen. I talked in my last of two or three posts, and I am almost ashamed to calculate how many have elapsed. I will endeavour for the future to be less scandalous. Only believe that my heart is innocent of the laziness of my hand. I do not mean to have recourse to the stale and absurd excuse of business, though I have really had a very considerable hurry of new parliamentary business: one day, for instance, of seventeen hours, from ten in the morning till between three and four the next morning. It is, upon the whole, an agreeable improvement in my life, and forms just the mixture of business, of study, and of society, which I always imagined I should, and now find I do like. Whether the House of Commons may ever prove of benefit to myself or country, is another question. As yet I have been mute. In the course of our American affairs, I have sometimes had a wish to speak, but though I felt tolerably prepared as to the matter, I dreaded exposing myself in the manner, and remained in my seat safe, but inglorious. Upon the whole, (though I still believe I shall try,) I doubt whether Nature, not that in some instances I am ungrateful, has given me the talents of an orator, and I feel that I came into parliament much too late to exert them. Do you hear of Port Eliot coming to Bath? and, above all, do you hear of Charles-street * coming to Bentinck-street, in its way to Essex, &c.

Adieu. Dear Madam,

I am most truly yours.

* Mrs. Gibbon's residence at Bath.

N° LXII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Mrs.* GIBBON.

DEAR MADAM, HOUSE of COMMONS, May 2d, 1775.

I ACCEPT of the Pomeranian Lady with gratitude and pleasure, and shall be impatient to form an acquaintance with her. My presentations at St. James's passed graciously. My dinner at Twickenham was attended with less ceremony and more amusement. If they turned out Lord North to-morrow, they would still leave him one of the best companions in the kingdom. By this time I suppose the Eliots are with you. I am sure you will say every thing kind and proper on the occasion. I am glad to hear of the approbation of my constituents for my vote on the Middlesex election. On the subject of America, I have been something more of a courtier. You know, I suppose, that Holroyd is just stepped over to Ireland for a fortnight. He passed three days with me on his way. Deyverdun had left me just before your letter arrived, which I shall soon have an opportunity of conveying to him. Though, I flatter myself, he broke from me with some degree of uneasiness, the engagement could not be declined. At the end of four years he has an annuity of one hundred pounds for life, and may for the remainder of his days enjoy a decent independence in that country, which a philosopher would perhaps prefer to the rest of Europe. For my own part, after the hurry of the town and of parliament, I am now retired to my villa in Bentinck-street, which I begin to find a very pleasing solitude, at least as well as if it were two hundred miles from London; because when I am tired of the Roman Empire, I can laugh away the evening at Foote's theatre, which I could not do in Hampshire or Cornwall. I am, dear Madam, most truly yours.

N° LXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

BENTINCK-STREET, Auguſt 1ſt, 1775.

YOUR apprehenſions of a precipitate work, &c. are perfectly groundleſs. I ſhould be much more addicted to a contrary extreme. The *head* is now printing: true, but it was written laſt year and the year before. The firſt chapter has been compoſed *de nouveau three times*; the ſecond *twice*, and all the others have undergone reviews, corrections, &c. As to the tail, it is perfectly formed and digeſted, (and were I ſo much given to ſelf-content and haſte,) it is almoſt all written. The eccleſiaſtical part, for inſtance, is written out in fourteen ſheets, which I mean to *refondre* from beginning to end. As to the friendly critic, it is very difficult to find one who has leiſure, candour, freedom, and knowledge ſufficient. However, Batt and Deyverdun have read and obſerved. After all, the public is the beſt critic. I print no more than five hundred copies of the firſt edition; and the ſecond (as it happens frequently to my betters) may receive many improvements. So much for Rome. We have nothing new from America. But I can venture to aſſure you, that adminiſtration is now as unanimous and decided as the occaſion requires. Something will be done this year; but in the Spring the force of the country will be exerted to the utmoſt. Scotch Highlanders, Iriſh Papiſts, Hanoverians, Canadians, Indians, &c. will all in various ſhapes be employed. Parliament meets the firſt week in November. I think his Catholic Majeſty may be ſatisfied with his Summer's amuſement. The Spaniards fought with great bravery, and made a fine retreat; but our Algerine friends ſurpaſſed them as much in conduct as in number. Adieu.

The

The Ducheſs has ſtopped Foote's piece. She ſent for him to Kingſton-houſe, and threatened, bribed, argued, and wept for about two hours. He aſſured her, that if the Chamberlain was obſtinate, he ſhould publiſh it, with a dedication to her Grace.

N° LXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, LONDON, Auguſt 1775.

WILL you accept my preſent literary buſineſs as an excuſe for my not writing? I think you will be in the wrong if you do, ſince I was juſt as idle before. At all events, however, it is better to ſay three words, than to be totally a dumb dog. *A propos* of dog, but not of dumb: your Pomeranian is the comfort of my life; pretty, impertinent, fantaſtical, all that a young lady of faſhion ought to be. I flatter myſelf that our paſſion is reciprocal. I am juſt at preſent engaged in a great hiſtorical work; no leſs than a Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; with the firſt volume of which I may very poſſibly oppreſs the public next winter. It would require ſome pages to give a more particular idea of it; but I ſhall only ſay in general, that the ſubject is curious, and never yet treated as it deſerves; and that during ſome years it has been in my thoughts, and even under my pen. Should the attempt fail, it muſt be by the fault of the execution.

Adieu. Dear Madam, believe me moſt truly yours.

N° LXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

BENTINCK-STREET, October 14th, 1775.

I SEND you two pieces of intelligence from the beſt authority, and which, unleſs you hear them from ſome other quarter, I do not wiſh you ſhould talk much about. 1ſt, When the Ruſſians arrive, (if they refreſh themſelves in England or Ireland,) will you go and ſee their camp? We have great hopes of getting a body of theſe Barbarians. In conſequence of ſome very plain advances, King George, with his own hand, wrote a very polite epiſtle to ſiſter Kitty, requeſting her friendly aſſiſtance. Full powers and inſtructions were ſent at the ſame time to Gunning, to agree for any force between five, and twenty thouſand men, *carte blanche* for the terms; on condition, however, that they ſhould ſerve, not as auxiliaries, but as mercenaries, and that the Ruſſian general ſhould be abſolutely under the command of the Britiſh. They daily and hourly expect a meſſenger, and hope to hear that the buſineſs is concluded. The worſt of it is, that the Baltic will be ſoon frozen up, and that it muſt be late next year before they can get to America. 2. In the mean time we are not quite eaſy about Canada; and even if it ſhould be ſafe from an attack, we cannot flatter ourſelves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people on the Back Settlements. The prieſts are ours; the gentlemen very prudently wait the event, and are diſpoſed to join the ſtronger party; but the ſame lawleſs ſpirit and impatience of government which have infected our Colonies, are gone forth among the Canadian peaſants, over whom, ſince the conqueſt, the nobleſſe have loſt much of their ancient influence. Another thing which will pleaſe and ſurpriſe, is the aſſurance which I

received

received from a man who might tell me a lie, but who could not be miſtaken, that no arts, no management whatſoever, have been uſed to procure the addreſſes which fill the Gazette, and that Lord North was as much ſurpriſed at the firſt that came up, as we could be at Sheffield. We ſhall have, I ſuppoſe, ſome briſk ſkirmiſhing in parliament, but the buſineſs will ſoon be decided by our ſuperior weight of fire. *Apropos*, I believe there has been ſome vague but ſerious converſation about *calling out the militia*. The new levies go on very ſlowly in Ireland. The Diſſenters, both there and here, are violent and active. Adieu. I embrace my Lady and Maria.

N° LXVI.

GEORGE LEWIS SCOTT *Eſquire to* EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire.*

DEAR SIR, December 29th, 1775.

I AM obliged to you for the liberty of peruſing part of your work. What I have read, has given me a great deal of pleaſure. I have found but few ſlips of the preſs, or the pen.

The ſtyle of the work is clear, and every way agreeable; and I dare ſay you will be thought to have written with all due moderation and decency with reſpect to received (at leaſt once received) opinions. The notes and quotations will add not a little to the value of the work. The authority of French writers, ſo familiar to you, has not infected you, however, with the fault of ſuperficial and careleſs quotations. I find, ſince I ſaw you, that I muſt be in the chair at the Exciſe Office to-morrow; which ſervice will confine me too much for a week, to permit me to wait upon you ſo ſoon as I could wiſh.

I am very truly, dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble Servant.

N° LXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

LONDON, January 18th, 1776.

HOW do you do? Are you alive? Are you buried under mountains of ſnow? I write merely to triumph in the ſuperiority of my own ſituation, and to rejoice in my own prudence, in not going down to Sheffield-place, as I ſeriouſly, but fooliſhly, intended to do laſt week. We proceed triumphantly with the Roman Empire, and ſhall certainly make our appearance before the end of next month. I have nothing public. You know we have got eighteen thouſand Germans from Heſſe, Brunſwick, and Heſſe Darmſtadt. I think our meeting will be lively; a ſpirited minority, and a deſponding majority. The higher people are placed, the more gloomy are their countenances, the more melancholy their language. You may call this cowardice, but I fear it ariſes from their knowledge (a late knowledge) of the difficulty and magnitude of the buſineſs. Quebec is not *yet* taken. I hear that Carleton is determined never to capitulate with rebels. A glorious reſolution, if it were ſupported with fifty thouſand men! Adieu. I embrace my Lady and Maria. Make my excuſes to the latter, for having neglected her birthday.

N° LXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

January 29th, 1776.

HARES, &c. arrived ſafe; were received with thanks, and devoured with appetite. Send more *(id eſt)* of hares. I believe, in my laſt I forgot ſaying any thing of the ſon of Fergus; his letters reached him. What think you of the ſeaſon? Siberia, is it not? A pleaſant campaign in America. I read and pondered your laſt, and think that, in the place of Lord G. G. you might perhaps ſucceed;

ſucceed; but I much fear that our Leaders have not a genius which can act at the diſtance of three thouſand miles. You know, that a large draught of guards are juſt going to America; poor dear creatures! We are met; but no buſineſs. Next week may be buſy; Scotch militia, &c. Roman Empire (firſt part) will be finiſhed in a week, or fortnight. At laſt, I have heard Texier; wonderful! Embrace my Lady. The weather too cold to turn over the page. Adieu.

Since this, I received your laſt, and honour your care of the old women; a reſpectable name, which, in ſpite of my Lady, may ſuit Judges, Biſhops, Generals, &c. I am rejoiced to hear of Maria's inoculation. I know not when you have done ſo wiſe a thing. You may depend upon getting an excellent houſe. Adieu.

N° LXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

BENTINCK-STREET, February 9th, 1776.

YOU are miſtakent about your dates. It is to-morrow *ſeven-night*, the ſeventeenth, that my book will decline into the world.

I am glad to find, that by degrees you begin to underſtand the advantage of a civilized city. Adieu, No public buſineſs; parliament has ſat every day, but we have not had a ſingle debate. I think you will have *the book* on Monday. The parent is not forgot, though I had not a ſingle one to ſpare.

N° LXX.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. ROBERTSON *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Edinburgh College, March 15, 1776.

* * * * * SINCE my laſt I have read Mr. Gibbon's Hiſtory with much attention, and great pleaſure. It is a work of very high merit indeed. He poſſeſſes

poſſeſſes that induſtry of reſearch, without which no man deſerves the name of an Hiſtorian. His narrative is perſpicuous and intereſting; his ſtyle is elegant and forcible, though in ſome paſſages too much laboured, and in others too quaint. But theſe defects are amply compenſated by the beauty of the general flow of language, and a very peculiar happineſs in many of his expreſſions. I have traced him in many of his quotations, (for experience has taught me to ſuſpect the accuracy of my brother pen-men,) and I find he refers to no paſſage but what he has ſeen with his own eyes. I hope the book will be as ſucceſsful as it deſerves to be. I have not yet read the two laſt chapters, but am ſorry, from what I have heard of them, that he has taken ſuch a tone in them as will give great offence, and hurt the ſale of the book.

N° LXXI.

Mr. FERGUSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, EDINBURGH, March 19th, 1776.

I RECEIVED, about eight days ago, after I had been reading your Hiſtory, the copy which you have been ſo good as to ſend me, and for which I now trouble you with my thanks. But even if I had not been thus called upon to offer you my reſpects, I could not have refrained from congratulating you on the merit, and undoubted ſucceſs, of this valuable performance. The perſons of this place whoſe judgment you will value moſt, agree in opinion, that you have made a great addition to the claſſical literature of England, and given us what Thucydides propoſed leaving with his own countrymen, a *poſſeſſion in perpetuity*. Men of a certain modeſty and merit always exceed the expectations of their friends; and it is with very great pleaſure I tell you, that although you muſt have obſerved in me every mark of conſideration and regard, that this is, nevertheleſs, the caſe, I receive your inſtruction, and ſtudy your model, with great deference, and join with every

every one elſe, in applauding the extent of your plan, in hands ſo well able to execute it. Some of your readers, I find, were impatient to get at the fifteenth chapter, and began at that place. I have not heard much of their criticiſm, but am told that many doubt your orthodoxy. I wiſh to be always of the charitable ſide, while I own you have proved that the cleareſt ſtream may become foul when it comes to run over the muddy bottom of human nature. I have not ſtayed to make any particular remarks. If any ſhould occur on the ſecond reading, I ſhall not fail to lay in my claim to a more needed, and more uſeful admonition from you, in caſe I ever produce any thing that merits your attention. And am, with the greateſt reſpect, dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt humble Servant,
ADAM FERGUSON.

N° LXXII.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. DAVID HUME *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Edinburgh, April 8*th*, 1776.

* * * * * I AM very much taken with Mr. Gibbon's Roman Hiſtory, which came from your preſs, and am glad to hear of its ſucceſs. There will no books of reputation now be printed in London but through your hands and Mr. Cadell's. The Author tells me, that he is already preparing a ſecond edition. I reſolved to have given him my advice with regard to the manner of printing it; but as I am now writing to you it is the ſame thing. He ought certainly to print the number of the chapter at the head of the margin; and it would be better if ſomething of the contents could alſo be added. One is alſo plagued with his notes, according to the preſent method of printing the book: when a note is announced, you turn to the end of the volume; and there you often find

find nothing but a reference to an authority. All theſe authorities ought only to be printed at the margin, or the bottom of the page. I deſire a copy of my new edition ſhould be ſent to Mr. Gibbon; as wiſhing that gentleman, whom I highly value, ſhould peruſe me in a form the leaſt imperfect to which I can bring my work.

* * * * * Dr. Smith's performance is another excellent work that has come from your preſs this winter; but I have ventured to tell him, that it requires too much thought to be as popular as Mr. Gibbon's.

N° LXXIII.

Mr. FERGUSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, EDINBURGH, April 18th, 1776

I SHOULD make ſome apology for not writing you ſooner an anſwer to your obliging letter: but if you ſhould honour me frequently with ſuch requeſts, you will find, that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correſpondent. I am ſorry to tell you, that our reſpectable friend † is ſtill declining in his health; he is greatly emaciated, and loſes ſtrength. He talks familiarly of his near proſpect of dying. His mother, it ſeems, died under the ſame ſymptoms; and it appears ſo little neceſſary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never obſerved his underſtanding more clear, or his humour more pleaſant and lively. He has a great averſion to leave the tranquillity of his own houſe, to go in ſearch of health among inns and hoſtlers. And his friends here gave way to him for ſome time; but now think it neceſſary that he ſhould make an effort to try what change of place and air, or any thing elſe Sir John Prin-

† Mr. Hume.

gle may adviſe, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to comply in this article, and I hope he will be prevailed on to ſet out in a few days. He is juſt now ſixty-five.

I am very glad that the pleaſure you give us recoils a little on yourſelf, through our feeble teſtimony. I have, as you ſuppoſe, been employed, at any intervals of leiſure or reſt I have had for ſome years, in taking notes, or collecting materials, for a Hiſtory of the diſtractions that broke down the Roman Republic, and ended in the eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus and his immediate ſucceſſors. The compliment you are pleaſed to pay, I cannot accept of, even to my ſubject. Your ſubject now appears with advantages it was not ſuppoſed to have had; and I ſuſpect that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more ſtriking, than the ſame building when the view is perplexed with ſcaffolding, workmen, and diſorderly lodgers, and the ear is ſtunned with the noiſe of deſtructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to deſcribe is ſolemn, and there are gleams of light ſuperior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myſelf, that as my trade is the ſtudy of human nature, I could not fix on a more intereſting corner of it, than the end of the Roman Republic. Whether my compilations ſhould ever deſerve the attention of any one beſides myſelf, muſt remain to be determined after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the incloſed for Mr. Smith, whoſe uncertain ſtay in London makes me at a loſs how to direct for him. You have both ſuch reaſon to be pleaſed with the world juſt now, that I hope you are pleaſed with each other

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble Servant,

ADAM FERGUSON.

N° LXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

LONDON, May 20th, 1776.

I AM angry that you ſhould impede my noble deſigns of viſiting foreign parts, more eſpecially as I have an advantage which Sir Wilful had not, that of underſtanding your foreign lingos. With regard to Mrs. Gibbon, her intended viſit, to which I was not totally a ſtranger, will do me honour; and, though it ſhould delay my emigration till the end of July, there will ſtill remain the months of Auguſt, September, and October. Above all, abſtain from giving the leaſt hint to any Bath correſpondent, and perhaps, if I am not provoked by oppoſition, the thing may not be abſolutely certain. At all events, you may depend on a previous viſit. At preſent, I am very buſy with the Neckers. I live with her, juſt as I uſed to do twenty years ago, laugh at her Paris varniſh, and oblige her to become a ſimple reaſonable Suiſſeſſe. The man who might read Engliſh huſbands' leſſons of proper and dutiful behaviour, is a ſenſible good-natured creature. In about a fortnight I launch again into the world in the ſhape of a quarto volume. Cadell aſſures me, that he never remembered ſo eager and impatient a demand for a ſecond edition. The town is beginning to break up; the day after to-morrow we have our laſt day in the Houſe of Commons, to inquire into the inſtructions of the commiſſioners. I like the man, and the motion appears plain. Adieu. I dined with Lord Palmerſtone to-day; great dinner of catches. I embrace my Lady and the Maria.

N° LXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire*.

TO tell you any thing of the change, or rather changes, of governors, I muſt have known ſomething of them myſelf; but all is darkneſs, confuſion, and uncertainty, to ſuch a degree, that people do not even know what lies to invent. The news from America have indeed diverted the public attention into another, and far greater, channel. All that you ſee in the papers, of the repulſe of Quebec, as well as the capture of Lee, reſts on the authority (a very unexceptionable one) of the provincial papers, as they have been tranſmitted by Governor Tryon from New York. Howe is well, and eats plentifully; and the weather ſeems to clear up ſo faſt, that, according to the Engliſh cuſtom, we have paſſed from the loweſt deſpondency to a full aſſurance of ſucceſs. My new birth happened laſt Monday; ſeven hundred of the fifteen hundred were gone yeſterday. I now underſtand, from pretty good authority, that Dr. * * * *, the friend and chaplain of * * * *, is actually ſharpening his gooſe quill againſt the laſt two chapters. Adieu.

June the 6th, 1776, from Almack's, where I was choſen laſt week.

N° LXXVI.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK'S, June 24th, 1776.

YES, yes, I am alive, and well; but what ſhall I ſay? Town grows empty, and this houſe, where I have paſſed very agreeable hours, is the only place which ſtill unites the flower of the Engliſh youth. The ſtile of living, though *ſomewhat* expenſive, is exceedingly pleaſant, and, notwithſtanding the rage of play, I have found more entertaining, and even rational ſociety here, than in any other club to which I belong. Mrs. Gibbon ſtill hangs in ſuſpenſe, and ſeems to conſider a town-expedition with horror. I think, however, that ſhe will be ſoon in motion; and when I have her in Bentinck-ſtreet, we ſhall perhaps talk of a Sheffield excurſion. I am now deeply engaged in the reign of Conſtantine, and, from the ſpecimens which I have already ſeen, I can venture to promiſe, that the ſecond volume will not be leſs intereſting than the firſt. The fifteen hundred copies are moving off with decent ſpeed, and the obliging Cadell begins to mutter ſomething of a third edition for next year. No news of Deyverdun, or his French tranſlation. What a lazy dog! Madame Necker has been gone a great while. I gave her, *en partant*, the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of following her *paws* in leſs than two months; but the voice of indolence begins to whiſper a thouſand difficulties, and unleſs your abſurd policy ſhould thoroughly provoke me, the Pariſian journey may poſſibly be deferred. I rejoice in the progreſs of * * * * towards light. We are in expectation of American news. Carleton is made a Knight of the Bath. The old report of Waſhington's reſignation, and quarrel with the Congreſs, ſeems to revive. Adieu.

N° LXXVII.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. GEORGE CAMPBELL, *Professor at* Aberdeen, *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Aberdeen, June 25, 1776.

I HAVE lately read over one of your last winter's publications with very great pleasure, and I hope some instruction. My expectations were indeed high when I began it; but, I assure you, the entertainment I received greatly exceeded them. What made me fall to it with the greater avidity was, that it had in part a pretty close connection with a subject I had occasion to treat sometimes in my Theological Lectures; to wit, the Rise and Progress of the Hierarchy: and you will believe that I was not the less pleased to discover, in an historian of so much learning and penetration, so great a co-incidence with my own sentiments, in relation to some obscure points in the Christian antiquities. I suppose I need not now inform you, that the book I mean is Gibbon's History of the Fall of the Roman Empire; which, in respect of the style and manner, as well as the matter, is a most masterly performance.

N° LXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

Saturday, August, 1776.

WE expect you at five o'clock Tuesday, without a sore throat. You have ere this heard of the shocking accident which takes up the attention of the town. Our old acquaintance * * * * * * * * * * * * *. By his own indolence, rather than

than extravagance, his circumſtances were embarraſſed, and he had frequently declared himſelf tired of life. No public news, nor any material expected, till the end of this, or the beginning of next month, when Howe will probably have collected his whole force. A tough buſineſs indeed. You ſee by their declaration, that they have now paſſed the Rubicon, and rendered the work of a treaty infinitely more difficult. You will perhaps ſay, ſo much the better; but I do aſſure you, that the *thinking* friends of Government are by no means ſanguine. I take the opportunity of eating turtle with Garrick at Hampton. Adieu.

N° LXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday, ¾ paſt Eleven, 1776.

FOR the preſent I am ſo deeply engaged, that you muſt renounce the haſty apparition at Sheffield-place; but if you ſhould be very impatient, I will try (after the meeting) to run down, between the Friday and Monday, and bring you the laſt editions of things. At preſent *nought* but expectation. The attack on me is begun; an anonymous eighteen-penny pamphlet, which will get the author more glory in the next world than in this. The heavy troops, Watſon and another are on their march. Adieu.

N° LXXX.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. WALLACE, *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Edinburgh, Auguſt 30, 1776.

ALAS, for David Hume*! His friends have ſuſtained a great loſs in his death. He was interred yeſterday, at a place he lately purchaſed in the burying-ground on the Calton.

" For who, to dumb forgetfulneſs a prey,
" This pleaſing anxious being e'er reſign'd,
" Left the warm precincts of the chearful day,
" Nor caſt one longing, lingering look behind?"

A monument on that airy elevated cemetery, which, on account of a magnificent terrace now carried round the hill, is greatly frequented, will be extremely conſpicuous, and muſt often call his name to remembrance. It has been remarked, that the ſame day on which Lucretius died, gave birth to Virgil; and amidſt their late ſevere loſs, philoſophy and literature will probably find themſelves not wholly diſconſolate, on reflecting that the ſame year in which they were deprived of Hume, Gibbon aroſe; his ſuperior in ſome reſpects. This Gentleman's Hiſtory of the Decline of the Roman Empire appears to me, in point of compoſition, incomparably the fineſt production in Engliſh, without any exception. I hardly thought the language capable of arriving at his correctneſs, perſpicuity, and ſtrength.

* Mr. Hume died at Edinburgh, Auguſt 25, 1776.

N° LXXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

1776.

I HOPE you bark and growl at my ſilence; growl and bark. This is not a time for correſpondence. Parliament, viſits, dinners, ſuppers, and an hour or two ſtolen with difficulty for the Decline, leave but very little leiſure. I ſend you the Gazette, and have ſcarcely any thing to add, except that about five hundred of them have deſerted to us, and that the New York incendiaries were immediately, and very juſtifiably, deſtined to the cord. Lord G. G. with whom I had a long converſation laſt night, was in high ſpirits, and hopes to re-conquer Germany in America. On the ſide of Canada, he only fears Carleton's *ſlowneſs*, but entertains great expectations that the light troops and Indians, under Sir William Johnſon, who are ſent from Oſwego down the Mohawk River to Albany, will oblige the Provincials to give up the defence of the Lakes, for fear of being cut off. The report of a foreign war ſubſides. Houſe of Commons dull, and oppoſition talk of ſuſpending hoſtilities from deſpair.

An anonymous pamphlet and Dr. Watſon out againſt me; (in my opinion,) the former feeble, and very illiberal; the latter uncommonly genteel. At laſt I have had a letter from Deyverdun; wretched excuſes; nothing done; vexatious enough. To-morrow I write to Suard, a very ſkilful tranſlator of Paris, who was here in the ſpring with the Neckers, to get him (if not too late) to undertake it. Adieu.

N° LXXXII.

Mr. GIBBON *to the Reverend Dr.* WATSON (*now Biſhop of* Landaff).

BENTINCK-STREET, November 2d, 1776.

MR. Gibbon takes the earlieſt opportunity of preſenting his compliments and thanks to Dr. Watſon, and of expreſſing his ſenſe of the liberal treatment which he has received from ſo candid an adverſary. Mr. Gibbon entirely coincides in opinion with Dr. Watſon, that as their different ſentiments, on a very important period of hiſtory, are now ſubmitted to the Public, they both may employ their time in a manner much more uſeful, as well as agreeable, than they could poſſibly do by exhibiting a ſingle combat in the amphitheatre of controverſy. Mr. Gibbon is therefore determined to reſiſt the temptation of juſtifying, in a profeſſed reply, any paſſages of his Hiſtory, which might perhaps be eaſily cleared from cenſure and miſapprehenſion; but he ſtill reſerves to himſelf the privilege of inſerting in a future edition ſome occaſional remarks and explanations of his meaning. If any calls of pleaſure or buſineſs ſhould bring Dr. Watſon to town, Mr. Gibbon would think himſelf happy in being permitted to ſolicit the honour of his acquaintance.

N° LXXXIII.

Dr. WATSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

CAMBRIDGE, November 4th, 1776.

DR. Watson accepts with pleasure Mr. Gibbon's polite invitation to a personal acquaintance. If he comes to town this winter, will certainly do himself the honour to wait upon him. Begs, at the same time, to assure Mr. Gibbon, that he will be very happy to have an opportunity of shewing him every civility, if curiosity, or other motives, should bring him to Cambridge. Dr. Watson can have some faint idea of Mr. Gibbon's difficulty in resisting the temptation he speaks of, from having been of late in a situation somewhat similar himself. It would be very extraordinary, if Mr. Gibbon did not feel a parent's partiality for an offspring which has justly excited the admiration of all who have seen it; and Dr. Watson would be the last person in the world to wish him to suppress any explanation which might tend to exalt its merits.

N° LXXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

ALMACK's, November 7th, 1776.

LETTERS from Burgoyne. They embarked on the Lakes the thirtieth of September, with eight hundred British sailors, six thousand regulars, and a naval force superior to any possible opposition: but the season was so far advanced, that they expected only to occupy and strengthen Ticonderoga, and afterwards to return and take

take up their winter quarters in Canada. Yeſterday we had a ſurprize in the Houſe, from a proclamation of the Howes, which made its firſt appearance in the Morning Poſt, and which nobody ſeems to underſtand. By this time, my Lady may ſee that I have not much reaſon to fear my antagoniſts. Adieu, till next Thurſday.

N° LXXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

Friday Evening, November 22d.

NEWS from the Lakes. A naval combat, in which the Provincials were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. They burnt and abandoned Crown Point. Carleton is beſieging Ticonderago. Carleton, I ſay; for he is there, and it is apprehended that Burgoyne is coming home. We diſmiſſed the Nabobs without a diviſion. Burke and the Attorney General ſpoke very well. Adieu.

N° LXXXVI.

The Same to the Same.

BENTINCK-STREET, January 18th, 1777.

AS I preſume, my Lady does not make a practice of tumbling down ſtairs every day after dinner, by this time the colours muſt have faded, and the high places (I mean the temples) are reduced to a proper level. But what, in the name of the great prince, is the meaning of her declining the Urban expedition? Is it the ſpontaneous reſult of her own proud ſpirit? or does it proceed from

from the ſecret machinations of her domeſtic tyrant? At all events, I expect you will both remember your engagement of next Saturday in Bentinck-ſtreet, with Donna Catherina, the Mountaineer†, &c. Things go on very proſperouſly in America. Howe is himſelf in the Jerſeys, and will puſh at leaſt as far as the Delawar River The continental (perhaps *now* the rebel) army is in a great meaſure diſperſed, and Waſhington, who wiſhes to cover Philadelphia, has not more than ſix or ſeven thouſand men with him. Clinton deſigns to conquer Rhode Iſland in his way home. But, what *I* think of much greater conſequence, a province made its ſubmiſſion, and deſired to be reinſtated in the peace of the King. It is indeed only poor little Georgia; and the application was made to Governor Tonyn of Florida. Some diſguſt at a violent ſtep of the Congreſs, who removed the Preſident of their Provincial Aſſembly, a leading and popular man, cooperated with the fear of the Indians, who began to amuſe themſelves with the exerciſe of ſcalping on their Back Settlements. Town fills, and we are mighty agreeable. Laſt year, on the Queen's birth day, Sir G. Warren had his diamond ſtar cut off his coat; this day the ſame accident happened to him again, with another ſtar worth ſeven hundred pounds. He had better compound by the year. Adieu.

† The Honourable General Simon Fraſer.

N° LXXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

ALMACK's, Wednesday Evening.

IN obedience to thy dread commands I write.

But what shall I say? My life, though more lively than yours, is almost as uniform. A very little reading and writing in the morning, bones or guts † from two to four, pleasant dinners from five to eight, and afterwards clubs, with an occasional assembly, or supper. America affords nothing very satisfactory; though we have many flying reports, you may be sure that we are ignorant of the consequences of Trenton, &c. Charles Fox is now at my elbow, declaiming on the impossibility of keeping America, since a victorious army has been unable to maintain any extent of posts in the single province of Jersey. Lord North is out of danger (we trembled for his important existence). I now expect that my Lady and you should fix the time for the promised visitation to Bentinck-street. March and April are open, chuse. Adieu.

N° LXXXVIII.

The Same to the Same.

1777.

YOU deserve, and we exult in your weather and disappointments. Why would you bury yourself? I dined in Downing-street Thursday last; and I think Wedderburne was at least as agreeable a companion as your timber-surveyor could be. Lee is certainly taken, but Lord North does not apprehend he is coming home. We are

† Mr. Gibbon at this time attended Dr. Hunter's Anatomical Lectures.

are not clear whether he behaved with courage or puſillanimity when he ſurrendered himſelf; but Colonel Keene told me to-day, that he had ſeen a letter from Lee ſince his confinement. "He imputes his being taken, to the "alertneſs of Harcourt, and cowardice of his own guard; "hopes he ſhall meet his fate with fortitude; but laments "that freedom is not likely to find a reſting-place in any "part of the globe." It is ſaid, he was to ſucceed Waſhington. We know nothing certain of the Heſſians; but there has been a *blow*. Adieu.

N° LXXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Night, April 12th, 1777.

YOUR diſpatch is gone to * * *, and I flatter myſelf that by your aſſiſtance I ſhall be enabled to loſe a thouſand pounds upon Lenborough before I return from Paris. The day of my departure is not abſolutely fixed; Sunday ſeven-night, the twenty-ſeventh inſtant, is talked of: But if any India buſineſs ſhould come on after the Civil Liſt, it will occaſion ſome delay, otherwiſe things are in great forwardneſs. Mrs. Gibbon is an enemy to the whole plan; and I muſt anſwer, in a long letter, two very ingenious objections which ſhe has ſtarted. 1ſt, That I ſhall be confined, or put to death by the prieſts, and, 2dly, That I ſhall fully my *moral* character, by making love to Necker's wife. Before I go, I will conſult Newton, about a power of attorney for you. By the bye, I wiſh you would remember a ſort of promiſe, and give me one day before I go. We talk chiefly of the Marquis de la Fayette, who was here a few weeks ago. He is about twenty, with an hundred and thirty thouſand livres a year; the nephew of Noailles, who is ambaſſador here. He has bought the Duke of Kingſton's yatch, and is gone to join the Americans. The Court *appear* to be angry with him. Adieu.

N° XC.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

ATWOOD'S, Saturday Night, April 19th, 1777.

IT is not possible as yet to fix the day of my departure. That circumstance depends on the state of India, and will not be determined till the General Court of next Wednesday. I know from the *first* authority, if the violence of the Proprietors about the Pigot, can be checked in the India-house by the influence of a Government majority, the Minister does not wish to exert the omnipotence of Parliament; and I shall be dismissed from hence time enough to set forwards on Thursday the first of May. On the contrary, should we be involved in those perplexing affairs, they may easily detain me till the middle of next month. But as all this is very uncertain, I direct you and my Lady to appear in town to-morrow seven-night. I have many things to say. We have been animated this week, and, notwithstanding the strict œconomy recommended by Charles Fox and John Wilkes, we have paid the Royal debts. Adieu.

N° XCI.

The Same to the Same.

Monday Night, April 21st, 1777.

BAD news from Hampshire.———Support Hugonia, comfort me; correct or expel * * * *; sell Lenborough, and remove my temporal cares. When do you arrive?

N° XCII.

The Same to the Same.

Wedneſday Night, April 23d, 1777.

IT is uncertain whether India comes to Weſtminſter this year, and it is certain that Gibbon goes to Paris next Saturday ſeven-night. Therefore Holroyd muſt appear in town the beginning of next week. Gibbon wants the cordial of his preſence before the journey. My Lady *muſt* come.

N° XCIII.

The Same to the Same.

Dover, Tueſday Evening, May 6th, 1777.

MY expedition does not begin very auſpiciouſly. The wind, which for ſome days had been fair, paid me the compliment of changing on my arrival; and, though I immediately ſecured a veſſel, it has been impoſſible to make the leaſt uſe of it during the whole courſe of this tedious day. It ſeems doubtful, whether I ſhall get out to-morrow morning; and the Captain aſſures me, that the paſſage will have the double advantage of being both cold and rough. Laſt night a ſmall privateer, fitted out at Dunkirk, with a commiſſion from Dr. Franklin, attacked, took, and carried into Dunkirk Road, the Harwich Packet. The King's meſſenger had juſt time to throw his diſpatches over-board. He paſſed through this town about four o'clock this afternoon, in his return to London. As the alarm is now given, our American friend will probably remain quiet, or will be ſoon caught; ſo that I have not

much apprehenſion for my perſonal ſafety; but if ſo daring an outrage is not followed by puniſhment and reſtitution, it may become a very ſerious buſineſs, and may poſſibly ſhorten my ſtay at Paris.

Adieu. I ſhall write by the firſt opportunity, either from Calais or Philadelphia.

N° XCIV.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* HOLROYD.

CALAIS, Wedneſday, May 7th, 1777.

POST nubila Phœbus. A pleaſant paſſage, an excellent houſe, a good dinner with Lord * * * *, whom I found here. Eaſy Cuſtom-houſe officers, fine weather, &c. I am detained to-night by the temptation of a French comedy, in a theatre at the end of Deſſein's garden; but ſhall be in motion to-morrow early, and hope to dine at Paris Saturday. Adieu. I think I am a punctual correſpondent; but this beginning is too good to laſt.

N° XCV.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, COLLEGE of EDINBURGH, June 5th, 1777.

I HAVE deſired Mr. Strahan to take the liberty of ſending you, in my name, a copy of the Hiſtory of America, which I hope you will do me the honour of accepting, as a teſtimony, not only of my reſpect, but of my gratitude, for the inſtruction which I have received

from

from your writings, as well as the credit you have done me, by the most obliging manner in which you have mentioned my name. I wish the present work may not diminish sentiments so flattering to me. I have taken much pains to obtain the approbation of those whose good opinion one ought to be solicitous to secure, and I trust that my industry at least will be applauded.

An unlucky indisposition prevented me from executing a scheme which I had formed, of passing two months of last spring in London. The honour of being made known to you, was one of the pleasures with which I had flattered myself. But I hope to be more fortunate next year; and beg that you will believe that I am, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

N° XCVI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* ROBERTSON.

SIR, PARIS, 1777.

WHEN I ventured to assume the character of Historian, the first, most natural, but at the same time the most ambitious, wish which I entertained, was to obtain the approbation of Dr. Robertson and of Mr. Hume; two names which friendship united, and which posterity will never separate. I shall not therefore attempt to dissemble, though I cannot easily express, the pleasure which I received from your most valuable present. The satisfaction which I should otherwise have enjoyed, in common with the public, will now be heightened by a sentiment of a more personal and flattering nature; and I shall frequently whisper to myself, that I have in some measure deserved the esteem of the writer whom I admire.

A ſhort excurſion which I have made to this place, during the ſummer months, has occaſioned ſome delay in my receiving your letter, and will prevent my poſſeſſing, till my return, the copy of your Hiſtory, which you ſo politely deſired Mr. Strahan to ſend me. But I have already gratified the eagerneſs of my impatience; and although I was obliged to return the book much ſooner than I could have wiſhed, I have ſeen enough to convince me, that the preſent publication will ſupport, and, if poſſible, will extend the fame of the Author; that the materials are collected with diligence, and arranged with ſkill; that the firſt book contains a learned and ſatisfactory account of the progreſs of diſcovery; that the atchievements, the dangers, and the crimes, of the Spaniſh adventurers are related with a temperate ſpirit; and that the moſt original, perhaps the moſt curious, portion of the hiſtory of human manners is at length reſcued from the hands of ſophiſts and declaimers. Lord Stormont and the few in this Capital, who have had an opportunity of peruſing the Hiſtory of America, unanimouſly concur in the ſame ſentiments. Your work is already become a favourite topic of public converſation; and Mr. Suard is repeatedly preſſed, in my hearing, to fix the time when his tranſlation will appear.

I flatter myſelf you will not abandon your deſign of viſiting London next winter; as I already anticipate, in my own mind, the advantages which I ſhall derive from ſo pleaſing and ſo honourable a connection. In the mean while, I ſhould eſteem myſelf happy, if you could think of any literary commiſſion, in the execution of which I might be uſeful to you at Paris, where I propoſe to ſtay till very near the meeting of Parliament. Let me, for inſtance, ſuggeſt an enquiry, which cannot be indifferent to you, and which might perhaps be within my reach. A few days ago I dined with Bagniouſky, the famous adventurer, who eſcaped from his exile at Kamſchatſka, and returned into Europe by Japan and China. His narrative was amuſing, though I know not how far his veracity,

city, in point of circumſtances, may ſafely be truſted. It was his original deſign to penetrate through the North Eaſt paſſage; and he actually followed the coaſt of Aſia as high as the latitude of 67° 35′, till his progreſs was ſtopped by the ice, in the Streight between the two Continents, which was only ſeven leagues broad. Thence he deſcended along the coaſt of America, as low as Cape Mendocin; but was repulſed by contrary winds, in his attempts to reach the port of Acapulco. The Journal of his Voyage, with his original Charts, is now at Verſailles, in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangers*; and if you conceived that it would be of any uſe to you for a ſecond edition, I would try what might be obtained; though I am not ignorant of the mean jealouſy which you yourſelf have experienced, and ſo deſervedly ſtigmatiſed. I am, &c.

N° XCVII.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR,

I HAD the honour of your obliging Letter, and I ſhould be a very proud man indeed, if I were not vain of the approbation which you are pleaſed to beſtow upon me. As you will now have had an opportunity to peruſe the book, which you had only ſeen when you wrote to me, I indulge myſelf in the hopes, that the favourable opinion you had formed of it, is not diminiſhed. I am much pleaſed with your mentioning my friendſhip with Mr. Hume; I have always conſidered that as one of the moſt fortunate and honourable circumſtances of my life. It is a felicity of the age and country in which we live, that men of letters can enter the ſame walk of ſcience, and go on ſucceſsfully, without feeling one ſentiment of

envy

envy or rivalſhip. In the intercourſe between Mr. Hume and me, we always found *ſomething to blame*, as well as *ſomethtng to commend*. I have received frequently very valuable criticiſms on my performances from him; and I have ſometimes ventured to offer him my ſtrictures on his works. Permit me to hope for the ſame indulgence from you. If, in reading the Hiſtory of America, any thing, either in the matter or ſtyle, has occurred to you as reprehenſible, I will deem it a moſt obliging favour if you will communicate it freely to me. I am certain of profiting by ſuch a communication.

I return you thanks for your frank offer of executing any literary commiſſion for me. I accept of it without ceremony, and am flattered with the idea of receiving ſuch aid from your hands. I know nothing of Bagnioufki's Adventures, but what was publiſhed in ſome Newſpaper. If one can rely on his veracity, what he relates muſt be very intereſting to me. If you had been writing the Hiſtory of America, the queſtion concerning the mode of peopling it, might not perhaps have occupied your attention very much. But it was proper for me to conſider it more fully. Bagnioufki (if he may be credited) has ſeen what it may be uſeful for me to know. I can ſee no reaſon why the Court of France ſhould be ſhy about communicating his Journal, and the Charts which illuſtrate it; poſſibly my name may operate ſomewhat towards obtaining a copy of both; your interpoſition, I am confident, will do a great deal. It will be very illiberal, indeed, if ſuch a communication were refuſed. My Lord Stormont (by whoſe attention I have been much honoured) would not decline to give his aid, were that neceſſary. But if your Court reſembles that of Spain, I am afraid every propoſal from an ambaſſador is received with ſome degree of jealouſy. Your own private application will, I apprehend, be more effectual. As it is probable that a ſecond edition may go to preſs early in the winter, it will add to the favour, if you can ſoon inform me concerning the

ſucceſs

ſucceſs of your negociation. As this is ſomething in the ſtyle of the *Corps Diplomatique*, allow me to recommend one of its members to you. Mr. Fullarton, the new ſecretary of the embaſſy, is a particular friend of mine. He is a young man of ſuch qualities both of head and heart, that I am ſure you will eſteem and love him. Pleaſe remember me to him. I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,

Your obliged humble ſervant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° XCVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

Paris, June 16th, 1777.

I TOLD you what would infallibly happen, and you know enough of the nature of the beaſt not to be ſurpriſed at it. I have now been at Paris exactly five weeks; during which time I have not written to any perſon whatſoever within the Britiſh dominions, except two lines of notification to Mrs. Gibbon. The dæmon of procraſtination has at length yielded to the genius of friendſhip, aſſiſted indeed by the powers of fear and ſhame. But when I have ſeated myſelf before a table, and begin to revolve all that I have ſeen and taſted during this buſy period, I feel myſelf oppreſſed and confounded; and I am very near throwing away the pen, and reſigning myſelf to indolent deſpair. A complete hiſtory would require a volume, at leaſt, as corpulent as the Decline and Fall; and if I attempt to ſelect and abridge, beſides the difficulty of the choice, there occur ſo many things which cannot properly be entruſted to paper, and ſo many others of too ſlight a texture to ſupport the journey, that I am almoſt tempted to reſerve for our future converſations the detail of my pleaſures and occupations. But as I am ſenſible that you are *rigid* and impatient, I will try to convey, in a few words, a general idea of my ſituation as a man of the

the world, and as a man of letters. You remember that the Neckers were my principal dependence; and the reception which I have met with from them very far surpaſſed my moſt ſanguine expectations. I do not indeed lodge in their houſe, (as it might excite the jealouſy of the huſband, and procure me a lettre de cachet,) but I live very much with them, and dine and ſup whenever they have company, which is almoſt every day, and whenever I like it, for they are not in the leaſt *exigeans*. Mr. Walpole gave me an introduction to Madame du Deffand, an agreeable young lady of eighty-two years of age, who has conſtant ſuppers, and the beſt company in Paris. When you ſee the Duke of Richmond, he will give you an account of that houſe, where I meet him almoſt every evening. Aſk him about Madame de Cambis. I have met the Duke of Choiſeul at his particular requeſt, dined by *accident* with Franklin, converſed with the Emperor, been preſented at court, and gradually, or rather rapidly, I find my acquaintance ſpreading over the moſt valuable parts of Paris. They pretend to like me, and whatever you may think of French profeſſions, I am convinced that ſome at leaſt are ſincere. On the other hand, I feel myſelf eaſy and happy in their company, and only regret that I did not come over two or three months ſooner. Though Paris throughout the ſummer promiſes me a very agreeable ſociety, yet I am hurt every day by the departure of men and women whom I begin to know with ſome familiarity, the departure of officers for their governments and garriſons, of biſhops for their dioceſes, and even of country gentlemen for their eſtates, as a rural taſte gains ground in this country. So much for the general idea of my acquaintance; details would be endleſs, yet unſatisfactory. You may add, to the pleaſures of ſociety thoſe of the ſpectacles and promenades, and you will find that I lead a very agreeable life; let me juſt condeſcend to obſerve, that it is not extravagant. After decking myſelf out with ſilks and ſilver, the ordinary eſtabliſhment of coach,

coach, lodging, servants, eating, and pocket expences, does not exceed sixty pounds *per* month. Yet I have two footmen in handsome liveries behind my coach, and my apartment is hung with damask. Adieu for the present: I have more to say, but were I to attempt any farther progress, you must wait another post; and you have already waited long enough, of all conscience.

Let me just in two words give you an idea of my day. I am just now going (nine o'clock) to the King's library, where I shall stay till twelve; as soon as I am dressed, I set out to dine with the Duke de Nivernois; shall go from thence to the French comedy, into the Princess de Beauveau's loge grillée, and cannot quite determine whether I shall sup at Madame du Deffand's, Madame Necker's, or the Sardinian Ambassadress's. Once more adieu.

I embrace my Lady and *Bambini*. I shall with cheerfulness execute any of her commissions.

N° XCIX.

Edward Gibbon *Esquire to* J. Holroyd *Esquire*.

Paris, August 13, 1777.

WELL, and who is the culprit now?—Thus far had I written in the pride of my heart, and fully determined to inflict an epistle upon you, even before I received any answer to my former; I was very near a bull. But this forward half line lay ten days barren and inactive, till its generative powers were excited by the missive which I received yesterday. What a wretched piece of work do we seem to be making of it in America? The greatest force which any European power ever ventured to transport into that continent, is not strong enough even to attack the enemy; the naval strength of Great Britain is not sufficient to prevent the Americans (they have almost lost the appellation of Rebels) from receiving every assistance that they wanted; and in the mean time you are obliged to call out the militia to defend your own coasts against

againſt their privateers. You poſſibly may expect from me ſome account of the deſigns and policy of the French court, but I chooſe to decline that taſk for two reaſons: 1ſt, Becauſe you may find them laid open in every newſpaper; and 2dly, Becauſe I live too much with their courtiers and miniſters to know any thing about them. I ſhall only ſay, that I am not under any immediate apprehenſions of a war with France. It is much more pleaſant as well as profitable to view in ſafety the raging of the tempeſt, occaſionally to pick up ſome pieces of the wreck, and to improve their trade, their agriculture, and their finances, while the two countries are *lento colliſa duello*. Far from taking any ſtep to put a ſpeedy end to this aſtoniſhing diſpute, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if next ſummer they were to lend their cordial aſſiſtance to England, as to the weaker party. As to my perſonal engagement with the D. of R. I recollect a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, but nothing that deſerves the name of a general engagement. The extravagance of ſome diſputants, both French and Engliſh, who have eſpouſed the cauſe of America, ſome times inſpires me with an extraordinary vigour. Upon the whole, I find it much eaſier to defend the juſtice than the policy of our meaſures; but there are certain caſes, where whatever is repugnant to ſound policy ceaſes to be juſt.

The more I ſee of Paris, the more I like it. The regular courſe of ſociety in which I live is eaſy, polite, and entertaining; and almoſt every day is marked by the acquiſition of ſome new acquaintance, who is worth cultivating, or who, at leaſt, is worth remembering. To the great admiration of the French, I regularly dine and regularly ſup, drink a diſh of ſtrong coffee after each meal, and find my ſtomach a citizen of the world. The ſpectacles, (particularly the Italian, and above all the French Comedies) which are open the whole ſummer, afford me an agreeable relaxation from company; and to ſhew you that I frequent them from taſte, and not from idleneſs,

idleneſs, I have not yet ſeen the Coliſee, the Vauxhall, the Boulvards, or any of thoſe places of entertainment which conſtitute Paris to moſt of our countrymen. Occaſional trips to dine or ſup in ſome of the thouſand country-houſes which are ſcattered round the environs of Paris, ſerve to vary the ſcene. In the mean while the ſummer inſenſibly glides away, and the fatal month of October approaches, when I muſt change the houſe of Madame Necker for the Houſe of Commons. I regret that I could not chooſe the winter, inſtead of the ſummer, for this excurſion: I ſhould have found many valuable perſons, and ſhould have preſerved many others whom I have loſt as I began to know them. The Duke de Choiſeul, who deſerves attention both for himſelf, and for keeping the beſt houſe in Paris, paſſes ſeven months of the year in Touraine; and though I have been tempted, I conſider with horror a journey of ſixty leagues into the country. The Princeſs of Beauveau, who is a moſt ſuperior woman, has been abſent above ſix weeks, and does not return till the 24th of this month. A large body of recruits will be aſſembled by the Fontainbleau journey; but in order to have a thorough knowledge of this ſplendid country, I ought to ſtay till the month of January; and if I could be ſure that Oppoſition would be as tranquil as they were laſt year— I think your life has been as animated, or, at leaſt, as tumultuous, and I envy you Lady Payne, &c. much more than either the Primate, or the Chief-juſtice. Let not the generous breaſt of my Lady be torn by the black ſerpents of envy. She ſtill poſſeſſes the firſt place in the ſentiments of her ſlave: but the adventure of the fan was a mere accident, owing to Lord Carmarthen. Adieu. I think you may be ſatisfied. I ſay nothing of my terreſtrial affairs.

N° C.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

BENTINCK-STREET, Saturday, November, 1777.

HAD you four horns as well as four eyes and four hands, I should still maintain that you are the most unreasonable monster in the creation. My pain is lively, my weakness excessive, the season cold, and only twelve days remain to the meeting. Far from thinking of trips into the country, I shall be well satisfied if I am on my legs the 20th, in the medical sense of the word. At present I am a corpse, carried about by four arms which do not belong to me. Yet I try to smile: I salute the hen and chickens. Adieu. Writing is really painful.

N° CI.

The Same to the Same.

Friday, November 14th, 1777.

I DO not like this disorder on your eyes: and when I consider your temperance and activity, I cannot understand why any spring of the machine should ever be deranged. With regard to myself, the gout has behaved in a very honourable manner; after a complete conquest, and after making me feel his power for some days, the generous enemy has disdained to abuse his victory, or to torment any longer an unresisting victim. He has already ceased to torture the lower extremities of your humble servant; the swelling is so amazingly diminished, that they are no longer above twice their ordinary size. Yesterday I moved about the room with the laborious majesty of

of crutches; to-day I have exchanged them for a ſtick; and by the beginning of next week, I hope, with due precaution, to take the air, and to inure myſelf for the intereſting repreſentation of Thurſday. How curſedly unlucky; I wanted to ſee you both: a thouſand things to ſay and hear, and every thing of that kind broken to pieces. If you are not able to come to Bentinck-ſtreet, I muſt contrive to ſteal three or four vacant days during the ſeſſion, and run down to Sheffield. The town fills, and I begin to have numerous levees, and couchees; more properly the latter. We are ſtill in expectation, but in the mean while we believe (I mean miniſters), that the news of Howe's victory and the taking of Philadelphia are true.

N° CII.

The Same to the Same.

December 2d, 1777.

BY the incloſed you will ſee that America is not *yet* conquered. Oppoſition are very lively; and, though in the Houſe we keep our numbers, there ſeems to be an univerſal deſire of peace, even on the moſt humble conditions. Are you ſtill fierce?

N° CIII.

The Same to the Same.

Monday Night, December, 1777.

I CONGRATULATE your noble firmneſs, as I ſuppoſe it muſt ariſe from the knowledge of ſome hidden reſources, which will enable us to open the next campaign with new armies of fifty or ſixty thouſand men. But I believe you will find yourſelf obliged to carry on this

this glorious war almoſt alone. It would be idle to diſpute any more about politics, as we ſhall ſoon have an opportunity of a perſonal combat. Your journey gives me ſome hopes that you have not entirely loſt your reaſon. Your bed ſhall be ready.

N° CIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Thurſday, Dec. 4, 1778.

DREADFUL news indeed! You will ſee them partly in the papers, and we have not yet any particulars. An Engliſh army of nearly ten thouſand men laid down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war, on condition of being ſent to England, and of never ſerving againſt America. They had fought bravely, and were three days without eating. Burgoyne is ſaid to have received three wounds. General Fraſer, with two thouſand men, killed. Colonel Ackland likewiſe killed. A general cry for peace. Adieu. We have conſtant late days.

N° CV.

The Same to the Same.

February 28, 1778.

* * * * * * * * * As to politics, we ſhould eaſily fill pages, and therefore had better be ſilent. You are miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the bills are oppoſed; ſome particular objections have been ſtated, aud in the *only* diviſion I voted with government.

N° CVI.

The Same to the Same.

February 23d, 1778.

YOU do not readily believe in præternatural miscarriages of letters; nor I neither. Listen, however, to a plain and honest narrative. This morning after breakfast, as I was ruminating on *your* silence, Thomas, my new footman, with confusion in his looks, and stammering on his tongue, produced a letter reasonably soiled, which he was to have brought me the day of his arrival, and which had lain that time in his pocket. To shorten as much as possible the continuance, I immediately enquired, whether any method of conveyance could be devised more expeditious than the post, and was fortunately informed of your coachman's intentions. You probably know the heads of the plan; an Act of Parliament to declare, that we never *had* any intention of taxing America: another Act, to empower Crown to name Commissioners, authorised to suspend hostilities by sea and land, as well as all obnoxious Acts; and, in short, to grant every thing, except independence. Opposition, after expressing their doubts whether the lance of Achilles could cure the wound which it had inflicted, could not refuse their assent to the principles of conduct which they themselves had always recommended. Yet you must acknowlege, that in a business of this magnitude there may arise several important questions, which, without a spirit of faction, will deserve to be debated: whether Parliament ought not to name the Commissioners? whether it would not be better to repeal the obnoxious Acts ourselves? I do not find that the world; that is, a few people whom I happen to converse with; are much inclined to praise Lord N.'s ductility of temper. In the service of next Friday, you will, however, take notice of the injunction given by the Liturgy:

Liturgy : "And all the People ſhall ſay after the *Miniſter*, "Turn us again, O Lord, and ſo ſhall we be turned." While we conſider whether we ſhall negociate, I fear the French have been more diligent. It is poſitively aſſerted, both in private and in Parliament, and not contradicted by the Miniſters, that on the 5th of this month a Treaty of Commerce (which naturally leads to a war) was ſigned at Paris with the independent States of America. Yet there ſtill remains a hope that England may obtain the preference. The two greateſt countries in Europe are fairly running a race for the favour of America. Adieu.

N CVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

ALMACK's, Saturday Night, March 21ſt, 1778.

AS buſineſs thickens, and you may expect me to write ſometimes, I ſhall lay down one rule; totally to avoid political argument, conjecture, lamentation, declamation, &c. which would fill pages, not to ſay volumes; and to confine myſelf to ſhort, authentic pieces of intelligence, for which I may be able to afford moments and lines. Hear then—The French Ambaſſador went off yeſterday morning, not without ſome ſlight expreſſions of ill humour from John Bull. Lord Stormont is probably arrived to-day. No *immediate* declaration, except on our ſide. A report (but vague) of an action in the Bay, between La Motte Piquet and Digby; the former has five ſhips and three frigates, with three large ſtore ſhips under convoy; the latter has eleven ſhips of the line. If the Frenchman ſhould fail to the mouth of the Delawar, he may poſſibly be followed and ſhut up. When Franklin was received at Verſailles, Deane went in the ſame character to Vienna, and Arthur Lee to Madrid. Notwithſtanding the reports of an action in Sileſia, they ſubſide; and I have ſeen a letter from Eliot at Berlin

of

of the tenth inſtant, without any mention of actual hoſtilities, and even ſpeaking of the impending war as not abſolutely inevitable. Laſt Tueſday the firſt payment of the loan of ſix hundred thouſand pounds was certainly made; and as it would otherwiſe be forfeited, it is a ſecurity for the remainder. I have not yet got the intelligence you want about former prices of ſtock in critical times. There are ſurely ſuch. *Dixi. Vale.* Send me ſome good news from Bucks; in ſpite of the war, I muſt ſell. We want you in town. Simon Fraſer is impatient: but if you come without my Lady, every door will be ſhut.

N° CVIII.

The Same to the Same.

ALMACK's, Friday, June 12th, 1778.

* * * *'s Letter gave me that ſort of ſatisfaction which one may receive from a good phyſician, who, after a careful examination, pronounces your caſe incurable. But no more of that. I take up the pen, as I ſuppoſe by this time you begin to ſwear at my ſilence. Yet literally (a bull) I have not a word to ſay. Since D'Eſtaing's fleet has paſſed through the Gut (I leave you to gueſs where it muſt have got out) it has been totally forgotten, and the moſt wonderful lethargy and oblivion, of war and peace, of Europe and of America, ſeems to prevail. Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and Government ingeniouſly contrived to ſecure the double odium of ſuffering the thing to be done, and of doing it with a good grace. Their chief converſation at Almack's is about tents, drill-ſerjeants, diviſions, firings, &c. and I am revered as a veteran. Adieu. When do you return? If it ſuits your evolutions, aunt Kitty and myſelf meditate a Suſſex journey next week, I embrace my Lady.

N° CIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

Wednesday Evening, July 1st, 1778.

YOUR plan of operations is clear and distinct; yet, notwithstanding your zeal, and the ideas of ducal discipline, I think you will be more and longer at Sheffield-Place than you imagine. However, I am disposed to advance my journey as much as possible. I want to see you; my martial ardour makes me look to Coxheath, necessity obliges me to think of Beriton, and I feel something of a very new inclination to taste the sweets of the country. Aunt Kitty shares the same sentiments; but various obstacles will not allow us to be with you before Saturday, or perhaps Sunday evening; I say *evening*, as we mean to take the cool part of the day, and shall probably arrive after supper. Keppel's return has occasioned infinite and inexpressible consternation, which gradually changes into discontent against him. He is ordered out again with three or four large ships; two of ninety, two of seventy-four, and the fiftieth regiment as marines. In the mean time the French, with a superior fleet, are masters of the sea; and our out-ward bound East and West India trade is in the most imminent danger. Adieu.

N° CX.

The Same to the Same.

BENTINCK-STREET, July 7th, 1778.

EXPECT me —— when you see me; and do not regulate your active motions by my uncertainty. Saturday is impossible. The most probable days are, Tuesday or Friday. I live not unpleasantly, in a round of ministerial

miniſterial dinners; but I am rather impatient to ſee my white houſe at Brighton. I cannot find that Sheffield has the ſame attractions for you*. Lord North, as a mark of his gratitude, obſerved the other day, that your regiment would make a very good figure in North Carolina. Adieu. I wrote two lines to Mitchel, leſt he ſhould think me dead.

N° CXI.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Night, September 25th, 1778.

NO news from the fleets; we are ſo tired of waiting, that our impatience ſeems gradually to ſubſide into a careleſs and ſupine indifference. We ſometimes yawn, and aſk, juſt by way of converſation, Whether Spain will join? I believe you may depend on the truth, not the ſincerity, of an anſwer from their Court, that they will not ſupport or acknowledge the independence of the Americans. But on the other hand, magazines are forming, troops marching, in a ſtile which threatens Gibraltar. Gib is, however, a hard morſel; five thouſand effectives, and every article of defence in the moſt complete ſtate. We are certainly courting Ruſſia. So much for the Republic. Adieu.

N° CXII.

The Same to the Same.

Tueſday Night, November 1778.

YOU ſometimes complain that I do not ſend you early news; but you will now be ſatisfied with receiving a full and true account of all the parliamentary tranſactions of *next* Thurſday. In town we think it an excellent

* Mr. Holroyd was then in quarters at Brighthelmſtone.

piece of humour* (the author is Tickell). Burke and C. Fox are pleaſed with their own ſpeeches, but ſerious patriots groan that ſuch things ſhould be turned to farce. We ſeem to have a chance of an additional Dutch war: you may depend upon its being a very important buſineſs, from which we cannot extricate ourſelves without either loſs or ſhame. *Vale.*

N° CXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

ALMACK's, Wedneſday Evening, 1778.

I DELAYED writing, not ſo much through indolence, as becauſe I expected every poſt to hear from you. The ſtate of Beriton is uncertain, incomprehenſible, tremendous. It would be endleſs to ſend you the folios of Hugonin, but I have encloſed you one of his moſt pictureſque epiſtles, on which you may meditate. Few offers; one, promiſing enough, came from a gentleman at Camberwell, I detected him, with maſterly ſkill and diligence, to be only an attorney's Clerk, without money, credit, or experience. I have written as yet in vain to Sir John Shelley, about Hearſay; perhaps you might get intelligence. I much fear that the Beriton expedition is neceſſary; but it has occurred to me, that if *I met*, inſtead of *accompanying* you, it would ſave me a journey of above one hundred miles. That reflection led to another of a very impudent nature; *viz.* that if I did not accompany you, I certainly could be of no uſe to you or myſelf on the ſpot; that I had much rather, while you examined the premiſes, paſs the time in a horſe-pond; and that I had ſtill rather paſs it in my library with the Decline and Fall. But that would be an effort of friendſhip worthy of Theſeus

* The Title of the Pamphlet—*Anticipation*,

Theſeus or Perithous: modern times would hardly credit, much leſs imitate, ſuch exalted virtue. No news from America, yet there are people, large ones too, who talk of conquering it next ſummer with the help of twenty thouſand Ruſſians. I fancy you are better ſatisfied with private than public war. The Liſbon packet in coming home met forty of our privateers. Adieu. I hardly know whether I direct right to you, but I think Sheffield-Place the ſureſt.

N° CXIV.

Dr. WATSON (*now Biſhop of* Llandaff) *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, CAMBRIDGE, January 14th, 1779.

IT will give me the greateſt pleaſure to have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr. Gibbon. I beg he would accept my ſincere thanks for the too favourable manner in which he has ſpoken of a performance, which derives its chief merit from the elegance and importance of the work it attempts to oppoſe. I have no hope of a future exiſtence, except that which is grounded on the truth of Chriſtianity. I wiſh not to be deprived of this hope; but I ſhould be an apoſtate from the mild principle of the religion I profeſs, if I could be actuated with the leaſt animoſity againſt thoſe who do not think with me upon this, of all others, the moſt important ſubject. I beg your pardon for this declaration of my belief; but my temper is naturally open, and it ought aſſuredly to be without diſguiſe to a man whom I wiſh no longer to look upon as an antagoniſt, but as a friend. I have the honour to be, with every ſentiment of reſpect, your obliged ſervant,

RD. WATSON.

N° CXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

February 6th, 1779.

YOU are quiet and peaceable, and do not bark, as usual, at my silence. To reward you, I would send you some news; but we are asleep; no foreign intelligence, except the capture of a frigate; no certain account from the West Indies, and a dissolution of Parliament, which seems to have taken place since Christmas. In the papers you will see negociations, changes of departments, &c. and I have *some* reason to believe, that those reports are not entirely without foundation. Portsmouth is no longer an object of speculation; the whole stream of all men, and all parties, runs one way. Sir Hugh is disgraced, ruined, &c. &c.; and as an old wound has broken out again, they say he must have his leg cut off as soon as he has time. In a night or two we shall be in a blaze of illumination, from the zeal of naval heroes, land patriots, tallow-chandlers; the last are not the least sincere. I want to hear some details of your military and familiar proceedings. By your silence I suppose you admire Davis, and dislike my pamphlet; yet such is the public folly, that we have a second edition in the press: the fashionable style of the clergy, is to say they have not read it. If Maria does not take care, I shall write a much sharper invective against her, for *not* answering my diabolical book. My lady carried it down, with a solemn promise that I should receive an *unaffected* French letter. Yet I embrace the little animal, as well as my Lady, and the *pes altera Romæ*. Adieu.

There is a buz about a peace, and Spanish mediation.

N° CXVI.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, COLLEGE of EDINBURGH, March 10th, 1779.

I SHOULD have long since returned you thanks for the pamphlet you took the trouble of sending me. I hope you are not one of those who estimate kindness by punctuality in correspondence. I read your little performance with much eagerness, and some solicitude. The latter soon ceased. The tone you take with your adversary in this *impar congressus* appears to me perfectly proper; and, though I watched you with some attention, I have not observed any expression which I should, on your own account, wish to be altered. Davis's book never reached us here. Our distance from the Capital operates somewhat like time. Nothing but what has intrinsic value comes down to us. We hear sometimes of the worthless and vile things that float for a day on the stream, but we seldom see them. I am satisfied, however, that it was necessary for you to animadvert on a man who had brought accusations against you, which no gentleman can allow to be made without notice. I am persuaded, that the persons who instigated the man to such an illiberal attack, will now be ashamed of him. At the same time I applaud your resolution, of not degrading yourself by a second conflict, with such antagonists.

I am ashamed to tell you, how little I have done since I had the pleasure of seeing you. I have been prevented, partly by ill health, partly by causes which I shall explain when we meet: I hope that may be next spring. Believe me to be with great truth,

Your affectionate and faithful servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to* J. B. HOLROYD *Esquire.*

May 7th, 1779.

BY some of the strangest accidents, (Lord G. G's indiscretion, Rigby's boldness, &c.) which it would require ten pages to explain, our wise resolution of last Thursday is changed, and Lord Cornwallis will be examined; Sir William Howe's enquiry will proceed, and we shall be oppressed by the load of information. You have heard of the Jersey invasion; every body praises Arbuthnot's decided spirit. Conway went last night to throw himself into the island.

N° CXVIII.

The Same to the Same.

May, 1779.

ALAS! alas! fourteen ships of the line: you understand by this, that you have not got a single long-boat. Ministry are more crest-fallen than ever I knew them, with the last intelligence; and I am sorry to say, that I see a smile of triumph on some opposition faces. Though the business of the West Indies may still produce something, I am much afraid that we shall have a campaign of immense expence, and little or no action. The most busy scene is at present in the House of Commons; and we shall be involved, during a great part of next month, in tedious, fruitless, but, in my opinion, proper enquiries. You see how difficult it would be for me to visit Brighton; and I fancy I must content myself with receiving you on your passage to Ireland. Indeed, I much want to have a *very serious* conversation with you.

Another

Another reason, which must in a great measure pin me to Bentinck-street, is the Decline and Fall. I have resolved to bring out the *suite* in the course of next year; and, though I have been tolerably diligent, so much remains to be done, that I can hardly spare a single day from the shop. I can guess but one reason which should prevent you from supposing that the picture in Leicester Fields was intended for the Sheffield library; viz. my having told you some time ago that I was under a formal engagement to Mr. Walpole*. Probably I should not have been in any great hurry to execute my promise, if Mr. Cadell had not strenuously urged the curiosity of the Public, who may be willing to repay the exorbitant price of *fifty* guineas. It is now finished, and my friends say, that, in every sense of the word, it is a good head. Next week it will be given to Hall the engraver, and I promise you a first impression. Adieu. I embrace my Lady, and infants.

N° CXIX.

The Same to the Same.

1779.

WHEN do you come to town? You gave me hopes of a visit, and I want to talk over things in general with you, before you march to the extremities of the West, where the sun goes to sleep in the sea. Mrs. Trevor told me, your destination was Exeter†; and I suppose that nothing but truth can proceed from a pretty mouth.—I have been, and am still very diligent; and, though it is a huge beast, (the Roman Empire,) yet, if I am not mistaken, I see it move a little.—You seem surprised that I was able to get off Bath: very easily, the extreme shortness of our holidays was a fair excuse; her recovery of health, spirits, &c. made it less necessary, and

* The portrait, one of the best of Sir Joshua's, is in the library at Sheffield Place.

† With the Sussex Militia, of which Holroyd was Major.

and ſhe accepted my apology, which was however accompanied with an offer, if ſhe choſe it, in the prettieſt manner poſſible. A load of buſineſs in this Houſe, (I write from it,) will be the amuſement of the ſpring; motions, enquiries, taxes, &c. &c. We are now engaged in Lord Pigott's affair, brought on by a motion from the Admiral, that the Attorney General ſhould proſecute Mr. Stratton and Council; all the Maſters, Charles, Burke, Wedderburne, are of the ſame ſide, for it; Lord North ſeems to make a feeble ſtand, for the pleaſure of being in a minority. The day is hot and dull; will be long: ſome curious evidence; one man who refuſed three lacks of rupees, (thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds,) merely not to go to council; our mouths watered at ſuch royal corruption; how pitiful is our inſular bribery! A letter from aunt Heſter. Adieu.

N° CXX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to* J. HOLROYD *Eſquire.*

July 2, 1779.

THE incloſed will inform you of an event*, not the moſt diſagreeable of thoſe which I have lately experienced. I have only to add, that it was effected by the firm and ſincere friendſhip of the Attorney General. So many incidents have happened, that I hardly know how to talk of news. You will learn that the Lords have ſtrangely caſtrated the new Militia Bill. The Ferrol ſquadron, eight or nine ſhips, have joined the French. The numbers ſtand on our ſide thirty-two, on theirs thirty-ſeven; but our force is at leaſt equal, and the general conſternation much diſpelled. If you do not Hibernize, you might at leaſt Bentinckize. I embrace, &c. Parliament will be prorogued to-morrow.

* His appointment as Lord of Trade.

N° CXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, BENTINCK-STREET, September 17th, 1779.

I AM well and happy; two words which you will accept as the ſubſtance of a very long letter; and even as a ſufficient excuſe for a very long ſilence. Yet I really do intend to behave better; and to prevent the abominable conſequence of hours and days and poſts ſtealing away, till the ſum total amounts to a formidable account, I have a great mind to enter into an agreement, of ſending you regularly every month, a *miniature* picture of my actual ſtate and condition on the firſt day of the aforeſaid month.

I am glad to hear of the very beneficial effects you have derived from your recent friendſhip with the goats*; and as I cannot diſcover in what reſpect this poor country is more proſperous or ſecure than it was laſt year, I muſt conſider your preſent confidence as a proof that you view the proſpect through a purer medium, and a glaſs of a more cheerful colour. I find myſelf ſo much more ſuſceptible of private friendſhip than of public ſpirit, that I am very well ſatisfied with that concluſion. My ſummer has been paſſed in the town and neighbourhood, which I ſtill maintain to be the beſt ſociety, and the beſt retirement; the latter, however, has been ſometimes interrupted by the Colonel of Dragoons† with a train of ſerjeants, trumpets, recruits, &c. &c. My own time is much and agreeably employed in the proſecution of my buſineſs. After doing much more than I expected to have done within the time, I find myſelf much leſs advanced than I expected: yet I begin to reckon, and as well as I can calculate, I believe, that in twelve or fourteen months I ſhall be brought to-bed, perhaps of twins; may they live,

* At Abergavenny.

† Colonel Holroyd at that time was raiſing a regiment of Light Dragoons.

live, and prove as healthy as their eldeſt brother. With regard to the little foundling which ſo many friends or enemies choſe to lay at my door, I am perfectly innocent, even of the knowledge of that production; and all the faults or merits of the Hiſtory of Oppoſition muſt, as I am informed, be imputed to Macpherſon, the author or tranſlator of Fingal. Dear Madam, moſt truly yours.

N° CXXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Colonel* HOLROYD *at* Coventry.

LONDON, Monday, February 7th, 1780.

WHEN the Attorney General informed me of the expreſs he had juſt ſent down to Coventry, I had not the leaſt doubt of your embracing the bolder reſolution. You are indeed obliged to him for his real friendſhip, which he feels and expreſſes warmly; on this occaſion I hope it will be ſucceſsful, and that in a few days you will find yourſelf among us at St. Stephen's in the heat of the battle. But you know that I am a daſtardly, puſillanimous ſpirit, more inclined to fear than to hope, and not very eager in the purſuit of *expenſive* vanity. On this vacancy the celerity of your motions may probably prevent oppoſition; but at the general election your enemy the corporation will not be aſleep, and I wiſh, if it be not too late, to warn you againſt any promiſes or engagements which may terminate in a defeat, or at leaſt a conteſt of ten thouſand pounds. Adieu. I could believe (without ſeeing it under her paw) that my Lady wiſhes to leave Coventry. No news! foreign or domeſtic. I did not forget to mention the *companies*, but find people, as I expected, torpid. Burke makes his motion Friday; but I think the rumours of a civil war ſubſide every day: petitions are thought leſs formidable; and I hear your Suſſex proteſt gathers ſignatures in the country.

N° CXXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, BENTINCK-STREET, March 10th, 1780.

WHEN you awakened me with your pen, it was my intention to have shewn some signs of life by the next post. But so uncertain are all human affairs, that I found myself arrested by a mighty unrelenting tyrant, called the gout; and though my feet were the part on which he chose to exercise his cruelty, he left me neither strength nor spirits to use my hand in relating the melancholy tale. At present I have the pleasure of informing you, that the fever and inflammation have subsided: but the absolute weakness and monstrous swelling of my two feet confine me to my chair and flannels; and this confinement most unluckily happens at a very *nice* and important moment of parliamentary affairs. Col. H. pursues those affairs with eager and persevering zeal; and has the pleasure of undertaking more business than any three men could possibly execute. He is much obliged to you for your kind congratulation. Mrs. Eliot is in town; but I am quite ignorant (not more so than they are themselves) of their intentions. I will write again very soon. I am, dear Madam, most truly yours.

N° CXXIV.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR MADAM, June 6th, 1780.

AS the old story of religion has raised most *formidable* tumults in this town, and as they will of course seem much more formidable at the distance of an hundred miles, you may not be sorry to hear that I am perfectly safe

ſafe and well: my known attachment to the Proteſtant religion has moſt probably ſaved me. Meaſures, and effectual meaſures, are taken to ſuppreſs thoſe diſorders, and every ſtreet is filled with horſe and foot. Mrs. Holroyd went out of town yeſterday morning; the Colonel remains, and ſhews his uſual ſpirit. I am ſincerely yours.

N° CXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, LONDON, June 8th, 1780.

AS a Member of Parliament, I cannot be expoſed to any danger, as the Houſe of Commons has adjourned to Monday ſe'nnight; as an individual, I do not conceive myſelf to be obnoxious. I am not apt, without duty or neceſſity, to thruſt myſelf into a mob: and our part of the town is as quiet as a country village. So much for perſonal ſafety; but I cannot give the ſame aſſurances of public tranquillity: forty thouſand Puritans, ſuch as they might be in the time of Cromwell, have ſtarted out of their graves; the tumult has been dreadful; and even the remedy of military force and martial law is unpleaſant. But Government, with fifteen thouſand regulars in town, and every gentleman (but one) on their ſide, muſt extinguiſh the flame. The execution of laſt night was ſevere; perhaps it muſt be repeated to-night: yet, upon the whole, the tumult ſubſides. Colonel Holroyd was all laſt night in Holborn among the flames, with the Northumberland Militia, and performed very bold and able ſervice. I will write again in a poſt or two.

I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXXVI.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR MADAM, June 10th, 1780.

I SHOULD write with great pleasure, to say that this audacious tumult is perfectly quelled; that Lord George Gordon is sent to the Tower; and that, instead of safety or danger, we are now at leisure to think of justice: but I am now alarmed on your account, as we have just got a report, that a similar disorder has broken out at Bath. I shall be impatient to hear from you; but I flatter myself that your pretty town does not contain much of that scum which has boiled up to the surface in this huge cauldron. I am, dear Madam, most sincerely yours.

N° CXXVII.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR MADAM, BENTINCK-STREET, June 27th, 1780.

I BELIEVE we may now rejoice in our common security. All tumult has perfectly subsided, and we only think of the justice which must be properly and severely inflicted on such flagitious criminals. The measures of Government have been seasonable and vigorous; and even opposition has been forced to confess, that the military power was applied and regulated with the utmost propriety. Our danger is at an end, but our disgrace will be lasting, and the month of June 1780, will ever be marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism, which I had supposed to be extinct, but which actually subsists in Great Britain, perhaps beyond any other country in Europe. Our parliamentary work draws to a conclusion; and I am much more pleasingly, though laboriously, engaged in revising

and

and correcting for the preſs, the continuation of my Hiſtory, two volumes of which will actually appear next winter. This buſineſs fixes me to Bentinck-ſtreet more cloſely than any other part of my literary labour; as it is abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould be in the midſt of all the books which I have at any time uſed during the compoſition. But I feel a ſtrong deſire (irritated, like all other paſſions, by repeated obſtacles) to eſcape to Bath.

Dear Madam,

Moſt truly yours.

N° CXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Colonel* HOLROYD.

July 25th, 1780.

AS your motions are ſpontaneous, and the ſtations of the Lord Chief* unalterably fixed, I cannot perceive the neceſſity of your ſending or receiving intelligence. However, your commands are obeyed. You wiſh I would write, as a ſign of life. I am alive; but, as I am immerſed in the Decline and Fall, I ſhall only make the ſign. It is made. You may ſuppoſe that we are not pleaſed with the junction of the fleets; nor can an ounce of Weſt India loſs be compenſated by a pound of Eaſt India ſucceſs: but the circuit will roll down all the news and politics of London. I rejoice to hear that the Suſſex regiment of Dragoons † are ſuch well-diſciplined cannibals; but I want to know when the Chief cannibal will return to his den. It would ſuit me better that it ſhould happen ſoon. Adieu.

* Lord Mansfield, † Commanded by Colonel Holroyd.

N° CXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

BROOKES's, November 28th, 1780.

PERHAPS the Sheriffs*, the tools of your enemies, may venture to make a falſe and hoſtile return, on the preſumption that they ſhall have a whole year of impunity; and that the merits of your petition cannot be heard this ſeſſion. Some of your moſt reſpectable friends in the Houſe of Commons are reſolved, (if the return ſhould be ſuch,) to ſtate it forcibly as a ſpecial and extraordinary caſe; and to exert all proper ſtrength for bringing on the trial of your Petition without delay. The knowledge of ſuch a reſolution may awe the Sheriffs; and it may be prudent to admoniſh them of the *impending* danger, in the way that you judge moſt adviſeable. Adieu. God ſend you a good deliverance.

N° CXXX.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mrs.* GIBBON, Belvedere, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, BENTINCK-STREET, December 21ſt, 1780.

THE conſtant attendance on the Board of Trade almoſt every day this week, has obliged me to defer till next Monday a viſit of inclination and propriety to Lord Loughborough (at Mitcham, in Surry). I ſhall not return till Wedneſday or Thurſday; and, inſtead of my Chriſtmas, I ſhall eat my New-year's dinner, at the Belvedere, Bath. May that New Year prove fortunate to you, to me, and to this weary country, which is this day involved in a new war! I ſhall write again about the middle of next week, with a preciſe account of my

 motions.

* The Sheriffs of Coventry.

motions. I think the gallant Colonel, who is now Lord Sheffield, will ſucceed at Coventry; *perhaps* on the return, *certainly* on the petition. I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, BENTINCK-STREET, February 24th, 1781.

AS you have probably received my laſt letter of thirteen hundred pages*, I ſhall be very conciſe; read, judge, pronounce; and believe that I ſincerely agree with my friend Julian, in eſteeming the praiſe of thoſe only who will freely cenſure my defects. Next Thurſday I ſhall be delivered to the world, for whoſe inconſtant and malicious levity I am coolly but firmly prepared. Excuſe me to Sarah. I ſee more clearly than ever, the abſolute neceſſity of confining my preſents to my own family: *that*, and that only, is a determined line, and Lord S. is the firſt to approve his excluſion. He has a ſtrong aſſurance of ſucceſs, and ſome hopes of a ſpeedy deciſion. How ſuddenly your friend General Pierſon diſappeared! You thought him happy. What is happineſs! My dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXXXII.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, COLLEGE of EDINBURGH, May 14th, 1781.

I AM aſhamed of having deferred ſo long to thank you for the agreeable preſents of your two new volumes; but juſt as I had finiſhed the firſt reading of them, I was taken ill, and continued, for two or three weeks, nervous, deaf, and languid. I have now recovered as much ſpirit as

* Second and third volumes of the Decline and Fall.

as to tell you, with what perfect satisfaction I have not only perused, but studied, this part of your work. I knew enough of your talents and industry to expect a great deal, but you have gone far beyond my expectations. I can recollect no historical work from which I ever received so much instruction; and, when I consider in what a barren field you had to glean and pick up materials, I am truly astonished at the connected and interesting story you have formed. I like the style of these volumes better than that of the first; there is the same beauty, richness, and perspicuity of language, with less of that quaintness, into which your admiration of Tacitus sometimes seduced you. I am highly pleased with the reign of Julian. I was a little afraid that *you* might lean with some partiality towards him; but even bigots, I should think, must allow, that you have delineated his most singular character with a more masterly hand than it was ever touched before. You set me a reading his works, with which I was very slenderly acquainted; and I am struck with the felicity wherewith you have described the odd infusion of Heathen fanaticism and philosophical coxcombry, which mingled with the great qualities of a hero, and a genius. Your chapter concerning the pastoral nations is admirable; and, though I hold myself to be a tolerably good general historian, a great part of it was new to me. As soon as I have leisure, I purpose to trace you to your sources of information; and I have no doubt of finding you as exact there, as I have found you in other passages where I have made a scrutiny. It was always my idea that an historian should feel himself a witness giving evidence upon oath. I am glad to perceive by your minute scrupulosity, that your notions are the same. The last chapter in your work is the only one with which I am not entirely satisfied. I imagine you rather anticipate, in describing the jurisprudence and institutions of the Franks; and should think that the account of private war, ordeals, chivalry, &c. would have come in more in its place about the age

of Charlemagne, or later: but with reſpect to this, and ſome other petty criticiſms, I will have an opportunity of talking fully to you ſoon, as I propoſe ſetting out for London on Monday. I have, indeed, many things to ſay to you; and, as my ſtay in London is to be very ſhort, I ſhall hope to find your door (at which I will be very often) always open to me. I cannot conclude without approving of the caution with which the new volumes are written; I hope it will exempt you from the illiberal abuſe the firſt volume drew upon you. I ever am, yours, faithfully and affectionately,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CXXXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Lady* SHEFFIELD, *at* Sheffield-Place.

BENTINCK-STREET, Friday Evening, 10 o'clock, 1781.

OH, oh! I have given you the ſlip; ſaved thirty miles, by proceeding this day directly from Eartham to town, and am now *comfortably* ſeated in my library, in *my own* eaſy chair, and before *my* own fire; a ſtyle which you underſtand, though it is unintelligible to your Lord. The town is empty; but I am ſurrounded with a thouſand old acquaintance of all ages and characters, who are ready to anſwer a thouſand queſtions which I am impatient to aſk. I ſhall not eaſily be tired of their company; yet I ſtill remember, and will honourably execute, my promiſe of viſiting you at Brighton about the middle of next month. I have ſeen nobody, nor learned any thing, in four hours of a town life; but I can inform you, that Lady * * * * * is now the declared Miſtreſs of Prince Henry of Pruſſia, whom ſhe encountered at Spa; and that the Emperor has invited the amiable couple to paſs the winter at Vienna; fine encouragement for married women who behave themſelves properly. I ſpent a very

a very pleasant day in the little paradise of Eartham, and the hermit expressed a desire (no vulgar compliment) to see and to know Lord S. Adieu. I cordially embrace, &c.

N° CXXXIV.

Sir WILLIAM JONES *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, LAMB'S BUILDINGS, June 30th, 1781.

I HAVE more than once sought, without having been so fortunate as to obtain, a proper opportunity of thanking you very sincerely for the elegant compliment which you pay me, in a work abounding in elegance of all kinds.

My *Seven Arabian Poets* will see the light before next winter, and be proud to wait upon you in their English dress. Their wild productions will, I flatter myself, be thought interesting, and not venerable merely on account of their antiquity.

In the mean while, let me request you to honour me with accepting a copy of a Law Tract, which is not yet published: the subject is so generally important, that I make no apology for sending you a professional work.

You must pardon my inveterate hatred of C. Octavianus, basely surnamed Augustus. I feel myself unable to forgive the death of Cicero, which, if he did not promote, he might have prevented. Besides, even Mecænas knew the cruelty of his disposition, and ventured to reproach him for it. In short, I have not *Christian* charity for him.

With regard to Asiatic letters, a necessary attention to my profession will compel me wholly and eternally to abandon them, *unless* Lord North (to whom I am already under no small obligation) should think me worthy to concur in the *improved* administration of justice in Bengal, and should appoint me to supply the vacancy of the India Bench. Were that appointment to take place this year, I should probably travel, for speed, through part of Egypt and

and Arabia, and ſhould be able, in my way, to procure many Eaſtern tracts of literature and juriſprudence. I might become a good *Mahomedan* lawyer before I reached Calcutta, and, in my vacations, ſhould find leiſure to explain, in my native language, whether the Arabs, Perſians, and Turks, have written on ſcience, hiſtory, and the fine arts.

My happineſs by no means depends on obtaining this appointment, as I am in eaſy circumſtances without my profeſſion, and have flattering proſpects in it; but if the preſent ſummer and the enſuing autumn elapſe without my receiving any anſwer, favourable or unfavourable, I ſhall be forced to conſider that ſilence as a polite refuſal, and, having given ſincere thanks for paſt favours, ſhall entirely drop all thoughts of *Aſia*, and, "deep as ever plummet "ſounded, ſhall drown my *Perſian* books." If my politics have given offence, it would be manly in Miniſters to tell me ſo. I ſhall never be *perſonally* hoſtile to them, nor enliſt under party banners of any colour; but I will never reſign my opinions for *intereſt*, though I would cheerfully abandon them on *conviction*. My reaſon, ſuch as it is, can only be controlled by better reaſon, to which I am ever open. As to my freedom of thought, ſpeech, and action, I ſhall ever ſay what Charles XII. wrote under the map of Riga, "*Dieu me l'a donnée; le diable ne me l'otera pas.*" But the fair anſwer to this objection is, that my ſyſtem is purely ſpeculative, and has no relation to my ſeat on the bench in India, where I ſhould hardly think of inſtructing the Gentoos in the maxims of the Athenians. I believe I ſhould not have troubled you with this letter, if I did not fear that your attendance in Parliament might deprive me of the pleaſure of meeting you at the Club next Tueſday; and I ſhall go to Oxford a few days after. At all times, and in all places, I ſhall ever be, with undiſſembled regard, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful ſervant,

W. JONES.

N° CXXXV.

Lord HARDWICKE *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, WIMPLE, September 20th, 1781.

AS I have peruſed your Hiſtory of the Decline, &c. with the greateſt pleaſure and inſtruction, I cannot help wiſhing that, as health and leiſure permit, you would gratify your numerous readers and admirers, by continuing it, at leaſt till the irruption of the Arabs after Mahomet. From that period the Hiſtory of the Eaſt is not very intereſting, and often diſguſting. I particularly wiſh to ſee the reigns of Juſtin, Juſtinian, and I think Juſtin the Second, written by ſo maſterly a hand. There are ſtriking facts and remarkable characters in all thoſe reigns, which have not yet met with an able and ſagacious *Hiſtorian*. You ſeemed (as well as I recollect) to think the anecdotes of Procopius ſpurious; there are ſtrange anecdotes in them, and of a very different caſt from his Hiſtory. Can it be traced up when they firſt came to light?

Excuſe this ſhort interruption from much better employments or amuſements; and believe me, Sir, with the greateſt regard, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

HARDWICKE.

P. S. It has occurred to me, that a map of the progreſs and native ſeat of the northern hives would greatly elucidate and explain that part of your Hiſtory. It may be done in a ſecond edition.

N° CXXXII.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, COLLEGE of EDINBURGH, November 6th, 1781.

SOON after my return I had a long converſation with our friend Mr. Smith, in which I ſtated to him every particular you mentioned to me, with reſpect to the propriety of going on with your great work. I was happy to find, that his opinion coincided perfectly with that which I had ventured to give you. His deciſions, you know, are both prompt and vigorous; and he would not allow that you ought to heſitate a moment in your choice. He promiſed to write his ſentiments to you very fully. But as he may have neglected to do this, for it is not willingly that he puts pen to paper, I thought it might be agreeable to you to know his opinion, though I imagine you could hardly entertain any doubt concerning it. I hope you have brought ſuch a ſtock of health and ſpirits from Brighthelmſtone, that you are ſet ſeriouſly at your deſk, and that in two winters or ſo, you will diſplay the creſcent of Mahomet on the dome of St. Sophia. I met t'other day, in a work addreſſed to yourſelf, a ſenſible paſſage from F. Paul, which perfectly removes one of your chief difficulties, as to the barrenneſs of ſome parts your period. Hayley's Eſſay on Hiſtory, p. 133. By the bye, who is this Mr. Hayley? His poetry has more merit than that of moſt of his contemporaries; but his whiggiſm is ſo bigotted, and his Chriſtianity ſo fierce, that he almoſt diſguſts one with two very good things.

I have got quite well long ago, and am perfectly free from deafneſs; but I cannot yet place myſelf in any claſs but that of the *multa et præclara minantes*. Be ſo kind as

to

to remember me to Lord Loughborough and Mr. Craufurd, and believe me to be, with moſt ſincere reſpect and attachment, yours very faithfully,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° LXXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, BRIGHTHELMSTONE, Nov. 2d, 1781.

I RETURNED to this place with Lord and Lady Sheffield, with the deſign of paſſing two or three weeks in a ſituation which had ſo highly delighted me. But how vain are all ſublunary hopes! I had forgot that there is ſome difference between the ſunſhine of Auguſt and the cold fogs (though we have uncommon good weather) of November. Inſtead of my beautiful ſea-ſhore, I am confined to a dark lodging in the middle of the town; for the place is ſtill full, and our time is now ſpent in the dull imitation of a London life. To complete my misfortunes, Lord Sheffield was haſtily ordered to Canterbury and Deal, to ſuppreſs ſome diſturbances, and I was left almoſt alone with my Lady, in the ſervile ſtate of a married man. But he returns to-day, and I hope to be ſeated in my own library by the middle of next week. However, you will not be ſorry to hear that I have refreſhed myſelf by a very *idle* ſummer, and indeed a much idler and more pleaſant winter than the Houſe of Commons will ever allow me to enjoy again. I had almoſt forgot Mr. Hayley; ungratefully enough, ſince I really paſſed a very ſimple, but entertaining day with him. His place, though ſmall, is elegant as his mind, which I value much more highly. Mrs. * * * * wrote a melancholy ſtory of an American mother, a friend of her friend, who in a ſhort time had loſt three ſons; one killed by the ſavages, one run mad from the fright at that accident, and the third taken at

ſea,

ſea, now in England, a priſoner in Forton hoſpital. For *him* ſomething perhaps might be done. Your humanity will prompt you to obtain from Mrs. * * * * a more accurate account of names, dates, and circumſtances; but you will prudently ſuppreſs my requeſt, leſt I ſhould raiſe hopes which it may not be in my power to gratify. Lady S. begs to ſend her kindeſt compliments to you. I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, July 3d, 1782.

I HOPE you have not had a moment's uneaſineſs about the delay of my Midſummer letter. Whatever may happen, you may reſt fully ſecure, that the materials of it ſhall always be *found*. But on this occaſion I have miſſed four or five poſts; poſtponing, as uſual, from morning to the evening bell, which now rings, till it has occurred to me, that it might not be amiſs to encloſe the two eſſential lines, if I only added that the influenza has been known to me only by the report of others. Lord Rockingham is at laſt dead; a good man, whatever he might be as a miniſter: his ſucceſſor is not yet named, and diviſions in the Cabinet are ſuſpected. If Lord Shelburne ſhould be the man, as I think he will, the friends of his predeceſſor will quarrel with him before Chriſtmas. At all events, I foreſee much tumult and ſtrong oppoſition, from which I ſhould be very glad to extricate myſelf, by quitting the Houſe of Commons with honour Whatever you may hear, I believe there is not the leaſt intention of diſſolving Parliament, which would indeed be a raſh and dangerous meaſure. I hope you like Mr. Hayley's poem; he riſes with his ſubject, and ſince Pope's death, I am ſatisfied that England has not ſeen ſo happy a mixture

of

of ſtrong ſenſe and flowing numbers. Are you not delighted with his addreſs to his mother? I underſtand that ſhe was in plain proſe every thing that he ſpeaks her in verſe. This ſummer I ſhall ſtay in town, and work at my trade, till I make ſome holidays for my Bath excurſion. Lady Sheffield is at Brighton, and he is under tents, like the wild Arabs; ſo that my country houſe is ſhut up. I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXXXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD, *Camp*, Coxheath.

BENTINCK-STREET, 1782.

I SYMPATHISE with your fatigues; yet Alexander, Hannibal, &c. have ſuffered hardſhips almoſt equal to yours. At ſuch a moment it is diſagreeable (beſides lazineſs) to write, becauſe every hour teems with a new lie. As yet, however, only Charles has formally reſigned; but Lord John*, Burke, Keppel, Lord Althorpe, &c. certainly follow; your Lord Lieutenant ſtays. In ſhort, three months of proſperity has diſſolved a phalanx, which had ſtood ten years of adverſity. Next Tueſday, Fox will give his reaſons, and poſſibly be encountered by Pitt, the new Secretary, or Chancellor †, at three-and twenty. The day will be rare and curious, and, if I were a light dragoon, I would take a gallop on purpoſe to Weſtminſter. Adieu. I hear the bell. How could I write before I knew where you dwelt?

* Lord John Cavendiſh. † Chancellor of the Exchequer.

N° CXL.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Hon. Lord* SHEFFIELD, Coxheath *Camp.*

September 29th, 1782.

I SHOULD like to hear sometimes, whether you survive the scenes of action and danger in which a dragoon is continually involved. What a difference between the life of a dragoon and that of a philosopher! and I will freely own that I (the philosopher) am much better satisfied with my own independent and tranquil situation, in which I have always something to do, without ever being obliged to do any thing. The Hampton Court villa has answered my expectation, and proved no small addition to my comforts; so that I am resolved next summer to hire, borrow, or steal, either the same, or something of the same kind. Every morning I walk a mile or more before breakfast, read and write *quantum sufficit*, mount my chaise and visit in the neighbourhood, accept some invitations, and escape others, use the Lucans as my daily bread, dine pleasantly at home, or sociably abroad, reserve for study an hour or two in the evening, lie in town regularly once a week, &c. &c. &c. I have announced to Mrs. G. my new arrangements; the certainty that October will be fine, and my increasing doubts whether I shall be able to reach Bath before Christmas. Do you intend (but how can you intend any thing?) to pass the winter under canvas. Perhaps under the veil of Hampton Court I may lurk ten days or a fortnight at Sheffield, if the enraged Lady does not shut the doors against me. The Warden * passed through in his way to Dover. He is not so fat, and more cheerful than ever. I had not any private conversation with him; but he clearly holds the balance;

* Lord North.

balance; unless he lets it drop out of his hand. The Pandæmonium (as I understand) does not meet till the twenty-sixth of November. Town is more a desert than I ever knew it. I arrived yesterday, dined at Sir Joshua's with a tolerable party; the chaise is now at the door; I dine at Richmond, lie at Hampton, &c. Adieu.

N° CXLI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Lord* SHEFFIELD *at* Coxheath *Camp.*

BENTINCK STREET, October 14th, 1782.

ON the approach of winter, my paper house at Hampton becomes less comfortable; my visits to Bentinck-street grow longer and more frequent, and the end of next week will restore me to the town, with a lively wish, however, to repeat the same, or a similar experiment, next summer. I admire the assurance with which you propose a month's residence at Sheffield, when you are not sure of being allowed three days. Here it is currently reported, that camps will not separate till Lord Howe's *return* from Gibraltar, and as yet we have no news of his arrival. Perhaps indeed you may have more intimate correspondence with your old friend Lord Shelburne, and already know the hour of your deliverance. I should like to be informed. As Lady S. has entirely forgotten me, I shall have the pleasure of forming a new acquaintance. I have often thought of writing, but it is now too late to repent.

I am at a loss what to say or think about our parliamentary state. A certain late Secretary of Ireland reckons the House of Commons thus: Minister one hundred and forty, Reynard ninety, Boreas one hundred and twenty, the rest unknown, or uncertain. The last of the three, by self or agents, talks too much of absence, neutrality, moderation. I still think he will discard the game.

I am

I am not in ſuch a fury with the letter of American independence; but I think it ſeems ill-timed and uſeleſs; and I am much entertained with the metaphyſical diſputes between Government and Seceſſion about the meaning of it. Lord Loughborough will be in town Sunday ſevennight. I long to ſee him and Co. I think he will take a very decided part If he could throw aſide his gown, he would make a noble leader. The Eaſt India news are excellent. The French gone to the Mauritius, Heyder deſirous of peace, the Nizam and Mahrattas our friends, and ſeventy lacks of rupees in the Bengal treaſury, while we were voting the recal of Haſtings. Adieu. Write ſoon.

N° CXLII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

1782.

I HAVE deſigned writing every poſt. The air of London is admirable; my complaints have vaniſhed, and the gout ſtill reſpects me. Lord Loughborough, with whom I paſſed an entire day, is very well ſatisfied with his Iriſh expedition, and found the barbarous people very kind to him. The caſtle is ſtrong, but the volunteers are formidable. London is dead, and all intelligence ſo totally extinct, that the loſs of an army would be a favourable incident. We have not even the advantage of ſhipwrecks, which muſt ſoon, with the ſociety of you and Gerard Hamilton, become the only pleaſures of Brighton. My Lady is precious, and deſerves to ſhine in London, when ſhe regains her palace. The workmen are ſlow, but I hear that the Miniſter talks of hiring another houſe after Chriſtmas*. Adieu, till Monday ſeven-night.

* Lord North, while his houſe was repairing, inhabited Lord Sheffield's in Downing-ſtreet.

N° CXLIII.

The Same to the Same.

January 17th, 1783.

AS I arrived about ſeven o'clock on Wedneſday laſt, we were ſome time in town in mutual ignorance. Unlucky enough; yet our loſs will be ſpeedily repaired. Your reaſon for not writing is worthy of an Iriſh Baron: You thought Sarah might be at Bath, becauſe you directed letters to her at Clifton near Briſtol; where indeed I ſaw her in a delightful ſituation, ſwept by the winter winds, and ſcorched by the ſummer ſun. A nobler reaſon for your ſilence would be the care of your papers, to record your ſteps, words, and actions. I was pleaſed with your Coventry oration: a panegyric on * * * * is a ſubject entirely new, and which no orator before yourſelf would have dared to undertake. You have acted with prudence and dignity in caſting away the military yoke. This next ſummer you will ſit down (if you can ſit) in the long loſt character of a country gentleman.

For my own part, my late journey has only confirmed me in the opinion, that Number Seven in Bentinck-ſtreet is the beſt houſe in the world. I find that peace and war alternately, and daily, take their turns of converſation, and this (Friday) is the pacific day. Next week we ſhall probably hear ſome queſtions on that head very ſtrongly aſked, and very fooliſhly anſwered, &c. Give me a line by return of poſt, and probably I may viſit Downing-ſtreet on Monday evening; late, however, as I am engaged to dinner and cards. Adieu.

N° CXLIV.

[Although Dr. Prieſtley may not be juſtified for publiſhing the following Letters, yet as he thought fit to print them with a volume of ſermons ſoon after Mr. Gibbon's death, it will not be improper to inſert them in this collection.]

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* PRIESTLEY.

SIR, January 23d, 1783.

AS a mark of your eſteem, I ſhould have accepted with pleaſure your Hiſtory of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity. You have been careful to inform me, that it is intended, not as a gift, but as a challenge, and ſuch a challenge you muſt permit me to decline. At the ſame time you glory in outſtripping the zeal of the Mufti and the Lama, it may be proper to declare, that I ſhould equally refuſe the defiance of thoſe venerable divines. Once, and once only, the juſt defence of my own veracity provoked me to deſcend into the amphitheatre; but as long as you attack opinions which I have never maintained, or maintain principles which I have never denied, you may ſafely exult in my ſilence and your own victory. The difference between us, (on the credibility of miracles,) which you chuſe to ſuppoſe, and wiſh to argue, is a trite and antient topic of controverſy, and, from the opinion which you entertain of yourſelf and of me, it does not appear probable that our diſputes would either edify or enlighten the Public.

The Public will decide to whom the *invidious* name of Unbeliever more juſtly belongs; to the Hiſtorian, who, without interpoſing his own ſentiments, has delivered a ſimple narrative of authentic facts, or to the diſputant who proudly rejects all natural proofs of the immortality of the ſoul, overthrows (by circumſcribing) the

the inspiration of the evangelists and apostles, and condemns the religion of every Christian nation, as a fable less innocent, but not less absurd, than Mahomet's journey to the third Heaven.

And now, Sir, since you assume a right to determine the objects of my past and future studies, give me leave to convey to your ear the almost unanimous, and not offensive wish, of the philosophic world:—that you would confine your talents and industry to those sciences in which real and useful improvements *can* be made. Remember the end of your predecessor Servetus, not of his life, (the Calvins of our days are restrained from the use of the same fiery arguments,) but, I mean, the end of his reputation. His theological writings are lost in oblivion; and if his book on the Trinity be still preserved, it is only because it contains the first rudiments of the discovery of the circulation of the blood.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant.

N° CXLV.

Dr. PRIESTLEY *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, BIRMINGHAM, 3d February 1783.

IT would have been impertinent in me, especially considering the object of my *History*, to have sent you a copy of it as a mark of my *esteem* or *friendship*. What I meant was to act the part of a fair and open *adversary*, and I am truly sorry that you decline the discussion I proposed: for though you are of a different opinion, I do not think that either of us could be better employed; and, should the Mufti and the Lama, whose challenge, you say, you would also decline, become parties in the business, I should rejoice the more. I do not well know what you can mean by intimating, that I am a greater Unbeliever than yourself; that I attack opinions which you never maintained, and maintain principles which you

never denied. If you mean to assert that you are a believer in Christianity, and meant to recommend it, I must say, that your mode of writing has been very ill adapted to gain your purpose. If there be any certain method of discovering a man's real object, yours has been to discredit Christianity in fact, while in words you represent yourself as a friend to it: a conduct which I scruple not to call highly unworthy and mean; an insult on the common sense of the Christian world; as a method of screening you from the notice of the law, (which is as hostile to me as it is to you,) you must know that it could avail you nothing; and, though that mode of writing might be deemed ingenious and witty in the first inventor of it, it has been too often repeated to deserve that appellation now.

According to your own rule of conduct, this charge ought to provoke you to descend into the amphitheatre once more, as much as the accusation of Mr. Davis: for it is a call upon you to defend, not your *principles* only, but also your *honour*. For what can reflect greater dishonour on a man, than to say one thing and mean another? You have certainly been very far from confining yourself, as you pretend, to a simple narrative of authentic facts, without interposing your own sentiments. I hold no opinions, obnoxious as they are, that I am not ready both to *avow* in the most explicit manner, and also to defend with any person of competent judgment and ability. Had I not considered you in this light, and also as fairly open, by the strain of your writings, to such a challenge, I should not have called upon you as I have done. The Public will form its own judgment both of that and of your silence on the occasion; and finally decide between you, the *humble historian*, and me, the *proud disputant*.

As to my *reputation*, for which you are so very obligingly concerned, give me leave to observe, that, as far as it is an object with any person, and a thing to be enjoyed by himself, it must depend upon his particular notions and feelings.—Now, odd as it will appear to you,

you, the eſteem of a very few rational Chriſtian friends (though I know that it will inſure me the deteſtation of the greater part of the preſent nominally Chriſtian world that happen to hear me) gives me more real ſatisfaction, than the applauſe of what you call the philoſophic world. I admire Servetus, by whoſe example you wiſh me to take warning, more for his courage in dying for the cauſe of important truth, than I ſhould have done if, beſides the certain diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, he had made any other the moſt celebrated diſcovery in philoſophy.

However, I do not ſee what my philoſophical friends (of whom I have many, and whom I think I value as I ought,) have to do with my metaphyſical or theological writings. They may, if they pleaſe, conſider them as my particular whims or amuſements, and accordingly neglect them. They have, in fact, interfered very little with my application to philoſophy, ſince I have had the means of doing it. I was never more buſy, or more ſucceſsfully ſo, in my philoſophical purſuits, than during the time that I have been employed about the Hiſtory of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity. I am at this very time, *totus in illis*, as my friends know; and as the Public will know in due time; which with me is never long, and if you had thought proper to enter into the diſcuſſion I propoſed, it would not have made me neglect my laboratory, or omit a ſingle experiment that I ſhould otherwiſe have made.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

J. PRIESTLEY.

N° CXLVI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* PRIESTLEY.

SIR, BENTINCK-STREET, February 6th, 1783.

AS I do not pretend to judge of the ſentiments or intentions of another, I ſhall not enquire how far you are inclined to ſuffer, or inflict martyrdom. It only becomes me to ſay, that the ſtyle and temper of your laſt letter have ſatisfied me of the propriety of declining all farther correſpondence, whether public or private, with ſuch an adverſary. I am, Sir, your humble ſervant.

N° CXLVII.

Dr. PRIESTLEY *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, BIRMINGHAM, 10th February, 1783.

I NEITHER requeſted nor wiſhed to have any *private correſpondence* with you. All that my MS. card required, was a ſimple acknowledgment of the receipt of the copy of my work. You choſe, however, to give me a ſpecimen of your temper and feelings; and alſo, what I thought to be an opening to a further call upon you for a juſtification of yourſelf *in public*. Of this I was willing to take advantage; and, at the ſame time, to ſatisfy you, that my philoſophical purſuits, for which, whether in earneſt or not, you were pleaſed to expreſs ſome concern, would not be interrupted in conſequence of it.

As this correſpondence, from the origin and nature of it, cannot be deemed *confidential*, I may, eſpecially if I reſume my obſervations on your conduct as an Hiſtorian, give the Public an opportunity of judging of the propriety of my anſwer to your firſt extraordinary letter, and alſo to this laſt truly *enigmatical* one; to interpret which requires

requires much more ſagacity, than to diſcover your real intentions with reſpect to Chriſtianity, though you might think you had carefully concealed them from all human inſpection.

Wiſhing to hear from you juſt as little as you pleaſe in private, and juſt as much as you pleaſe in public, I am, Sir, your humble ſervant.

N° CXLVIII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* PRIESTLEY.

February 22d, 1783.

IF Dr. Prieſtley conſults his friends, he will probably learn, that a ſingle copy of a paper, addreſſed under a ſeal to a ſingle perſon, and not relative to any public or official buſineſs, muſt always be conſidered as *private* correſpondence; which a man of honour is not at liberty to print without the conſent of the writer. That conſent in the preſent inſtance, Mr. Gibbon thinks proper to with-hold; and, as he deſires to eſcape all further altercation, he ſhall not trouble Dr. Prieſtley or himſelf with explaining the motives of his refuſal.

N° CXLIX.

Dr. PRIESTLEY *to Mr.* GIBBON.

BIRMINGHAM, 25th February, 1783.

DR. Prieſtley is as unwilling to be guilty of any real impropriety as Mr. Gibbon can wiſh him to be: but, as the correſpondence between them relates not to any *private*, but only to a *public matter*, he apprehends that it may, according to Mr. Gibbon's own diſtinction, at the pleaſure of either of the parties be laid before the Public; who, in fact, are intereſted to know, at leaſt, the

the refult of it. Dr. Prieftley's conduct will always be open to the animadverfion of Mr. Gibbon, or of any other perfon. His appeal is to men of honour, and even men of the world; and he defires no favour.

Dr. Prieftley has fent a fingle copy of the correfpondence to a friend in London, with leave to fhew it to any other common friends, but with a prohibition to take any other copy: but between this and *printing* there is no difference, except in *mode* and *extent*. In the eye of the law and of reafon both are equally publications; and has Mr. Gibbon never thought himfelf at liberty to fhew a copy of a letter to a third perfon?

Mr. Gibbon may eafily efcape all further altercation by difcontinuing this mutually difagreeable correfpondence, by leaving Dr. Prieftley to act as his own difcretion or indifcretion may dictate; and for this, himfelf only, and not Mr. Gibbon, is refponfible.

N° CL.

M. GIBBON *à Monf.* DEYVERDUN, à Laufanne.

A LONDRES, ce 20 Mai, 1783.

QUE j'aime la douce et parfaite confiance de nos fentimens réciproques! Nous nous aimons dans l'éloignement et le filence, et il nous fuffit à l'un et à l'autre, de favoir de tems en tems, des nouvelles de la fanté et du bonheur de fon ami. Aujourd'hui j'ai befoin de vous écrire; je commence fans excufes et fans reproches, comme fi nous allions reprendre la converfation familière du jour précédent. Si je propofois de faire un *compte rendu* de mes études, de mes occupations, de mes plaifirs, de mes nouvelles liaifons, de ma politique toujours muette, mais un peu plus rapprochée des grands évenemens, je multiplierois mes *in quarto*, et je ne fais pas encore votre avis fur ceux que je vous ai déjà envoyés. Dans cette hiftoire moderne,

il

il ſeroit toujours queſtion de la décadence des empires ; et autant que j'en puis juger ſur mes réminiſcences et ſur le rapport de l'ami Bugnon, vous amiez auſſi peu la puiſſance de l'Angleterre que celle des Romains. Notre chute, cependant, a été plus douce. Après une guerre ſans ſuccès, et un paix aſſez peu glorieuſe, il nous reſte de quoi vivre contens et heureux ; et lorſque je me ſuis dépouillé du rôle de Membre du Parlement, pour redevenir homme, philoſophe, et hiſtorien, nous pourrions bien nous trouver d'accord ſur la plupart des ſcênes étonnantes qui viennent de ſe paſſer devant nos yeux, et qui fourniront une riche matière aux plus habiles de mes ſucceſſeurs.

Bornons nous à cette heure à un objet moins illuſtre ſans doute, mais plus intéreſſant pour tous les deux, et c'eſt beaucoup que le même objet puiſſe intéreſſer deux mortels qui ne ſont pas vûs, qui a peine ſe ſont écrit dupuis —oui ma foi—depuis huit ans. Ma plume, très pareſſeuſe au commencement, ou plutôt avant le commencement, marche aſſez vite, lorſqu'elle s'eſt un fois miſe en train ; mais une raiſon qui m'empêcheroit de lui donner carrière, c'eſt l'eſpérance de pouvoir bientôt me ſervir avec vous d'un inſtrument encore plus commode, la langue. Que l'homme, l'homme Anglois, l'homme Gibbon, eſt un ſot animal ! Je l'eſpere, je le deſire, je le puis, mais je ne ſais pas ſi je le veux, encore moins ſi j'exécuterai cette volonté. Voici mon hiſtoire, autant qu'elle pourra vous éclairer, qu'elle pourra m'éclairer moi-même, ſur mes véritables intentions, qui me paroiſſent très obſcures, et très équivoques ; et vous aurez la bonté de m'apprendre qu'elle ſera ma conduite future. Il vous ſouvient, Seigneur, que mon grand perea fait ſa fortune, que mon pere l'a mangée avec un peu trop d'appétit, et que je jouis actuellement du fruit, ou plutôt du reſte de leurs travaux. Vous n'avez pas oublié que je ſuis entré au Parlement ſans patriotiſme, ſans ambition, et que toutes mes vues ſe bornoient à la place commode et honnête d'un *Lord of Trade*. Cette place, je

l'ai

l'ai obtenue enfin ; je l'ai poſſédée trois ans, depuis 1779 juſqu' à 1782, et le produit net, qui ſe montoit à ſept cens cinquante livres ſterling, augmentoit mon revenu, au niveau de mes beſoins, et de mes deſirs. Mais au printems de l'année précédente, l'orage a grondé ſur nos têtes : Milord North a été renverſé, votre ſerviteur chaſſé, et le *Board* même, dont j'étois membre, aboli et caſſé pour toujours, par la réformation de M. Burke, avec beaucoup d'autres places de l'Etat, et de la maiſon du Roi. Pour mon malheur, je ſuis toujours reſté Membre de la Chambre baſſe : à la fin du dernier Parlement (en 1780) M. Eliot à retiré ſa nomination ; mais la faveur de Milord North a facilité ma rentrée, et la reconnoiſſance m'impoſoit le devoir de faire valoir, pour ſon ſervice, les droits que je tenois en partie de lui. Cet hyver nous avons combatu ſous les étendards réunis (vous ſavez notre hiſtoire) de Milord North, et de M. Fox ; nous avons triomphé de Milord Shelburne et de la paix, et mon ami (je n'aime pas à profaner ce nom) a remonté ſur ſa bête en qualité de Secretaire d'Etat. C'eſt à préſent qu'il peut bien me dire : " C'étoit beaucoup pour moi ; ce n'étoit rien pour vous ;" et malgré les aſſurances les plus fortes, j'ai trop de raiſon, pour avoir de la foi. Avec beaucoup d'eſprit, et des qualités très reſpectables, il n'a plus ni le titre, ni le crédit de premier miniſtre ; des collegues plus actifs lui enlevent les morceaux les plus friands, qui ſont auſſitôt dévorés par la voracité de leurs créatures ; nos malheurs et nos réformes ont diminué le nombre des graces ; par orgueil ou par pareſſe, je ſollicite auſſi mal, et ſi je parviens enfin, ce ſera peut être à la veille d'une nouvelle révolution, qui me fera perdre dans un inſtant, ce qui m'aura coûté tant de ſoins et de recherches. Si je ne conſultois que mon cœur et ma raiſon, je romprois ſur le champ cette indigne chaine de la dépendance ; je quitterois le Parlement, Londres, l'Angleterre ; je chercherois ſous un ciel plus doux, dans un pays plus tranquille, le repos, la liberté, l'aiſance, ut une ſociété éclairée et aimable. Je coulerois quelques années de ma vie ſans eſ-

pérance,

pérance, et ſans crainte, j'acheverois mon hiſtoire, et je ne rentrerois dans ma patrie qu'en homme libre, riche, et reſpectable par ſa poſition, auſſi bien que par ſon caractère. Mes amis, et ſurtout Milord Sheffield, ne veulent pas me permettre d'être heureux ſuivant mon goût et mes lumières. Leur prudence exige que je faſſe tous mes efforts, pour obtenir unemploi très ſur à la vérité, qui me donneroit mille guinées de rente, mais qui m'enleveroit cinq jours par ſemaine. Je me prête à leur zele, et je leur ai promis de ne partir qu'en automne, après avoir conſacré l'été à cette dernière tentative. Le ſuccès, cependant, eſt très incertain, et je ne ſais ſi je le deſire de bonne foi.

Si je parviens à me voir exilé, mon choix ne ſera pas douteux. Lauſanne a eu mes prémices; elle me ſera toujours chere par le doux ſouvenir de ma jeuneſſe. Au bout de trente ans, je me rappelle les poliſſons qui ſont aujourd'hui juges, les petites filles de la ſociété du printems, qui ſont devenues grand-meres. Votre pays eſt charmant, et, malgré le dégoût de Jean Jacques, les mœurs, et l'eſprit de ſes habitans, me paroiſſent très aſſortis aux bords du lac Léman. Mais un tréſor que je ne trouverois qu'à Lauſanne ; c'eſt un ami qui me convient également par les ſentimens, et les idées, avec qui je n'ai jamais connu un inſtant d'ennui, de ſéchereſſe, ou de réſerve. Autrefois dans nos libres épanchemens, nous avons cent fois fait le projet de vivre enſemble, et cent fois nous avons épluché tous les détails du Roman, avec une chaleur qui nous étonnoit nous memes. A préſent il demeure, ou plutôt vous demeurez, (car je me laſſe de ce ton étudié,) dans une maiſon charmante et commode ; je vois d'ici mon appartement, nos ſalles communes, notre table, et nos promenades ; mais ce mariage ne vaut rien, s'il ne convient pas également aux deux époux, et je ſens combien des circonſtances locales, des goûts nouveaux, de nouvelles liaiſons, peuvent s'oppoſer aux deſſeins, qui nous ont paru les plus agréables dans le lointain. Pour fixer mes idées, et pour nous épargner des regrets, il faut me dévoiler avec la franchiſe dont je vous ai donné l'exemple, le tableau extérieur

extérieur et intérieur de George Deyverdun. Mon amour eſt trop délicat, pour ſupporter l'indifférence et les egards, et je rougirois d'un bonheur dont je ſerois redevable, non à l'inclination, mais à la fidélité de mon ami. Pour m'armer contre les malheurs poſſibles, helas ! peut être trop vraiſemblables, j'ai eſſayé de me détacher de la penſée de ce projet favori, et de me repréſenter à Lauſanne votre bon voiſin, ſans être préciſement votre commenſal. Si j'y étois réduit, je ne voudrois pas tenir maiſon, autant par raiſon d'économie, que pour éviter l'ennui de manger ſeul. D'un autre côté, une penſion ouverte, fut elle montée ſur l'ancien pied de celle de Meſery, ne conviendroit plus à mon age, ni à mon caractère ? Paſſerois je ma vie au milieu d'une foule de jeunes Anglois échappés du college, moi qui aimerois Lauſanne cent fois davantage, ſi j'y pouvois être le ſeul de ma nation ? Il me faudroit donc une maiſon commode et riante, un état au deſſus de la bourgeoiſie, un mari inſtruit, une femme qui ne reſembleroit pas à Madame Pavilliard, et l'aſſurance d'y être reçu comme le fils unique, ou plutôt comme le frere de la famille. Pour nous arranger ſans gêne, je meublerai très volontiers un joli appartement ſous le même toit, ou dans le voiſinage, et puiſque le ménage le plus foible, laiſſe encore de l'étoffe pour une forte penſion, je ne ſerois pas obligé de chicaner ſur les conditions pécuniaires. Si je me vois déchu de cette derniére eſpérance, je renoncerois en ſoupirant à ma ſeconde patrie, pour chercher un nouvel aſyle, non pas à Geneve, triſte ſéjour du travail et de la diſcorde, mais aux bords du lac de Neufchatel, parmi les bons Savoyards de Chamberry, ou ſous le beau climat des Provinces Méridionales de la France. Je finis bruſquement, parceque j'ai mille choſes à vous dire. Je penſe que nous nous reſſemblons pour la correſpondance. Pour le bavardage ſavant, ou même amical, je ſuis de tous les hommes le plus pareſſeux, mais de qu'il s'agit d'un objet réel, d'un ſervice eſſentiel, le premier Courier emporte toujours ma réponſe. A la fin d'un mois, je commencerai à compter les ſemaines, les jours, les heures. Ne me les faites pas compter trop long tems. Vale.

N° CLI.

M. Deyverdun *à M.* Gibbon.

Strasbourg, le 10 Juin, 1783.

Je ne saurais vous exprimer, Monsieur et cher ami, la variété et la vivacité des sensations que m'a fait éprouver votre lettre. Tout cela a fini par un fond de plaisir et d'espérance qui resteront dans mon cœur, jusqu'à ce que vous les en chassiez.

Un rapport singulier de circonstances contribue à me faire espérer que nous sommes destinés à vivre quelque tems agréablement ensemble. Je ne suis pas dégoûté d'une ambition que je ne connus jamais; mais par d'autres circonstances, je me trouve dans la même situation d'embarras et d'incertitude où vous êtes aussi à cette époque. Il y a un an que votre lettre, mon cher ami, m'auroit fait plaisir sans doute, mais en ce moment, elle m'en fait bien davantage: elle vient en quelque façon à mon secours.

Depuis mon retour d'Italie, ne pouvant me determiner à vendre ma maison, m'ennuyant d'y être seul (car je suis comme vous, Monsieur, et je déteste de manger sans compagnie) ne voulant pas louer à des étrangers, j'ai pris le parti de m'arranger assez joliment au premier étage, et de donner la second à une famille de mes amis, qui me nourrit, et que je loge. Cet arrangement a paru pendant long tems contribuer au bonheur des deux parties. Mais tout est transitoire sur cette terre. Ma maison sera vuide, selon tout apparence, sur la fin de l'été, et je me vois d'avance tout aussi embarrassé et incertain, que je l'étais il y a quelques années, ne sachant quelle nouvelle société choisir, et assez disposé à vendre enfin cette possession qui m'a causé bien des plaisirs, et bien des peines. Ma maison est donc à votre disposition pour cet automne, et vous y arriveriez comme un Dieu dans une machine qui finit l'embroglio.

broglio. Voilà quant à moi ; parlons de vous maintenant avec la même ſincérité.

Un mot de préambule. Quelque intéreſſé que je ſois à votre réſolution, convaincu qu'il faut aimer ſes amis pour eux mêmes, ſentant d'ailleurs combien il ſeroit affreux pour moi de vous voir des regrets, je vous donne ici ma parole d'honneur, que mon intérêt n'influe en rien ſur ce que je vais écrire, et que je ne dirai pas un mot que je ne vous diſſe, ſi l'hermite de la grotte etoit un autre que moi. Vos amis Anglais vous aiment pour eux mêmes: je ne veux moi que votre bonheur. Rappellez vous, mon cher ami, que je vis avec peine votre entrée dans le Parlement, et je crois n'avoir été que trop bon prophete ; je ſuis ſur que cette carrière vous a fait éprouver plus de privations que de jouiſſances, beaucoup plus de peines que de plaiſirs ; j'ai cru toujours, depuis que je vous ai connu, que vous étiez deſtineé à vivre heureux par les plaiſirs du cabinet et de la ſociété, que tout autre marche était un écart de la route du bonheur, et que ce n'etait que les qualités réunies d'homme de lettres, et d'homme aimable de ſociété, qui pouvoient vous procurer gloire, honneur, plaiſirs, et un ſuite continuelle de jouiſſances. Au bout de quelques tours dans votre ſalle, vous ſentirez parfaitement que j'avois bien vu, et que l'évenement a juſtifié mes idées. Lorſque j'ai appris que vous étiez *Lord of Trade*, j'en ai été faché ; quand j'ai ſu que vous aviez perdu cette place, je m'en ſuis réjouis pour vous ; quand on m'a annoncé que Milord North étoit remonté ſur ſa bête, j'ai cru vous voir très mal à votre aiſe, en croupe derrière lui, et je m'en ſuis affligé pour vous. Je ſuis donc charmé, mon cher ami, de vous ſavoir à pied, et je vous conſeille très ſincèrement de reſter dans cette poſition, et bien loin de ſolliciter la place en queſtion, de la refuſer, ſi elle vous était offerte. Mille guinées vous dédommageront elles de cinq jours pris de la ſemaine ? Je ſuppoſe, ce que cependant j'ai peine à croire,

croire, que vous me disiez que oui : et la variété et l'inconstance continuelle de votre ministère, vous promettent elles d'en jouir long tems constamment, et n'est il pas plus désagréable, mon cher Monsieur, de n'avoir plus 1000 livres sterl. de rente, qu'il n'a été agréable d'en jouir ? D'ailleurs ne pourrez vous pas toujours rentrer dans la carrière, si l'ambition ou l'envie de servir la patrie, vous reprennent ; ne rentrerez vous pas avec plus d'honneur, lorsque vos rentes étant augmentées naturellement, vous serez libre et indépendant ?

En faisant cette retrait en Suisse, outre la beauté du pays, et les agrémens de la société, vous acquererez deux biens que vous avez perdus, la liberté et la richesse. Vous ne serez d'ailleurs point inutile ; vos ouvrages continueront à nous éclairer, et independamment de vos talens, l'honnête homme, le galant homme, n'est jamais inutile.

Il me reste à vous présenter le tableau que vous trouveriez. Vous aimiez ma maison et mon jardin, c'est bien autre chose à présent. Au premier étage qui donne sur la descent d'Ouchy, je me suis arrangé un appartement qui me suffit, j'ai une chambre de domestique, deux sallons, et deux cabinets. J'ai au plein pied de la terrasse, deux autres sallons dont l'un sert en été de salle à manger, et l'autre de sallon de compagnie. J'ai fait un nouvel appartement de trois pièces dans le vuide entre la maison et la remise, en sorte que j'ai à vous offrir tout le grand appartement, qui consiste actuellement en onze pièces, tant grandes que petites, tournées au Levant et au Midi, meublées sans magnificence, déplacée, mais avec une sorte d'élégance dont j'espère que vous seriez satisfait. La terrasse a peu changé ; mais elle est terminée par un grande cabinet mieux proportionné que le précédent, garnie tout du long, de caisses d'orangers, &c. La treille, qui ne vous est pas indifférente, a embelli, prospéré, et regne presqu'entièrement jusque'au bout ; parvenu à ce bout, vous trouverez un petit chemin qui vous conduira à une chaumière placée dans un coin ; et de ce coin, en suivant le long d'une autre route à l'Anglaise, le mur d'un manége. Vous trouverez

au

au bout, un chalet avec écurie, vacherie, petite porte, petit cabinet, petite bibliothèque, et une galerie de bois doré, d'où l'on voit tout ce qui sort et entre en ville par la porte du Chêne, et tout ce qui se passe dans ce Faubourg. J'ai acquis la vigne au-dessous du jardin; j'en ai arraché tout ce qui étoit devant la maison; j'en ai fait un tapis vert, arrosé par l'eau du jet d'eau; et j'ai fait tout autour de ce petit parc, une promenade très varié par les différens points de vue et les objets même intérieurs, tantot jardin potager, tantot parterre, tantot vigne, tantot prés, puis chalet, chaumiere, petite montagne; bref, les étrangers viennent le voir et l'admirent, et malgré la description pompeuse que je vous en fais, vous en serez content.

N. B. J'ai planté une quantité d'excellens arbres fruitiers.

Venons à moi; vous comprenez bien que j'ai vieilli, excepté pour la sensibilité; je suis à la mode, mes nerfs sont attaqués; je suis plus mélancolique, mais je n'ai pas plus d'humeur; vous ne souffrirez de mes maux que tout au plus négativement. Ensemble, et séparés par nos logemens, nous jouirons vis-à-vis l'un de l'autre, de la plus grande liberté. Nous prendrons une gouvernante douce et entendue, plutôt par commodité que par nécessité; car je me chargerois sans crainte de la surintendance. J'ai fait un ménage de quatre, pendant quelque tems; j'ai fait le mien, et j'ai remarqué que cela marchoit tout seul, quand c'étoit une fois en train. Les petites gens qui n'ont que ce mérite, font grand bruit pour rien. Mon jardin nous fournira avec abondance de bons fruits et d'excellens légumes. Pour la reste de la table et de la dépense domestique, je ne demanderais pas mieux que de vous recevoir chez moi, comme vous m'avez reçu chez vous; mais nos situations sont différentes à cet egard; cependant si vous etiez plus ruiné, je vous l'offrirois sans doute, et je devrois le faire; mais avec les rentes que vous aviez, quand j'étois chez vous, en les supposant même diminuées, vous

vivrez

vivrez très agréablement à Lauſanne. Enfin à cet égard nous nous arrangerons, comme il vous ſera le plus agréable, et en proportion de nos revenus. Toujours ſerez vous ainſi, à ce qui j'eſpère, plus décemment et plus comfortablement, que vous ne ſeriez par tout ailleurs au même prix.

Quant à la ſociété, quoique infiniment agréable, je commence ce chapitre par vous dire que j'éviterois de vous y inviter, ſi vous étiez entièrement déſœuvré ; les jours ſont longs alors, et laiſſent bien du vuide ; mais homme de lettres, comme vous êtes, je ne connois point de ſociété qui vous convienne mieux. Nous aurons autour de nous un cercle, comme il ſeroit impoſſible d'en trouver ailleurs dans un auſſi petit eſpace. Madame de Corcelles, Mademoiſelle Sulens, et M. de Montolieu (Madame eſt morte), Meſſrs. Polier et leurs femmes, Madame de Severy, et M. et Madame de Naſſau, Mademoiſelle de Chandieu, Madame de St. Cierge, et M. avec leurs deux filles jolies et aimables, Madames de Crouſaz, Polier, de Charrieres, &c. ſont un fonds de bonne compagnie dont on ne ſe laſſe point, et dont M. de Servan eſt ſi content qu'il regrette toujours d'être obligé de retourner dans ſes terres, et ne reſpire que pour s'établir tout à fait à Lauſanne. Il paſſa tout l'hyver de 1782 avec nous, et il fut, on ne peut plus, agréable. Vous trouverez les mœurs changées en bien, et plus conformes à nos ages, et à nos caractères ; peu de grandes aſſemblées, de grands repas, mais beaucoup de petits ſoupers, de petites aſſemblées, où l'on fait ce qu'on veut, où l'on cauſe, lit, &c. et dont on écarte avec ſoin les facheux de toute eſpece. Il y a le Dimanche une ſociété, où tout ce qu'il y a d'un peu diſtingué en étrangères et étrangers, eſt invité. Cela fait des aſſemblées de 40 à 50 perſonnes, où l'on voit ce qu'on ne voit gueres le reſte de la ſemaine, et ces eſpeces de *rout* ſont quelquefois plaiſir. Nous ſommes fort dégoutés des étrangers, ſurtout des jeunes gens, et nous les écartons avec ſoin de nos petits comités, à moins qu'ils n'ayent du mérite, ou quelques talens. A cet égard un de nos petits travers, c'eſt l'enjouement ; mais vous en profiterez, mon

cher

cher Monsieur, comme Edward Gibbon, et comme mon ami; vous ferez d'abord l'homme à la mode, et je vois d'ici que vous soutiendrez fort bien ce rôle, sans vous en fâcher, dût on un peu vous surfaire. *Je sens que tu me flattes, mai tu me fais plaisir*, est peut être le meilleur vers de Destouches. Voilà donc l'hyver; l'étude le matin, quelques conversations, quand vous serez fatigué, avec quelque homme de lettres, ou amateur, ou du moins qui aura vu quelque chose; à l'heure qu'il vous plaira un dîner, point de fermier général, mais l'honnête épicurien, avec un ou deux amis quand vous voudrez; puis quelques visites, une soirée, souvent un souper. Quant à l'été, vu votre manière d'aimer la campagne, on diroit que ma remise a été faite pour vous; pendant que vous vous y promenerez en sénateur, je ferai souvent en bon payſan Suisse, devant mon chalet, ou dans ma chaumière; puis nous nous rencontrerons tout à coup, et tâcherons de nous remettre au niveau l'un de l'autre. Nous fermerons nos portes à l'ordinaire, excepté aux étrangers qui passent leur chemin; mais quand nous voudrons, nous y aurons tous ceux que nous aimerons à y voir: car on ne demande pas mieux que d'y venir se rejouir. J'ai eu, un beau jour d'Avril ce printems, un déjeûner, qui m'a coûté quelques Louis, ou il y avait plus de 40 personnes, je ne sais combien de petites tables, une bonne musique au milieu du verger, et une quantité de jeunes et jolies personnes dansant des branles, et formant des chifres en cadence; j'ai vu bien des fêtes, j'en ai peu vu de plus jolies. Quand mon parc vous ennuyera, nous aurons, ou nous louerons ensemble (et ce sera ainsi un plaisir peu cher) un cabriolet léger, avec deux chevaux gentils, et nous irons visiter nos amis dispersés dans les campagnes, qui nous recevront à bras ouverts. Vous en serez content de nos campagnes; toujours en proportion vous comprenez, et vous trouverez en général un heureux changement pour les agrémens de la société, et une sorte de recherche simple, mais élégante. Les bergères du *printems*, excepté Madame de Vanberg, ne sont sans doute plus présentables, mais il y en a d'autres assez

gentilles

gentilles, et quoiqu'elles ne ſoyent pas en bien grand nombre, il y en aura toujours aſſez pour vous, mon cher Monſieur. Peu à peu mon imagination m'a emporté, et mon ſtyle s'égaye, comme cela nous arrivait quelquefois dans nos chateaux en Eſpagne. Il eſt bien tems de finir cet article, réſumons nous plus ſérieuſement.

Si vous exécutez le plan que vous avez imaginé, j'aimerois même à dire que vous embraſſez, ſurtout d'après ce que vous marquez vous même, *Si je ne conſultais que mon cœur et ma raiſon, je romprois ſur le champ cette indigne chaine*, &c. Eh! que voulez vous conſulter, ſi ce n'eſt votre cœur et votre raiſon? Si, dis-je, vous exécutez ce plan, vous retrouverez une liberté et une indépendance, que vous n'auriez jamais du perdre, et dont vous méritez de jouir, une aiſance qui ne vous coûtera qu'un voyage de quelques jours, une tranquillité que vous ne pouvez avoir à Londres, et enfin un ami qui n'a peut être pas été un jour ſans penſer à vous, et qui malgré ſes défauts, ſes foibleſſes et ſon infériorité, eſt encore un des compagnons qui vous convient le mieux.

Il me reſte à vous apprendre pourquoi je vous réponds ſi tard: vous ſavez dejà actuellement que ce n'eſt pas manque d'amitié et de zele pour la choſe; mais votre lettre m'a été renvoyée de Lauſanne ici, à Straſbourg, et je n'ai paſſé qu'une poſte ſans y répondre, ce qui n'eſt pas trop, vous l'avouerez, pour un pareil bavardage. Je ſuis parti de Lauſanne la veille de Pâques pour venir voir un M. Bourcard de Baſle, fort de mes amis; il eſt ici auprès du Comte de Caglioſtro, pour profiter de ſes remédes. Vous aurez entendu parler peut être de cet homme extraordinaire à tous égards. Comme j'ai été aſſez malade tout l'hyver, je profite auſſi de ſes remèdes; mais comme le tems du ſéjour du Comte ici n'eſt rien moins que ſur, le mieux ſera que vous m'écriviez *à M. D. chez M. Bourcard du Kirſchgarten, à Baſle.*

Vous comprenez combien à tous égards, il eſt néceſſaire m'écrire ſans perte de tems, dèſque vous aurez pris une réſolution. Adieu, mon cher ami.

N° CLII.

M. Gibbon *à M.* Deyverdun.

JE reçois votre lettre du 10 Juin, le 21 de ce mois. Aujourd'hui Mardi 24th, je mets la main à la plume (comme dit M. Fréron) pour y répondre, quoique ma miſſive ne puiſſe partir par arrangement des poſtes, que Vendredi prochain, 27 du courant. O merveille, de la grâce efficace! Elle n'agit pas moins puiſſamment ſur vous, et moyennant le ſecours toujours prêt, et toujours prompt de nos couriers, un mois nous ſuffit pour la demande et la réponſe. Je remercie mille fois le génie de l'amitié, qui m'a pouſſé, après mille efforts inutiles, à vous écrire enfin au moment le plus critique et le plus favorable. Jamais démarche n'a répondu ſi parfaitement à tous mes vœux et à toutes mes eſpérances. Je comptois ſans doute ſur la durée et la vérité de vos ſentimens; mais j'ignorois (telle eſt la foibleſſe humaine) juſqu'à quel point ils avoient pu être attiédis par le tems et l'éloignement; et je ſavois encore moins l'état actuel de votre ſanté, de votre fortune et de vos liaiſons, qui auroient pu oppoſer tant d'obſtacles à notre réunion. Vous m'écrivez, vous m'aimez toujours; vous deſirez avec zele, avec ardeur, de réaliſer nos anciens projets; vous le pouvez, vous le voulez; vous m'offrez dès l'automne votre maiſon, et quelle maiſon! votre terraſſe, et quelle terraſſe! votre ſociété, et quelle ſociété! L'arrangement nous convient à tous les deux; je retrouve à la fois le compagnon de ma jeuneſſe, un ſage conſeiller, et un peintre qui ſait repréſenter et exagérer même les objets les plus rians. Ces exagérations me font pour

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le moins autant de plaiſir, que la ſimple vérité. Si votre portrait étoit tout à fait reſſemblant, ces agrémens n'exiſteroient que hors de nous mêmes, et j'aime encore mieux les trouver dans la vivacité de votre cœur et de votre imagination. Ce n'eſt pas que je ne reconnoiſſe un grand fond de vérité dans le tableau de Lauſanne ; je connois le lieu de la ſcêne, je me tranſporte en idée ſur notre terraſſe, je vois ces côteaux, ce lac, ces montagnes, ouvrages favoris de la nature, et je conçois ſans peine les embelliſſemens que votre goût s'eſt plu y ajouter. Je me rappelle depuis vingt ou trente ans les mœurs, l'eſprit, l'aiſance de la ſociété, et je comprends que ce véritable ton de la bonne compagnie ſe perpétue, et s'épure de pere en fils, ou plutôt de mere en fille ; car il m'a toujours paru qu'à Lauſanne, auſſi bien qu'en France, les femmes ſont très ſupérieures aux hommes. Dans un pareil ſéjour, je craindrois la diſſipation bien plus que l'ennui, et le tourbillon de Lauſanne étonneroit un philoſophe accoutumé, depuis tant d'années à la tranquillité de Londres. Vous êtes trop inſtruit pour regarder ce propos, comme une mauvaiſe plaiſanterie ; c'eſt dans les détroits qu'on eſt entrainé par la rapidité des courans : il n'y en a point en pleine mer. Déſqu'on ne recherche plus les plaiſirs bruyans, et qu'on s'affranchit volontiers des devoirs pénibles, la liberté d'un ſimple particulier ſe fortifie par l'immenſité de la ville. Quant à moi, l'application à mon grand ouvrage, l'habitude, et la récompenſe du travail, m'ont rendu plus ſtudieux, plus ſédentaire, plus ami de la retraite. La chambre des communes et les grands dîners exigent beaucoup de tems ; et la tempérance d'un repas Anglois, vous permet de goûter de cinq ou ſix vins différens, et vous ordonne de boire une bouteille de claret après le déſert. Mais enfin je ne ſoupe jamais, je me couche de bonne heure, je reçois peu de viſites, les matinées ſont longues, les étés ſont libres, et déſque je ferme ma porte ; je ſuis oublié du Monde entier. Dans une ſociété plus bornée et plus amicale, les

démarches ſont publiques, les droits ſont réciproques, l'on dine de bonne heure, on ſe goûte trop pour ne pas paſſer l'après-midi enſemble ; on ſoupe, on veille, et les plaiſirs de la ſoirée ne laiſſent pas de déranger le repos de la nuit, et le travail du lendemain. Quel eſt cependant le réſultat de ces plaintes ? c'eſt ſeulement que la mariée eſt trop belle, et que j'oſe me ſervir de l'excuſe honnête de la ſanté et du privilege d'un homme de lettres ; il ne tiendra qu'à moi de modérer un peu l'excès de mes jouiſſances. Pour cette engouement que vous m'annoncez, et qui a toujours été le défaut des peuples les plus ſpirituels, je l'ai déjà éprouvé ſur un plus grand théâtre. Il y a ſix ans que l'ami de Madame Necker fut reçu à Paris, comme celui de George Deyverdun pourroit l'être à Lauſanne. Je ne connois rien de plus flateur que cet accueil favorable d'un public poli et éclairé. Mais cette faveur, ſi douce pour l'étranger, n'eſt-ellepas un peu dangereuſe pour l'habitant expoſé à voir flétrir ſes lauriers, par ſa faute ou par l'inconſtance des ſes juges ? Non ; on ſe ſoutient toujours, peut être pas préciſement, au même point d'élévation. A l'abri de trois gros volumes in quarto en langue étrangère, encore ce qui n'eſt pas un petit avantage, je conſerverai toujours la réputation littéraire, et cette réputation donnera du relief aux qualités ſociales, ſi l'on trouve l'hiſtorien ſans travers, ſans affectation et ſans prétenſions. Je ſerai donc charmé et content de votre ſociété, et j'aurois pu dire en deux mots, ce qui j'ai bavardé en deux pages ; mais il y a tant de plaiſir à bavarder avec un ami ! car enfin je poſſède à Lauſanne un véritable ami ; et les ſimples connoiſſances remplaceront ſans beaucoup de peine, tout ce qui s'appelle liaiſon, et même amitié, dans ce vaſte déſert de Londres. Mais au moment ou j'écris, je vois de tous côtés une foule d'objets dont la perte ſera bien plus difficile à réparer. Vous connoiſſiez ma bibliothèque ; mais je ſuis en état de vous rendre le propos de votre maiſon *c'eſt bien autre choſe à cette heure* ; formée peu à peu, mais avec beaucoup de ſoin et de dépenſe, elle peut ſe nommer aujourd'hui un

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beau cabinet de particulier. Non content de remplir à rangs redoublés la meilleure piece qui lui étoit deſtinée, elle s'eſt débordée dans la chambre ſur la rue, dans votre ancienne chambre à coucher, dans la mienne, tans tous les recoins de la maiſon de *Bentinck-ſtreet*, et juſques dans une chaumière que je me ſuis donnée à *Hampton Court*.

J'ai mille courtiſans rangés autour de moi :
Ma retraite eſt mon Louvre, et j'y commande en roi.

Le fonds eſt de la meilleure compagnie Grecque, Latine, Italienne, Françoiſe, et Angloïſe, et les auteurs les moins chers à l'homme de goût, des eccléſiaſtiques, des Byzantins, des Orientaux, ſont les plus néceſſaires à l'hiſtorien de la décadence et de la chute, &c. Vous ne ſentez que trop bien le déſagrément de laiſſer, et l'impoſſibilité de tranſporter cinq ou ſix milles volumes, d'autant plus que le ciel n'a pas voulu faire de la Suiſſe, un pays maritime. Cependant mon zele pour la réuſſite de nos projets communs, me fait imaginer que ces obſtacles pourront s'applanir, et que je puis adoucir ou ſupporter ces privations douloureuſes. Les bons auteurs claſſiques, la bibliotheque des nations, ſe retrouvent dans tous les pays. Lauſanne n'eſt pas dépourvu de livres, ni de politeſſe, et j'ai dans l'eſprit qu'on pourroit acquérir pour un certain tems, quelque bibliotheque d'un vieillard ou d'un mineur, dont la famille ne voudroit pas ſe défaire entièrement. Quant aux outils de mon travail, nous commencerons par examiner l'état de nos richeſſes ; aprés quoi il faudroit faire un petit calcul du prix, du poids et de la rareté de chaque ouvrage, pour juger de ce qu'il ſeroit néceſſaire de tranſporter de Londres, et de ce qu'on acheteroit plus commodément en Suiſſe ; à l'égard de ces frais, on devroit les enviſager comme les avances d'une manufacture tranſplantée en pays étranger, et dont on eſpere retirer dans la ſuite un profit raiſonnable. Malheureuſement votre biliotheque publique, en y ajoutant même celle de M. de Bochat, eſt aſſez piteuſe ; mais celles de Berne et de Baſle ſont très nombreuſes,

nombreuſes, et je compterois aſſez ſur la bonhommie Helvétique, pour eſpérer que, moyennant des recommandations et des cautions, il me ſeroit permis d'en tirer les livres dont j'aurois eſſentiellement beſoin. Vous êtes très bien placé pour prendre les informations, et pour fixer les démarches convenables ; mais vous voyez du moins combien je me retourne de tous les côtés, pour eſquiver la difficulté la plus formidable.

Venons à preſent à des objets moins relevés, mais très importans à l'exiſtence et au bien être de l'animal, le logement, les domeſtiques, et la table. Pour mon appartement particulier, une chambre à coucher, avec un grand cabinet et une antichambre, auroient ſuffi à tous mes beſoins ; mais ſi vous pouvez vous en paſſer, je me promenerai avec plaiſir dans l'immenſité de vos onze pieces, qui s'accommoderont ſans doute aux heures et aux ſaiſons différentes. L'article des domeſtiques renferme une aſſez forte difficulté, ſur laquelle je dois vous conſulter. Vous connoiſſez, et vous eſtimez Caplin mon valet de chambre, maitre d'hotel, &c. qui a été nourri dans notre maiſon, et qui comptoit y finir ſes jours. Depuis votre départ, ſes talens et ſes vertus ſe ſont développés de plus en plus, et je le conſidere bien moins ſur le pied d'un domeſtique, que ſur celui d'un ami. Malheureuſement il ne ſait que l'Anglois, et jamais il n'apprendra de langue étrangère. Il m'accompagna, il y a ſix ans, dans mon voyage à Paris, mais il rapporta fidelement à Londres toute l'ignorance, et tous les préjugés d'un bon patriote. A Lauſanne il me coûteroit beaucoup, et à l'exception du ſervice perſonel, il ne nous ſeroit que d'une très petite utilité. Cependant je ſupporterois volontiers cette dépenſe, mais je ſuis très perſuadé que, ſi ſon attachement le portoit à me ſuivre, il s'ennuyeroit à mourir dans un pays où tout lui ſeroit étranger et déſagréable. Il faudroit donc me détacher d'un homme dont je connois le zele, la fidélité, rompre tout d'un coup de petites habitudes qui ſont liées avec le bien être journalier et momentané, et ſe reſoudre à lui ſubſti-

tuer

tuer un viſage nouveau, peut être un mauvais ſujet, toujours quelque avanturier Suiſſe pris ſur le pavé de Londres. Vous rappellez vous un certain Georges Suiſſe qui a fait autrefois avec moi, le voyage de France et d'Italie? Je le crois marié et établi à Lauſanne; s'il vit encore, ſi vous pouvez l'engager à ſe rendre ici, pour me ramener en Suiſſe, la compagnie d'un bon et ancien ſerviteur ne laiſſeroit pas d'adoucir la chute, et il reſteroit peut être aupres de moi, juſqu'à ce que nous euſſions choiſi un jeune homme du pays, adroit, modeſte et bien élevé, à qui je ferois un parti avantageux. Les autres domeſtiques, gouvernantes, laquais, cuiſinière, &c. ſe prennent et ſe renvoyent ſans difficulté. Un article bien plus important c'eſt notre table, car enfin nous ne ſommes pas aſſez hermites, pour nous contenter des légumes et des fruits de votre jardin, tout excellens qu'ils ſont; mais je n'ai preſque rien à ajouter à l'honnêteté de vos propos, qui me donnent beaucoup plus de plaiſir que de ſurpriſe. Si je me trouvois ſans fortune, au lieu de rougir des bienfaits de l'amitié, j'accepterois vos offres auſſi ſimplement que vous les faites. Mais nous ne ſommes pas réduits à ce point, et vous comprenez aſſez qu'une déconfiture Angloiſe laiſſe encore une fortune fort décente au Pays de Vaud, et pour vous dire quelque choſe de plus précis, je dépenſerois ſans peine et ſans inconvenient cinq ou ſix cens Louis. Vous connoiſſez le réſultat auſſi bien que les détails d'un ménage; en ſuppoſant une petite table de deux philoſophes Epicuriens, quatre, cinq, ou ſix domeſtiques, des amis aſſez ſouvent, des repas aſſez rarement, beaucoup de ſenſualité, et peu de luxe, à combien eſtimez vous en gros le dépenſe d'un mois et d'une année? Le partage que vous avez déjà fait, me paroît de plus raiſonnables; vous me logez, et je vous nourris. A votre calcul, j'ajouterois mon entretien perſonnel, habits, plaiſirs, gages de domeſtiques, &c. et je verrois d'une manière aſſez nette, l'enſemble de mon petit établiſſement.

Après avoir eſſuyé tant de détails minutieux, le cher lecteur s'imagine ſans doute que la réſolution de me fixer pendant

dant quelques tems aux bords du Lac Léman, eſt parfaitement décidée. Helas ! rien n'eſt moins vrai ; mais je me ſuis livré au charme délicieux de compter, de ſonder, de palper ce bonheur, dont je ſens tout le prix, qui eſt à ma portée, et auquel j'aurai peut-être la bêtiſe de renoncer. Vous avez raiſon de croire, mais vous ignorez juſqu'à quel point vous l'avez, que ma carrière politique a été plus ſemée d'epines que de roſes. Eh ! quel objet, quel mortel, pourroit me conſoler de l'ennui des affaires, et de la honte de la dépendance ? *La gloire ?* Comme homme de lettres, j'en jouis, comme orateur je ne l'aurai jamais, et le nom des ſimples ſoldats eſt oublié dans les victoires auſſi bien que dans les défaites. *Le devoir ?* Dans ces combats à l'aveugle, où les chefs ne cherchent que leur avantage particulier, il y a toujours à parier que les ſubalternes feront plus de mal que de bien. *L'attachement perſonnel ?* Les miniſtres ſont rarement dignes de l'inſpirer ; juſqu'à preſent Lord North m'a pas eu à ſe plaindre de moi, et ſi je me retire du Parlement, il lui ſera très aiſé d'y ſubſtituer un autre muet, tout auſſi affidé que ſon ancien ſerviteur. Je ſuis intimement convaincu, et par la raiſon, et par le ſentiment, qu'il n'y a point de parti, qui me convienne auſſi bien que de vivre avec vous, et auprès de vous à Lauſanne ; et ſi je parviens à la place *(Commiſſioner of the Exciſe or Cuſtoms)* ou je viſe, il y aura toutes les ſemaines cinq longues matinées, qui m'avertiront de la folie de mon choix. Vous vous trompez à la vérité à l'égard de l'inſtabilité de ces emplois ; ils ſont preſques les ſeuls qui ne ſe reſſentent jamais des révolutions du miniſtère. Cependant ſi cette place s'offroit bientôt, je n'aurois pas le bon ſens et le courage de la refuſer. Quels autres conſeillers veux je prendre, ſi non mon cœur et ma raiſon ? Il en eſt de puiſſans et toujours écoutés : les égards, la mauvais honte, tous mes amis, ou ſoi diſant tels, s'écrieront que je ſuis un homme perdu, ruiné, un fou qui ſe dérobe à ſes protecteurs, un miſanthrope qui s'exile au bout du monde, et puis les exagérations ſur tout ce qui ſeroit fait en ma faveur, ſi ſurement, ſi promptement, ſi liberalement.

Milord

Milord Sheffield opinera à me faire interdire et enfermer ; mes deux tantes et ma belle mere ſe plaindront que je les quitte pour jamais, &c. Et l'embarras de prendre mon bonnet de nuit, comme diſoit le ſage Fontenelle, lorſqu'il n'etoit queſtion que de ſe coucher, combien de bonnets de nuit ne me faudra-t-il pas prendre, et les prendre tout ſeul, car tout le monde, amis, parens, domeſtiques, s'oppoſera à ma ſuite. Voila à la vérité des obſtacles aſſez peu redoutables, et en les décrivant, je ſens qu'ils s'affoibliſſent dans mon eſprit. Grace à ce long bavardage vous connoiſſez mon intérieur, comme moi même, c'eſt à dire aſſez mal ; mais cette incertitude, très amicale pour moi, ſeroit très facheuſe pour vous. Votre réponſe me parviendra vers la fin de Juillet, et huit jours après, je vous promets une replique nette et déciſive : *je pars* ou *je reſte*. Si je pars, ce ſera au milieu de Septembre : je mangerai les raiſins de votre treille, les premiers jours d'Octobre, et vous aurez encore le tems de me charger de vos commiſſions. Ne me dites plus : *Monſieur*, *et très cher ami* ; le premier eſt froid, le ſecond eſt ſuperflu.

N° CLIII.

M. Deyverdun *à M.* Gibbon.

ME voilà un peu embarraſſé actuellement ; je ne dois vous apppeller ni Monſieur, ni ami. Eh bien ! vous ſaurez qu'étant parti Samedi de Straſbourg, pendant que je venois ici, votre ſeconde lettre alloit là, et qu'ainſi je reçus votre troiſième, Dimanche, et votre ſeconde, hier. La mention que vous y faiſiez du Suiſſe George, dont je n'ai pu rien trouver dans la première, m'a fait comprendre qu'il y en avoit une ſeconde, et j'ai cru devoir attendre un courier, la troiſième n'exigeant pas de réponſe.

Pour votre parole, permettez que je vous en diſpenſe encore, et même juſqu'au dernier jour, je ſens bien qu'un procédé

procédé contraire, vous conviendroit; mais certes il ne me convient pas du tout. Ceci, comme vous le dites, eſt une eſpèce de mariage, et penſez vous que malgré les engagemens les plus ſolemnels, je n'euſſe pas reconduit chez elle, du pied des autels, la femme la plus aimable qui m'eut temoigné des regrets. Jamais je ne me conſolerois, ſi je vous voyois mécontent dans la ſuite, et dans le cas de me faire des reproches. C'eſt à vous à faire, ſi vous croyez néceſſaire, des démarches de votre côté, qui fortifient votre réſolution; pour moi, je n'en ferai point d'eſſentielles, juſqu'à ce que j'aye reçu encore une lettre de vous. Après ce petit préambule, parlons toujours comme ſi l'affaire étoit décidée, et repaſſons votre lettre. Tout ce que vous dites des grandes et petites villes, eſt très vrai, et votre comparaiſon des détroits et de la pleine mer, eſt on ne peut pas plus juſte et agréable; mais enfin, *comme on fait ſon lit, on ſe couche*, diſoit Sancho Pancha d'agréable mémoire, et qui peut mieux faire ſon lit à ſa guiſe qu'un étranger, qui, n'ayant ni devoirs d'état ni de ſang à remplir, peut vivre entièrement iſolé, ſans que perſonne y puiſſe trouver à redire? Moi même, bourgeois et citoyen de la ville, je ſuis preſqu'entièrement libre. L'été, par exemple, je déteſte de m'enfermer le ſoir dans des chambres chaudes, pour faire une partie. Eh bien! on m'a perſécuté un peu la première année; à preſent on me laiſſe en repos. Il y aura ſans doute quelque changement dans votre manière de vivre; mais il me ſemble qu'on ſe fait aiſement à cela. Les diners, ſurtout en femmes, ſont très rares; les ſoupers peu grands; on reſte plutôt pour être enſemble, que pour manger, et pluſieurs perſonnes ne s'aſſeyent point. Je crois, tout compté et rabattu, que vous aurez encore plus de tems pour le cabinet qu'à Londres; on ſort peu le matin, et quand nos amis communs viendront chez moi, et vous demanderont, je leur dirai; "ce n'eſt pas un oiſif comme vous autres, il travaille dans "ſon cabinet;" et ils ſe tairont reſpectueuſement.

Pour les bibliotheques publiques, votre idée ne pourroit, je penſe, ſe réaliſer pour un lecteur, ou même un écrivain ordinaire,

ordinaire, mais un homme qui joue un rôle dans la république des lettres, un homme aimé et conſidéré, trouvera, je m'imagine, bien des facilités ; d'ailleurs, j'ai de bons amis à Berne, et je prendrai ici des informations.

Paſſons à la table. Si j'étois à Lauſanne, cet article ſeroit plus ſur, je pourrois revoir mes papiers, conſulter ; j'ai une chienne de mémoire. A vue de pays cela pourra aller de 20 à 30 Louis par mois, plus ou moins, vous ſentez, ſuivant la friandiſe, et le plus ou moins de convives. Marquez moi dans votre première combien vous coûte le votre.

Je ſens fort bien tous les bonnets de nuit : point de grands changemens ſans embarras, même ſans regrets ; vous en aurez quelquefois ſans doute : par exemple, ſi votre ſalle à manger, votre ſalle de compagnie, ſont plus riantes, vous perdrez pour le vaſe de la bibliotheque. Pour ce qui eſt des répreſentations, diſcours au moins inutiles, il me ſemble que le mieux ſe deſroit de maſquer vos grandes operations, de ne parler que d'une courſe, d'une viſite chez moi, de ſix mois ou plus ou moins. Vous feriez bien, je penſe, d'aller chez mon ami Louis Teiffier ; c'eſt un brave et honnête homme, qui m'eſt attaché, qui aime notre pays ; il vous donnera tout plein de bons conſeils avec zele, et vous gardera le ſecret.

Vous aurez quelquefois à votre table un poëte ;—oui, Monſieur, un poëte :—nous en avons un enfin. Procurez vous un volume 8vo. *Poëſies Helvetiennes, imprimés l'année paſſé chez Mouſer, à Lauſanne.* Vous trouverez entr'autres dans l'épitre au jardinier de la grotte, votre ami et votre parc. Toute la proſe eſt de votre très humble ſerviteur, qui deſire qu'elle trouve grace devant vous.

Le Comte de Caglioſtro a fait un ſéjour à Londres. On ne ſait qui il eſt, d'où il tire ſon argent ; il exerce *gratis* ſes talens pour la médecine ; il a fait des cures admirables ; mais c'eſt d'ailleurs le compoſé le plus étrange. J'ai ceſſé de prendre ces rémedes qui m'échauffoient—l'homme d'ailleurs me gâtoit le médecin. Je ſuis revenu à Baſle avec mon ami. Adieu ; récrivez moi le plutôt poſſible.

N° CLIV.

M. Gibbon *à* M. Deyverdun.

Hampton Court, ce 1 Juillet, 1783.

APRES avoir pris ma resolution, l'honneur, et ce qui vaut encore mieux l'amitié, me défendent de vous laisser un moment dans incertitude. Je pars. Je vous en donne ma parole, et comme je suis bien aise de me fortifier d'un nouveau lien, je vous prie très sérieusement de ne pas m'en dispenser. Ma possession, sans doute, ne vaut pas celle de Julie; mais vous serez plus inéxorable que St. Preux. Je ne sens plus qu'une vive impatience pour notre réunion. Mais le mois d'Octobre est encore loin; 92 jours, et nous aurons tout le tems de prendre, et de nous donner des éclaircissemens dont nous avons besoin. Après un mûr examen, je renonce au voyage de George Suisse, qui me paroît incertain, cher et difficile. Après tout mon valet de chambre et ma bibliotheque, sont les deux articles les plus embarrassans. Si je ne retenois pas ma plume, je remplirois sans peine la feuille; mais il ne faut pas passer du silence, à un babil intarissable. Seulement si je connois le Comte de Cagliostro, cet homme extraordinaire, &c. Savez vous le Latin? oui, sans doute; mais faites, comme si je ne le savois point. Quand retournez vous à Lausanne vous même? Je pense que vous y trouverez une petite bête bien aimable, mais tant soit peu méchante, qui se nomme Milady Elizabeth Foster; parlez lui de moi, mais parlez en avec discrétion; elle a des correspondances partout. Vale.

N° CLV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

July 10th, 1783.

YOU will read the following lines with more patience and attention than you would probably give to an hasty conference, perpetually interrupted by the opening of the door, and perhaps by the quickness of our own tempers. I neither expect nor desire an answer on a subject of extreme importance to myself, but which friendship alone can render interesting to you. We shall soon meet at Sheffield.

It is needless to repeat the reflections which we have sometimes debated together, and which I have often seriously weighed in my silent solitary walks. Notwithstanding your active and ardent spirit, you must allow that there is some perplexity in my present situation, and that my future prospects are distant and cloudy. I have lived too long in the world to entertain a very sanguine idea of the friendship or zeal of ministerial patrons; and we are all sensible how much the powers of patronage are reduced.

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

At the end of the Parliament, or rather long before that time, (for their lives are not worth a year's purchase,) our Ministers are kicked down stairs, and I am left their disinterested friend, to fight through another opposition, and to expect the fruits of another revolution. But I will take a more favourable supposition, and conceive myself in six months firmly seated at the board of customs; before the end of the next six months I should infallibly hang myself. Instead of regretting my disappointment, I rejoice in my escape; as I am satisfied that no salary could pay me for the irksomeness of attendance, and the drudgery of business so repugnant to my taste, (and I will dare to say,) so unworthy

unworthy of my character. Without looking forwards to the poſſibility, ſtill more remote, of exchanging that laborious office for a ſmaller annuity, there is ſurely another plan, more reaſonable, more ſimple, and more pleaſant; a temporary retreat to a quiet and leſs expenſive ſcene. In a four years reſidence at Lauſanne, I ſhould live within my income, ſave, and even accumulate, my ready money; finiſh my Hiſtory, an object of profit, as well as fame, expect the contingencies of elderly lives, and return to England at the age of fifty, to form a laſting independent eſtabliſhment, without courting the ſmiles of a Miniſter, or apprehending the downfal of a party. Such have been my ſerious ſober reflections. Yet I much queſtion, whether I ſhould have found courage to follow my reaſon and my inclination, if a friend had not ſtretched his hand to draw me out of the dirt. The twentieth of laſt May I wrote to my friend Deyverdun, after a long interval of ſilence, to expoſe my ſituation, and to conſult in what manner I might beſt arrange myſelf at Lauſanne. From his anſwer, which I received about a fortnight ago, I have the pleaſure to learn, that his heart and his houſe are both open for my reception; that a family which he had lodged for ſome years is about to leave him, and that at no other time my company could have been ſo acceptable and convenient. I ſhall ſtep, at my arrival, into an excellent apartment and a delightful ſituation; the fair diviſion of our expences will render them very moderate, and I ſhall paſs my time with the companion of my youth, whoſe temper and ſtudies have always been congenial to my own. I have given him my word of honour to be at Lauſanne in the beginning of October, and no power or perſuaſion can divert me from this IRREVOCABLE reſolution, which I am every day proceeding to execute.

I wiſh, but I ſcarcely hope, to convince you of the propriety of my ſcheme; but at leaſt you will allow, that when we are not able to prevent the *follies* of our friends, we ſhould ſtrive to render them as

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easy and harmless as possible. The arrangement of my house, furniture, and books will be left to meaner hands, but it is to your zeal and judgment alone that I can trust the more important disposal of Lenborough and * * * * *. On these subjects we may go into a committee at Sheffield-Place, but you know it is the rule of a committee, not to hear any arguments against the *principle* of the bill. At present I shall only observe, that neither of these negociations ought to detain me here; the former may be dispatched as well, the latter much better, in my absence. *Vale.*

N° CLVI.

M. Gibbon *à M.* Deyverdun,

Sheffield-Place, le 31 Juillet 1783.

VOTRE papier s'est furieusement rappetisé; vous avez si bien retranché le superflu, que vous oubliez l'essentiel, et ce n'est que par des conjectures fines et savantes que je devine la date du tems et du lieu. Quant à moi je suis actuellement au château de Milord Sheffield, à quarante milles de Londres, ce qui ajoute deux jours pour l'arrivée et le départ du courier. Je reçois votre lettre (je ne sais du quantime) le 30 Juillet de l'an de grace 1783, je réponds du 31 du dit mois et de la dite année. Le zele ne se rallentit point pour la consummation du grand œuvre. Je sens votre procédé délicat et généreux, et quoique je n'eusse pas été faché de trouver dans votre fermeté, un appui à la mienne, mon inclination est si bien affermie sur la base inébranlable de l'inclination et de la raison, que je ne crains plus les obstacles extérieurs ni intérieurs. Dèsque j'ai osé fixer mon départ, les nuages qui le couvroient, se sont évanouis; les montagnes s'aplanissoient devant moi, et les dragons qui s'étoient présentés sur ma route, se sont apprivoisés. La semaine passée, je frappai le grand coup par la cassation du bail

de

de ma maiſon de *Bentinck-ſtreet* ; et après le mois de Septembre, ſi je ne couche pas à Lauſanne, je coucherai dans la rue. Mes différens bonnets de nuit s'arrangent tous les jours, avec beaucoup d'ordre et de facilité. Lord Sheffield lui même, ce terrible St. George, vrai champion de l'Angleterre, s'eſt rendu à mes raiſons, ou plutôt aux votres. Il eſt charmé du tableau de votre première lettre, et malgré l'activité de ſon ame, au lieu de me condamner, il me porte envie ; et nous diſputons (un peu en l'air) ſur le projet d'une viſite que lui, ſon aimable compagne et ſa fille ainée, ſe propoſent de nous faire dans deux ans aux bords du Lac Léman. Bien loin de combattre mon deſſein, il me conſeille, il me ſeconde dans l'exécution, et je n'aurai pas beſoin de recourir aux lumiéres de votre ami Louis Teyſſier, d'autant plus que pour les menus détails de la correſpondence étrangére, je trouve dans le libraire Elmſly un conſeiller ſage, inſtruit et diſcret. * * * * * * * * * * * * * . Votre calcul de la dépenſe de la maiſon ſurpaſſe, non pas abſolument mes moyens, mais un peu mes eſpérances et mes conjectures. La conſummation en Suiſſe n'eſt point chargée d'impots ; le vin y coule comme l'eau de fontaine ; votre jardin produit des fruits et des légumes. Se peut il que vingt ou trente Louis ſe dépenſent tous les mois pour le pain, la viande, le bois, la chandelle, quelque peu de vin étranger, les domeſtiques de la cuiſine, &c. ? Je me flatte que dans l'incertitude, vous avez cavé au plus fort ; mais enfin tout ce détail ſe réglera ſuivant nos goûts et nos facultés ; et un mois d'expérience ſera plus inſtructif que cent pages de raiſonnemens. La comparaiſon que vous me demandez de mon ménage de Londres, ne meneroit à rien. A la rigueur je ne tien pas maiſon ; je ne donne preſque jamais à manger : en hyver je dine aſſez rarement chez moi ; je ne ſoupe jamais ; et une partie aſſez conſidérable de la dépenſe (celle des clubs et des *tavernes*) n'entre point dans le compte de la maiſon.

maiſon. Ma nourriture domeſtique n'excede pas toutefois votre calcul Lauſannois ; mais je ſens la différence entre le petit couvert triſte et meſquin d'un garçon, et la table honnête et hoſpitalière de deux amis, qui auront d'autres amis, &c.

Votre idée de maſquer mes grands opérations eſt de la plus profonde politique ; mais les déclarations, et même les démarches qui ſeront néceſſaires pour me retirer de la Chambre des Communes, déclareront un peu trop tot l'étendue de mes projets. Cependant on peut tirer quelque parti de cette honnête diſſimulation, pour calmer un peu les ſcrupules, et les regrets des dames agées que vous connoiſſez, et que vous ne connoiſſez pas. Mais le moyen le plus efficace pour arrêter, ou pour ne pas écouter les mauvais diſcours, c'eſt de s'y dérober par une prompte fuite, et depuis que ma reſolution a été priſe, je compte les jours et les momens. Le 10 du mois prochain je retournerai à Londres, où je travaillerai vivement à préparer ce grand changement d'état. J'attends tous les jours la réponſe de Madame Gibbon, à qui j'ai tâché de perſuader qu'une entrevue de trois ou quatre jours à Bath, ſeroit moins douce qu'amère à tous les deux. Si elle ſe rend, ou fait ſemblant de ſe rendre à mes raiſons, je compte que tout ſera fini la première, ou du moins la ſeconde ſemaine de Septembre, et comme je couperai droit par la Champagne, et la Franche-Compté, je pourrois fort bien me trouver à Lauſanne vers le 20 ou le 25 de ce mois là, ſuppoſé toujours que cette promptitude vous convienne, que votre maiſon ſera libre, et que vous y ſerez rendu vous même. J'avois quelque idée de me détourner par Straſbourg, de vous prendre à Baſle, et de paſſer avec vous par Berne, &c. mais, tout bien conſidéré, j'aime mieux abréger le grand voyage et reſerver cette promenade (ſi nous avions envie de la faire) pour un ſaiſon plus tranquille. J'attends votre réponſe dans une trentaine de jours ; mais ſans l'attendre je vous écrirai de Londres, pour continuer le fil de l'hiſtoire, et peut être pour vous charger de

quelques achats de livres, qui ſe feront plus commodément à Baſle qu'à Lauſanne. Vous ne me donnez point de commiſſions. Cependant ce pays n'eſt pas ſans induſtrie. Milord et Milady Sheffield vous embraſſent très amicalement. Ce ſera pour moi la perte la plus ſenſible.

N° CLVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Monday, Auguſt 18th, 1783.

IN the preparations of my journey I have not felt any circumſtance more deeply than the kind concern of Lady Sheffield and the ſilent grief of Mrs. Porten. Yet the age of my friends makes a very eſſential difference. I can ſcarcely hope ever to ſee my aunt again; but I flatter myſelf, that in leſs than two years, my *ſiſter* will make me a viſit, and that in leſs than four, I ſhall return it with a cheerful heart at Sheffield-Place. Buſineſs advances; this morning my books were ſhipped for Rouen, and will reach Lauſanne almoſt as ſoon as myſelf. On Thurſday morning the bulk of the library moves from Bentinck-ſtreet to Downing-ſtreet. I ſhall eſcape from the noiſe to Hampton Court, and ſpend three or four days in taking leave. I want to know your preciſe motions, what day you arrive in town, whether you viſit Lord * * * * * before the races, &c. I am now impatient to be gone, and ſhall only wait for a laſt interview with you. Your medley of judges, advocates, politicians, &c. is rather *uſeful* than pleaſant. Town is a vaſt ſolitude. Adieu.

N° CLVIII.

The Same to the Same.

BENTINCK-STREET, Auguſt 20th, 1783.

I AM now concluding one of the moſt unpleaſant days of my life. Will the day of our meeting again be accompanied with proportionable ſatisfaction? The buſineſs of preparation will ſerve to agitate and divert *my* thoughts; but I do not like your brooding over melancholy ideas in your ſolitude, and I heartily wiſh that both you and my dear Lady S. would immediately go over and paſs a week at Brighton. Such is our imperfect nature, that diſſipation is a far more efficacious remedy than reflection. At all events, let me hear from you ſoon. I have paſſed the evening at home, without gaining any intelligence.

N CLIX.

M. DEYVERDUN *à M.* GIBBON.

DE NEUCHATEL, le 20 Aout 1783.

IL y a long tems que je n'ai été auſſi mécontent de moi que je le ſuis dans ce moment; j'ai fait par l'événement une grande étourderie; j'ai manqué à ceux que me quittent, et à celui qui vient me joindre; enfin je me ſuis très mal conduit. M. * * * * *, qui loge chez moi, me paroiſſoit ſi diſpoſé à quitter ma maiſon, quand je partis au printems, que ne doutant pas qu'il ne trouvât à s'arranger pendant tout l'été, je la regardois déjà d'avance comme vacante. Le plaiſir extrême que j'avois à vous l'offrir, n'a pas peu contribué à ſoutenir cette illuſion; enfin n'entendant parler cependant de rien, je lui ai écrit après avoir reçu il y a ſix jours votre dernière, et il vient de me

répondre qu'il n'à rien trouvé encore, mais qu'il n'épargnera ni soins ni dépenses, pour déloger, je ne lui ai au reste point marqué de quoi il étoit question ; mais je l'ai prié de me dire à quelle époque il croyoit que ma maison pourroit être vacante. Je lui récrirai demain, car il me paraît qu'il est piqué, et tel que je le connois, malgré ce que je pourrai lui marquer, il sera fort empressé à décamper ; mais malgré cela, il ne faut compter sur la maison entière pour votre arrivée.

Je vous demande mille pardons, mon cher ami, je me mets à votre merci ; et en vérité si vous me voyiez en ce moment, vous auriez pitié de moi. Que nous reste-t-il à faire ? car enfin il ne faut pas perdre la tête. J'ai un appartement de deux chambres sans lit, et deux petits cabinets, où vous pourriez être passablement, en attendant que la maison fût tout à fait libre ; le tout est à plein pied de la terrasse, je me procureroit un logement au bout de mon jardin, et nous pourrions nous faire apporter à manger, chose pratiquée par nombre de Grands Seigneurs, entr' autres par Monseigneur le Margrave d'Anspach. 2. Ou bien louer un appartement garni que nous occuperons ensemble. Ou enfin 3. passer l'hyver dans quelle autre ville du Continent qu'il vous plaira choisir, où j'irai vous joindre et vous porter mes excuses. Une réflexion que je fais dans ce moment ci, et qui me console un peu, c'est que dans votre première lettre, votre résolution ne tenoit point à ma maison, ni même à l'idée de loger et vivre avec moi. Ce seconde article aura toujours lieu, s'il vous convient, et le premier ne sera que différé ; ainsi appaisez vous, mon cher ami, pardonnez moi, et écrivez moi tout de suite lequel de ces partis vous convient le mieux, pour que je m'y conforme ; ou si vous en imaginez un nouveau, annoncez le moi. Une réflexion qui contribue encore à me consoler, c'est que pendant le tems que nous camperons ainsi en quelque manière, nous aurons le tems de bien voir autour de nous, et de nous arranger à notre aise, d'un manière stable et commode pour notre établissement. Encore une fois cependant, mon cher ami, mille pardons.

Milord

Milord Sheffield s'eſt montré plus raiſonnable que je ne l'aurais cru ; diantre ! n'allez pas dire cela à ſa ſeigneurie ; mais dites-lui, je vous prie, combien me plait l'eſpoir d'avoir l'honneur de le connoitre ; je vois encore d'ici ſon beau parc et le charmant ruiſſeau. Son ſuffrage dans des circonſtances qui doivent ſans doute le prévenir contre moi, me fait le plus grand plaiſir, parceque je le regarde comme une bien forte preuve que vous prenez un parti convenable à votre bonheur. Des commiſſions, je ne ſaurais trop que vous dire dans ce moment ; comme vous avez une maiſon montée, voyez s'il n'y auroit pas des choſes Anglaiſes auxquelles vous êtes accoutume, et qui vous feroient plaiſir, on en pourroit rempler une caiſſe. Un ſervice de cette porcelaine de Bath, par exemple, nous conviendroit, ce me ſemble, aſſez.

Une de mes craintes maintenant, c'eſt que cette lettre ne vous parvienne peut être point avant votre départ ; cela ſerait très facheux. Toujours aurai-je ſoin de me trouver à Lauſanne, au moins vers le milieu de mois prochain. Des couriers, comme celui que vous amenez, ſont ordinairement de vrais domeſtiques de Grand Seigneurs, chers et importans ; mais vous les connoitrez en route. Ne ſoyez pas trop faché contre moi, du contretems que je vous annonce, et penſez qu'il y a enfin un appartement honnête de garçon, ma terraſſe, mon jardin et votre ami, qui ne peuvent vous manquer—

Tout à vous,

D.

N° CLX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Friday, Auguſt 22d, 1783.

I AM aſtoniſhed with your apparition and flight, and am at a loſs to conjecture the mighty and ſudden buſineſs of * * * * *, which could not be delayed till next week. Timeo * * * *, their ſelfiſh cunning, and your ſanguine

ſanguine unſuſpecting ſpirit. Not dreaming of your arrival, I thought it unneceſſary to apprize you, that I delayed Hampton to this day; on Monday I ſhall return, and will expect you Tueſday evening, either in Bentinck or Downing-ſtreet, as you like beſt. You have ſeen the piles of learning accumulated in your parlour; the tranſportation will be atchieved to-day, and Bentinck-ſtreet is already reduced to a light, ignorant habitation, which I ſhall inhabit till about the firſt of September; four days muſt be allowed for clearing and packing; theſe I ſhall ſpend in Downing-ſtreet, and after ſeeing you a moment on your return, I ſhall ſtart about Saturday the ſixth. London is a deſert, and life, without books, buſineſs, or ſociety, will be ſomewhat tedious. From this ſtate, you will judge that your plan coincides very well, only I think you ſhould give me the whole of Wedneſday in Bentinck-ſtreet. With regard to Buſhy, perhaps as a compliment to Lord L. you had better defer it till your return. I admire Gregory Way, and ſhould envy him, if I did not poſſeſs a diſpoſition ſomewhat ſimilar to his own. My Lady will be repoſed and reſtored at Brighton; the torrent of Lords, Judges, &c. a proper remedy for you, was a medicine ill-ſuited to her conſtitution. I *tenderly* embrace her.

N° CLXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

MY DEAR FRIEND, BENTINCK-STREET, Auguſt 30th, 1783.

FOR the names of Sheffelina, &c. are too playful for the ſerious temper of my mind. In the whole period of my life I do not recollect a day in which I felt more unpleaſant ſenſations, than that on which I took my leave of Sheffield-Place. I forgot my friend Deyverdun, and the fair proſpect of quiet and happineſs which awaits me at Lauſanne.

Lausanne. I lost sight of our almost certain meeting at the end of a term, which, at our age, cannot appear very distant; nor could I amuse my uneasiness with the hopes, the more doubtful prospect, of your visit to Switzerland. The agitation of preparing every thing for my departure has, in some degree, diverted these melancholy thoughts; yet I still look forwards to the decisive day (to-morrow se'nnight) with an anxiety of which yourself and Lord S. have the principal share.

Surely never any thing was so unlucky as the unseasonable death of Sir John Ruffel on his passage to his friend at Sheffield-Place, which so strongly reminded us of the instability of human life and human expectations. The inundation of the assises must have distressed and overpowered you; but I hope and I wish to hear from yourself, that the air of your favourite Brighton, the bathing, and the quiet society of two or three friends have composed and revived your spirits. Present my love to Sarah, and compliments to Miss Carter, &c. Give me a speedy and satisfactory line. I am most truly yours.

N° CLXII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

DOWNING-STREET, September 8th, 1783.

AS we are not unconscious of each other's feelings, I shall only say, that I am glad you did not go alone into Suffex; an American rebel to dispute with gives a diversion to uneasy spirits, and I heartily wished for such a friend or adversary during the remainder of the day. No letter from Deyverdun; the post is arrived, but two Flanders mails are due. Æolus does not seem to approve of my designs, and there is little merit in waiting till Friday. I should wait with more reluctance, did I think there was much chance of success. I dine with Craufurd, and if any thing is decided, will send an extraordinary Gazette.

You

You have obliged me beyond expreſſion, by your kindneſs to aunt Kitty; ſhe will drink her afternoon tea at Sheffield next Friday. For my ſake Lady S. will be kind to the old lady, who will not be troubleſome, and will vaniſh at the firſt idea of Brighton. Has not that ſalubrious air already produced ſome effects? Peace will be proclaimed to-morrow; odd! as war was never declared. The buyers of ſtock ſeem as indifferent as yourſelf about the definitive treaty. Tell Maria, that though you had forgotten the *Annales de la Vertu*, I have directed them to be ſent, but know nothing of their plan or merit. Adieu. When you ſee my Lady, ſay every thing tender and friendly to her. I did not know how much I loved her. She may depend upon my keeping a ſeparate, though not perhaps a very frequent account with her. *A propos*, I think aunt Kitty has a ſecret wiſh to ſleep in my room; if it is not occupied, ſhe might be indulged. Once more, adieu.

N° CLXIII.

M. Gibbon *à M.* Deyverdun.

Downing-street, à Londres, le 9 Septembre 1783.

SELON ma diligence ordinaire je répondis le 31 Juillet à votre lettre ſans date, reçu le jour auparavant. Je voyois couler le mois d'Août, fortement perſuadé qu'il ne s'acheveroit point, ſans m'apporter votre *ultimatum*. Nous voici au 9 Septembre, quarante jours depuis ma miſſive, et je n'ai point encore de vos nouvelles! Il eſt vrai que des vents contraires nous retiennent deux malles de Flandres, et vos dépêches peuvent et doivent s'y trouver. Mais ſi elles ne m'apportent rien de votre part, je ſerai très étonné, et pas moins embarraſſé. Se peut-il que vos lettres, ou les miennes ſe ſoient égarées en chemin? êtes vous mort? êtes vous malade? avez vous changé d'avis? eſt-il ſurvenu des difficultés? Je vous ai écrit de nouveau

veau le 19 Août ; mais l'incertitude de mes craintes me fait encore hazarder ce billet. Après des travaux inouis, j'ai enfin brisé tous mes liens, et depuis ma résolution, je n'ai pas eu un instant de regrets ; ma vive impatience se fortifie tous les jours, et depuis que j'ai abandonné ma maison et ma bibliotheque, l'ennui a prêté des ailes à l'esperance et à l'amitié. Enfin j'avois fixé mon départ au commencement de la semaine ; à cette heure il est renvoyé a Vendredi prochain, 12 de ce mois, dans la supposition toujours d'une lettre de votre part, car je ne saurois entreprendre ma course, sans être assuré de la réception qui m'attend au bout. Je me ferai toujours précéder par un mot de billet ; mais la saison est tellement orageuse, qu'il me sera impossible d'arrêter le jour de mon arrivée à Lausanne, jusqu'à ce que je me voye en sureté au-dela de la mer. Adieu. Vous devez être de retour à Lausanne. Annoncez moi aux enfans des mes anciennes connoissances.

N° CLXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Thursday, September 11th, 1783.

THE scheme (which you may impart to my Lady) is completely vanished, and I support the disappointment with heroic patience. * * * * * * goes down to Chatsworth to-morrow, and * * * does not recommend my waiting for the event ; yet the appointment is not yet declared, and I am ignorant of the name and merits of my successful competitor. Is it not wonderful that I am still in suspense, without a letter from Deyverdun ? No, it is not wonderful, since no Flanders mail is arrived : to-morrow three will be due. I am therefore in a miserable state of doubt and anxiety ; in a much better house indeed than my own, but without books, or business, or society. I send or call two or three times each day to Elmsly's, and can only say that I shall fly the next day, Saturday, Sunday,

day, &c. after I have got my *quietus*. Aunt Kitty was delighted with my Lady's letter; at her age, and in her ſituation, every kind attention is pleaſant. I took my leave this morning; and as I did not wiſh to repeat the ſcene, and thought ſhe would be better at Sheffield, I ſuffer her to go to-morrow. Your diſcretion will communicate or withhold any tidings of my departure or delay as you judge moſt expedient. Chriſtie writes to you this poſt; he talks, in his rhetorical way, of many purchaſers. Do you approve of his fixing a day for the auction? To us he talked of an indefinite advertiſement. No news, except that we keep Negapatnam. The other day the French Ambaſſador mentioned that the Empreſs of Ruſſia, a precious ——, had propoſed to ratify the principles of the armed neutrality, by a definitive treaty, but that the French, obliging creatures! had declared that they would neither propoſe nor accept an article ſo diſagreeable to England. Grey Elliot was pleaſed with your attention, and ſays you are a perfect maſter of the ſubject *. Adieu. If I could be ſure that no mail would arrive to-morrow, I would run down with my aunt. My heart is not light. I embrace my Lady with true affection, but I need not repeat it.

N° CLXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

DOWNING-STREET, September 12th, 1783.

SINCE my departure is near, and inevitable, you and Lady S. will be rather ſorry than glad to hear that I am detained, day after day, by the caprice of the winds. *Three* Flanders mails are now due. I know not how to move without the final letter from Deyverdun, which I expected a fortnight ago, and my fancy (perfectly unreaſonable)

* American commerce.

ſonable) begins to create ſtrange phantoms. A ſtate of ſuſpence is painful, but it will be alleviated by the ſhort notes which I mean to write, and hope to receive, every poſt. A ſeparation has ſome advantages, though they are purchaſed with bitter pangs; among them is the pleaſure of knowing how dear we are to our friends, and how dear they are to us. It will be a kind office to ſooth aunt Kitty's ſorrows, and to "rock the cradle of declining age." She will be vexed to hear that I am not yet gone; but ſhe is reaſonable and cheerful. Adieu. Moſt truly yours.

N° CLXVI.

The Same to the Same.

DOWNING-STREET, Saturday, September 13th, 1783.

ENFIN la bombe a crevé.—The three Flanders mails are arrived this day, but without any letters from Deyverdun. Moſt incomprehenſible! After many adverſe reflections, I have finally reſolved to begin my journey on Monday; a heavy journey, with much apprehenſion, and much regret. Yet I conſider, firſt, That if he is alive and well, (an unpleaſant *if*,) ſcarcely any event can have happened to diſappoint our mutual wiſhes; and, 2dly, That, ſuppoſing the very worſt, even that worſt would not overthrow my general plan of living abroad, though it would derange my hopes of a quiet and delightful eſtabliſhment with my friend. Upon the whole, without giving way to melancholy fears, my reaſon conjectures that his indolence thought it ſuperfluous to write any more, that it was my buſineſs to act and move, and his duty to ſit ſtill and receive me with open arms. At leaſt he is well informed of my operations, as I wrote to him (ſince his laſt) July thirty-firſt, from Sheffield-Place; Auguſt nineteenth; and this week, September ninth. The two firſt have already reached him.

As

As I ſhall not arrive at, or depart from Dover, till Tueſday night, (alas! I may be confined there a week,) you will have an opportunity, by diſpatching a parcel *per* poſt to Elmſly's, to catch the Monday's poſt. Let us improve theſe laſt ſhort moments: I want to hear how poor Kitty behaves. I am really impatient to be gone. It is provoking to be ſo near, yet ſo far from, certain perſons. London is a deſert. I dine to-morrow with the Paynes, who paſs through. Lord Loughborough was not returned from Buxton yeſterday. Sir Henry Clinton found me out this morning: he talks with rapture of viſits to be made at Sheffield, and returned at Brighton. I envy him thoſe viſits more than the red ribbon. Adieu.

N° CLXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

DOVER, Wedneſday, 17th September, 1783, ten o'clock in the morning.

THE beſt laws are uſeleſs without proper guardians. Your letter *per* Sunday's poſt is not arrived, (as its fate is uncertain, and irrevocable, you muſt repeat any material article,) but that *per* Monday's poſt reached me laſt night. Oliver is more inſolent than his great-grandfather; but you will cope with one, and would not have been much afraid of the other. Laſt night the wind was ſo high, that the veſſel could not ſtir from the harbour; this day it is briſk and fair. We are flattered with the hope of making Calais harbour by the ſame tide, in three hours and a half; but any delay will leave the diſagreeable option of a tottering boat or a toſſing night. What a curſed thing to live in an iſland! this ſtep is more awkward than the whole journey. The triumvirate of this memorable embarkation will conſiſt of the grand Gibbon, Henry Laurens, Eſquire, Preſident of Congreſs, and Mr. Secretary, Colonel, Admiral, Philoſopher, Thompſon, attended by three horſes, who are not the moſt agreeable fellow paſ-

ſengers.

sengers. If we survive, I will finish and seal my letter at Calais. Our salvation shall be ascribed to the prayers of my Lady and Aunt; for I do believe they both pray.

Boulogne, Thursday Morning, Ten o'clock.

Instead of Calais, the wind has driven us to Boulogne, where we landed in the evening, without much noise and difficulty. The night is passed, the custom-house is dispatched, the post-horses are ordered, and I shall start about eleven o'clock. I had not the least symptom of sea sickness, while my companions were spewing round me. Laurens has read the pamphlet *, and thinks it has done much mischief. A good sign! Adieu. The Captain is impatient. I shall reach Lausanne by the end of next week, but may probably write on the road.

N° CLXVIII.

Edward Gibbon *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* Sheffield.

Langres, September 23d, 1783.

LET the geographical Maria place before you the map of France, and trace my progress as far as this place, through the following towns: Boulogne, (where I was forced to land,) St. Omer, (where I recovered my road,) Aire, Bethune, Douay, Cambray, St. Quintin, La Fere, Laon, Rheims, Chalons, St. Dizier, and Langres, where I have just finished my supper. The Inns, in general, more agreeable to the palate, than to the sight or smell. But, with some short exceptions of time and place, I have enjoyed good weather and good roads, and at the end of the ninth day, I feel so little fatigued, that the journey appears no more than a pleasant airing. I have generally conversed

* Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States.

converſed with Homer and Lord Clarendon, often with Caplin and Muff*; ſometimes with the French poſtillions, of the above-mentioned animals the leaſt rational. To-morrow I lie at Beſançon, and, according to the arrangement of poſt or hired horſes, ſhall either ſup at Lauſanne on Friday, or dine there Saturday. I feel ſome ſuſpence and uneaſineſs with regard to Deyverdun; but in the ſcale both of reaſon and conſtitution, my hopes preponderate very much above my fears. From Lauſanne I will immediately write. I embrace my Lady. If aunt Kitty's gratitude and good-breeding have not driven her away upon the firſt whiſper of Brighton, ſhe will ſhare this intelligence; if ſhe is gone, a line from you would be humane and attentive. *Monſieur les Chevaux ſeront prets a cinq heurs.* Adieu. I am going into an excellent bed, about ſix feet high from the ground.

N° CLXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, September 30th, 1783.

I ARRIVED ſafe in harbour laſt Saturday, the 27th inſtant, about ten o'clock in the morning; but as the poſt only goes out twice a week, it was not in my power to write before this day. Except one day, between Langres and Beſançon, which was laborious enough, I finiſhed my eaſy and gentle airing without any fatigue, either of mind or body. I found Deyverdun well and happy, but much more happy at the ſight of a friend, and the accompliſhment of a ſcheme which he had ſo long and impatiently deſired. His garden, terrace, and *park*, have even exceeded the moſt ſanguine of my expectations and remembrances; and you yourſelf cannot have forgotten the

* His dog.

the charming proſpect of the lake, the mountains, and the declivity of the Pays de Vaud. But as human life is perpetually chequered with good and evil, I have found ſome diſappointments on my arrival. The eaſy nature of Deyverdun, his indolence, and his impatience, had prompted him to reckon too poſitively that his houſe would be vacant at Michaelmas; ſome unforeſeen difficulties have ariſen, or have been diſcovered when it was already too late, and the conſummation of our hopes is (I am much afraid) poſtponed to next ſpring. At firſt I was knocked down by the unexpected thunderbolt, but I have gradually been reconciled to my fate, and have granted a free and gracious pardon to my friend. As his own apartment, which afforded me a temporary ſhelter, is much too narrow for a ſettled reſidence, we hired for the winter a convenient ready-furniſhed apartment in the neareſt part of the Rue de Bourg, whoſe back door leads in three ſteps to the terrace and garden, as often as a tolerable day ſhall tempt us to enjoy their beauties; and this arrangement has even its advantage, of giving us time to deliberate and provide, before we enter on a larger and more regular eſtabliſhment. But this is not the ſum of my misfortunes; hear, and pity! The day after my arrival (Sunday) we had juſt finiſhed a very temperate dinner, and intended to begin a round of viſits on foot, *chapeau ſous le bras*, when, moſt unfortunately, Deyverdun propoſed to ſhew me ſomething in the court; we boldly and ſucceſsfully aſcended a flight of ſtone ſteps, but in the deſcent I miſſed my footing, and ſtrained, or ſprained, my ancle in a painful manner. My old latent enemy, (I do not mean the Devil,) who is always on the watch, has made an ungenerous uſe of his advantage, and I much fear that my arrival at Lauſanne will be marked with a fit of the gout, though it is quite unneceſſary that the intelligence or ſuſpicion ſhould find its way to Bath. Yeſterday afternoon I lay, or at leaſt ſat, in ſtate to receive viſits, and at the ſame moment my room was filled with four different

nations.

nations. The loudeſt of theſe nations was the ſingle voice of the Abbé Raynal, who, like your friend, has choſen this place for the aſylum of freedom and hiſtory. His converſation, which might be very agreeable, is intolerably loud, peremptory, and inſolent; and you would imagine that he alone was the monarch and legiſlator of the world. Adieu. I embrace my Lady, and the infants. With regard to the important tranſactions for which you are conſtituted plenipotentiary, I expect with ſome impatience, but with perfect confidence, the reſult of your labours. You may remember what I mentioned of my converſation with * * * * * about the place of Miniſter at Bern: I have talked it over with Deyverdun, who does not diſlike the idea, provided this place was allowed to be my villa, during at leaſt two-thirds of the year; but for my part, I am ſure that * * * * * are worth more than miniſterial friendſhip and gratitude; ſo I am inclined to think, that they are preferable to an office which would be procured with difficulty, enjoyed with conſtraint and expence, and loſt, perhaps, next April, in the annual revolutions of our domeſtic Government. Again adieu.

N° CLXX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, October 28th, 1783.

THE progreſs of my gout is in general ſo regular, and there is ſo much uniformity in the Hiſtory of its Decline and Fall, that I have hitherto indulged my lazineſs, without much ſhame or remorſe, without ſuppoſing that you would be very anxious for my ſafety, which has been ſufficiently provided for by the triple care of my friend Deyverdun, my humbler friend Caplin, and a very converſable phyſician, (not the famous Tiſſot) whoſe ordinary fee is ten batz, about fifteen pence Engliſh. After the uſual increaſe and decreaſe

creaſe of the member (for it has been confined to the injured part) the gout has retired in good order, and the remains of weakneſs, which obliged me to move on the rugged pavement of Lauſanne with a ſtick, or rather ſmall crutch, are to be aſcribed to the ſprain, which might have been a much more ſerious buſineſs. As I have now ſpent a month at Lauſanne, you will enquire with much curioſity, more kindneſs, and ſome mixture of ſpite and malignity, how far the place has anſwered my expectations, and whether I do not repent of a reſolution which has appeared ſo raſh and ridiculous to my ambitious friends? To this queſtion, however natural and reaſonable, I ſhall not return an immediate anſwer, for two reaſons: 1. *I have not yet made a fair trial.* The diſappointment and delay with regard to Deyverdun's houſe, will confine us this winter to lodgings, rather convenient than ſpacious or pleaſant. I am only beginning to recover my ſtrength and liberty, and to look about on perſons and things; the greateſt part of thoſe perſons are in the country taken up with their vintage; my books are not yet arrived, and, in ſhort, I cannot look upon myſelf as ſettled in that comfortable way which you and I underſtand and reliſh. Yet the weather has been heavenly, and till this time, the end of October, we enjoy the brightneſs of the ſun, and ſomewhat gently complain of its immoderate heat. 2. If I ſhould be too ſanguine in explaining my ſatisfaction in what I have done, you would aſcribe that ſatisfaction to the novelty of the ſcene, and the inconſtancy of man; and I deem it far more ſafe and prudent to poſtpone any poſitive declaration, till I am placed by experience beyond the danger of repentance and recantation. Yet of one thing I am ſure, that I poſſeſs in this country, as well as in England, the beſt cordial of life, a ſincere, tender, and ſenſible friend, adorned with the moſt valuable and pleaſant qualities both of the heart and head. The inferior enjoyments of leiſure and ſociety are likewiſe in my power; and in the ſhort excurſions which I have hitherto made, I

have commenced or renewed my acquaintance with a certain number of perſons, more eſpecially women, (who, at leaſt in France and this country, are undoubtedly ſuperior to our prouder ſex,) of rational minds and elegant manners. I breakfaſt alone, and have declared that I receive no viſits in a morning, which you will eaſily ſuppoſe is devoted to ſtudy. I find it impoſſible, without inconvenience, to defer my dinner beyond two o'clock. We have got a very good woman cook. Deyverdun, who is ſomewhat of an Epicurean philoſopher, underſtands the management of a table, and we frequently invite a gueſt or two to ſhare our luxurious, but not extravagant repaſts. The afternoons are (and will be much more ſo hereafter) devoted to ſociety, and I ſhall find it neceſſary to play at cards much oftener than in London: but I do not diſlike that way of paſſing a couple of hours, and I ſhall not be ruined at ſhilling whiſt. As yet I have not ſupped, but in the courſe of the winter I muſt ſometimes ſacrifice an evening abroad, and in exchange I hope ſometimes to ſteal a day at home, without going into company *

I have all this time been talking to Lord Sheffield, I hope that he has diſpatched my affairs, and it would give me pleaſure to hear that I am no longer member for Lymington, nor Lord of *Lenborough*. Adieu. I feel every day that the diſtance ſerves only to make me think with more tenderneſs of the perſons whom I love.

N° CLXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, November 14th, 1783.

LAST Tueſday, November eleventh, after plaguing and vexing yourſelf all the morning, about ſome buſineſs of your ſertile creation, you went to the Houſe

of

of Commons, and passed the afternoon, the evening, and perhaps the night, without sleep or food, stifled in a close room by the heated respiration of six hundred politicians, inflamed by party and passion, and tired of the repetition of dull nonsense, which, in that illustrious assembly, so far outweighs the proportion of reason and eloquence. On the same day, after a studious morning, a friendly dinner, and a cheerful assembly of both sexes, I retired to rest at eleven o'clock, satisfied with the past day, and certain that the next would afford me the return of the same quiet and rational enjoyments. *Which has the better bargain?* Seriously, I am every hour more grateful to my own judgment and resolution, and only regret that I so long delayed the execution of a favourite plan, which I am convinced is the best adapted to my character and inclinations. Your conjecture of the revolutions of my face, when I heard that the house was for this winter inaccessible, is probable, but false. I bore my disappointment with the temper of a sage, and only use it to render the prospect of next year still more pleasing to my imagination. You are likewise mistaken, in imputing my fall to the awkwardness of my limbs. The same accident might have happened to Slingsby himself, or to any *hero* of the age, the most distinguished for his *bodily activity*. I have now resumed my entire strength, and walk with caution, yet with speed and safety, through the streets of this mountainous city. After a month of the finest autumn I ever saw, the *bise* * made me feel my old acquaintance; the weather is now milder, and this present day is dark and rainy, not much better than what you probably enjoy in England. The town is comparatively empty, but the Noblesse are returning every day from their chateaux, and I already perceive that I shall have more reason to complain of dissipation than of dulness. As I told Lady S. I am afraid of being too rash and hasty in expressing my satisfaction; but I must again repeat, that appearances are extremely favourable. I am sensible that

* The North East wind.

general praiſe conveys no diſtinct ideas, but it is very difficult to enter into particulars where the individuals are unknown, or indifferent to our correſpondent. You have forgotten the *old* generation, and in twenty years a new one is grown up. Death has ſwept many from the world, and chance or choice has brought many to this place. If you enquire after your old acquaintance Catherine, you muſt be told, that ſhe is ſolitary, ugly, blind, and univerſally forgotten. Your later flame, and our common goddeſs, the Eliza, paſſed a month at the inn. She came to conſult Tiſſot, and was acquainted with Cerjat. And now to buſineſs. * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * *

With regard to meaner caſes, theſe are two, which you can and will undertake. 1. As I have not renounced my country, I ſhould be glad to hear of your parliamentary ſquabbles, which may be done with ſmall trouble and expence. After an intereſting debate, my Lady in due time may cut the ſpeeches from Woodfall. You will write or dictate any curious anecdote, and the whole, incloſed in a letter, may be diſpatched to Lauſanne. 2. A ſet of Wedgewood china, which we talked of in London, and which would be moſt acceptable here. As you have a *fort* of a taſte, I leave to your own choice the colour and the pattern; but as I have the inclination and means to live very handſomely *here*, I deſire that the ſize and number of things may be adequate to a plentiful table. If you ſee Lord North, aſſure him of my gratitude; had he been a more ſucceſsful friend, I ſhould now be drudging at the Board of Cuſtoms, or vexed with buſineſs in the amiable ſociety of ————. To Lord Loughborough preſent an affectionate ſentiment; I am ſatisfied with his intention to ſerve me, if I had not been in ſuch a fidget. I am ſure you will not fail, while you are in town, to viſit and comfort poor aunt Kitty. I wrote to her on my firſt arrival, and ſhe may be aſſured that I will not neglect her. To my Lady I ſay nothing; we have now our private

vate correſpondence, into which the eye of an huſband ſhould not be permitted to intrude. I am really ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of the pamphlet *; not only becauſe I have a ſneaking kindneſs for the author, but as it ſhews me that plain ſenſe, full information, and warm ſpirit, are ſtill acceptable in the world. You talk of Lauſanne as a place of retirement, yet, from the ſituation and freedom of the Pays de Vaud, all nations, and all extraordinary characters, are aſtoniſhed to meet each other. The Abbé Raynal, the grand Gibbon, and Mercier, author of the *Tableau de Paris*, have been in the ſame room. The other day, the Prince and Princeſs de Ligne, the Duke and Ducheſs d'Urſel, &c. came from Bruſſels on purpoſe (literally true) to act a comedy at * * * * * *, in the country. He was dying, and could not appear; but we had comedy, ball, and ſupper. The event ſeems to have revived him; for that great man is fallen from his antient glory, and his neareſt relations refuſe to ſee him. I told you of poor Catherine's deplorable ſtate; but Madame de Meſery, at the age of ſixty-nine, is ſtill handſome. Adieu.

N° CLXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, December 20th, 1783.

I HAVE received both your epiſtles; and as any excuſe will ſerve a man who is at the ſame time very buſy and very idle, I patiently expected the ſecond, before I entertained any thoughts of anſwering the firſt *

I therefore conclude, that on every principle of common ſenſe, before this moment your active zeal has expelled me

* Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

me from the houſe, to which, without regret, I bid an everlaſting farewel. The agreeable hour of five o'clock in the morning, at which you commonly retire, does not tend to revive my attachment; but if you add the ſoft hours of your morning committee *, in the diſcuſſion of taxes, frauds, ſmugglers, &c. I think I ſhould beg to be releaſed and quietly ſent to the gallies, as a place of leiſure and freedom. Yet I do not depart from my general principles of toleration. Some animals are made to live in the water, others on the earth, many in the air, and ſome, as it is now believed, even in fire. Your preſent hurry of Parliament I perfectly underſtand; when oppoſition make the attack,

——— *Horæ*

Momento cita mors venit, aut victoria læta.

But when the Miniſter brings forward any ſtrong and deciſive meaſure, he at length prevails; but his progreſs is retarded at every ſtep, and in every ſtage of the bill, by a pertinacious, though unſucceſsful, minority. I am not ſorry to hear of the ſplendour of Fox; I am proud, in a foreign country, of his fame and abilities, and our little animoſities are extinguiſhed by my retreat from the Engliſh ſtage. With regard to the ſubſtance of the buſineſs, I ſcarcely know what to think: the vices of the Company †, both in their perſons and their conſtitution, were manifold and manifeſt; the danger was imminent, and ſuch an empire, with thirty millions of ſubjects, was not to be loſt for trifles. Yet, on the other hand, the faith of charters, the rights of property! I heſitate and tremble. Such an innovation would at leaſt require that the remedy ſhould be as certain as the evil, and the proprietors may perhaps inſinuate, that *they* were as competent guardians of their own affairs, as either * * * * * * or * * * * * * * *. Their acting without a ſalary, ſeems childiſh, and their not being removable by the Crown,

* A ſelect Committee for inquiring into frauds committed in reſpect to the revenue.

† Eaſt India Company.

Crown, is a strange and dangerous precedent. But enough of politics, which I now begin to view through a thin, cold, distant cloud, yet not without a reasonable degree of curiosity and patriotism. From the papers (especially when you add an occasional slice of the Chronicle) I shall be amply informed of facts and debates. From you I expect the causes, rather than the events, the true springs of action, and those interesting anecdotes which seldom ascend the garret of a Fleet-street editor. You say that many friends (alias acquaintance) have expressed curiosity and concern; I should not wish to be immediately forgotten; That others (you once mentioned Gerard Hamilton) condemn Government, for suffering the departure of a man who might have done them some credit and some service, perhaps as much as * * * * * himself. To you, in the confidence of friendship, and without either pride or resentment, I will fairly own that I am somewhat of Gerard's opinion; and if I did not compare it with the rest of his character, I should be astonished that * * * * suffered me to depart, without even a civil answer to my letter. Were I capable of hating a man, whom it is not easy to hate, I should find myself amply revenged by * * * *. But the happy souls in paradise are susceptible only of love and pity, and though Lausanne is not a Paradise, more especially in winter, I do assure you, in sober prose, that it has hitherto fulfilled, and even surpassed, my warmest expectation. Yet I often cast a look toward Sheffield-Place, where you now repose, if you can repose, during the Christmas recess. Embrace my Lady, the young Baroness, and the gentle Louisa, and insinuate to your silent Consort, that separate letters require separate answers. Had I an air balloon, the great topic of modern conversation, I would call upon you till the meeting of Parliament. *Vale.*

N° CLXXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Mrs.* PORTEN.

DEAR MADAM, LAUSANNE, December 27th, 1783.

THE unfortunate are loud and loquacious in their complaints, but real happineſs is content with its own ſilent enjoyment; and if that happineſs is of a quiet uniform kind, we ſuffer days and weeks to elapſe without communicating our ſenſations to a diſtant friend. By you, therefore, whoſe temper and underſtanding have extracted from human life on every occaſion the beſt and moſt comfortable ingredients, my ſilence will always be interpreted as an evidence of content, and you would only be alarmed (the danger is not at hand) by the too frequent repetition of my letters. Perhaps I ſhould have continued to ſlumber, I don't know how long, had I not been awakened by the anxiety which you expreſs in your laſt letter. * * * * * * * * *

From this baſe ſubject I deſcend to one which more ſeriouſly and ſtrongly engages your thoughts, the conſideration of my health and happineſs. And you will give me credit when I aſſure you with ſincerity, that I have not repented a ſingle moment of the ſtep which I have taken, and that I only regret the not having executed the ſame deſign two, or five, or even ten years ago. By this time I might have returned independent and rich to my native country; I ſhould have eſcaped many diſagreeable events that have happened in the meanwhile, and I ſhould have avoided the parliamentary life, which experience has proved to be neither ſuitable to my temper, nor conducive to my fortune. In ſpeaking of the happineſs which I enjoy, you will agree with me, in giving the preference to a ſincere and ſenſible friend; and though you cannot diſcern the full extent of his merit, you will eaſily believe that Deyverdun is the man. Perhaps two perſons ſo perfectly fitted to live together, were never formed by Nature and Education.

Education. We have both read and ſeen a great variety of objects; the lights and ſhades of our different characters are happily blended, and a friendſhip of thirty years has taught us to enjoy our mutual advantages, and to ſupport our unavoidable imperfections. In love and marriage, ſome harſh ſounds will ſometimes interrupt the harmony, and in the courſe of time, like our neighbours, we muſt expect ſome diſagreeable moments; but confidence and freedom are the two pillars of our union, and I am much miſtaken, if the building be not ſolid and comfortable. One diſappointment I have indeed experienced, and patiently ſupported. The family who were ſettled in Deyverdun's houſe ſtarted ſome unexpected difficulties, and will not leave it till the ſpring; ſothat you muſt not yet expect any poetical, or even hiſtorical, deſcription of the beauties of my habitation. During the dull months of winter we are ſatisfied with a very comfortable apartment in the middle of the town, and even derive ſome advantage from this delay; as it gives us time to arrange ſome plans of alteration and furniture, which will embelliſh our future and more elegant dwelling. In this ſeaſon I riſe (not at four in the morning) but a little before eight; at nine, I am called from my ſtudy to breakfaſt, which I always perform alone, in the Engliſh ſtile, and, with the aid of Caplin*, I perceive no difference between Lauſanne and Bentinck-ſtreet. Our mornings are uſually paſſed in ſeparate ſtudies; we never approach each other's door without a previous meſſage, or thrice knocking, and my apartment is already ſacred and formidable to ſtrangers. I dreſs at half paſt one, and at two (an early hour, to which I am not perfectly reconciled,) we ſit down to dinner. We have hired a female cook, well-ſkilled in her profeſſion, and accuſtomed to the taſte of every nation; as for inſtance, we had excellent mince-pies yeſterday. After dinner, and the departure of our company, one, two, or three friends, we read together ſome amuſing book, or play at cheſs, or retire

* His Engliſh Valet de Chambre.

retire to our rooms, or make visits, or go to the coffee-house. Between six and seven the assemblies begin, and I am oppressed only with their number and variety. Whist, at shillings or half-crowns, is the game I generally play, and I play three rubbers with pleasure. Between nine and ten we withdraw to our bread and cheese, and friendly converse, which sends us to bed at eleven; but these sober hours are too often interrupted by private or numerous suppers, which I have not the courage to resist, though I practise a laudable abstinence at the best furnished tables. Such is the skeleton of my life; it is impossible to communicate a perfect idea of the vital and substantial parts, the characters of the men and women with whom I have very easily connected myself in looser and closer bonds, according to their inclination and my own. If I do not deceive myself and if Deyverdun does not flatter me, I am already a general favourite; and as our likings and dislikes are commonly mutual, I am equally satisfied with the freedom and elegance of manners, and (after proper allowances and exceptions) with the worthy and amiable qualities of many individuals. The autumn has been beautiful, and the winter hitherto mild, but in January we must expect some severe frost. Instead of rolling in a coach, I walk the streets, wrapped up in a fur cloak; but this exercise is wholesome, and except an accidental fit of the gout of a few days, I never enjoyed better health. I am no longer in Pavillard's house, where I was almost starved with cold and hunger, and you may be assured that I now enjoy every benefit of comfort, plenty, and even decent luxury. You wish me happy; acknowledge that such a life is more conducive to happiness, than five nights in the week passed in the House of Commons, or five mornings spent at the Custom-house. Send me, in return, a fair account of your own situation in mind and body. I am satisfied your own good sense would have reconciled you to inevitable separation; but there never was a more suitable diversion than your visit

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to Sheffield-Place. Among the innumerable proofs of friendship which I have received from that family, there are none which affect me more sensibly than their kind civilities to you, though I am persuaded that they are at least as much on your account as on mine. At length Madame de * * * * * is delivered by her tyrant's death; her daughter, a valuable woman of this place, has made some enquiries, and though her own circumstances are narrow, she will not suffer her father's widow to be left totally destitute. I am glad you derived so much melancholy pleasure from the letters, yet had I known it, I should have withheld * * * * * *

N° CLXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, January 24th, 1784.

WITHIN two or three days after your last *gracious* epistle, your complaints were silenced, and enquiries were satisfied, by an ample dispatch of four pages, which overflowed the inside of the cover, and in which I exposed my opinions of things in general, public as well as private, as they existed in my mind, in my state of ignorance and error, about the eighteenth or twentieth of last month. Within a week after that date I epistolised, in the same rich and copious strain, the two venerable females of Newman-street and Bath, whose murmurings must now be changed into songs of gratitude and applause. My correspondence with the holy matron of Northamptonshire has been less lively and loquacious. You have not forgotten the author's vindication of himself from the foul calumnies of pretended Christians. Within a fortnight after his arrival at Lausanne, he communicated the joyful event to Mrs. Esther Gibbon. She answered, *per* return of post, both letters at the same time, and in very dutiful language, almost excusing her advice, which was intended for my spiritual,

ſpiritual, as well as temporal good, and aſſuring me, that *nobody ſhould be able to injure me with her.* Unleſs the ſaint is an hypocrite, ſuch an expreſſion muſt convey a favourable and important meaning. At all events, it is worth giving *ourſelves* ſome trouble about her, without indulging any ſanguine expectations of inheritance. So much for my females; with regard to my male correſpondents, you are the only one to whom I have given any ſigns of my exiſtence, though I have formed many a generous reſolution. Yet I am not inſenſible of the kind and friendly manner in which Lord Loughborough has diſtinguiſhed me. He could have no inducements of intereſt, and now that I view the diſtant picture with impartial eyes, I am convinced that (for a ſtateſman) he was ſincere in his wiſhes to ſerve me. When you ſee *him*, the Paynes, Eden, Crauford, &c. tell them that I am well, happy, and aſhamed. On your ſide, the zeal and diligence of your pen has ſurpriſed and delighted me, and your letters, at this intereſting moment, are exactly ſuch as I wiſhed them to be—authentic anecdotes, and rational ſpeculations, worthy of a man who acts a part in the great theatre, and who fills a ſeat, not only in the general Pandæmonium, but in the private council of the Princes of the infernal regions. With regard to the detail of parliamentary operations, I muſt repeat my requeſt to you, or rather to my Lady, who will now be on the ſpot, that ſhe will write, not with her pen, but with her ſciſſars, and that after every debate which deſerves to paſs the ſea and the mountains, ſhe will diſſect the faithful narrative of Woodfall, and ſend it off by the next poſt, as an agreeable ſupplement to the meagre accounts of our weekly papers. The wonderful revolutions of laſt month have ſounded to my ear more like the ſhifting ſcenes of a comedy, or comic-opera, than like the ſober events of real and modern hiſtory; and the irregularity of our winter poſts, which ſometimes retarded, and ſometimes haſtened, the arrival of the diſpatches, has increaſed the confuſion of

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our ideas. Surely the Lord has blinded the eyes of Pharaoh and of his ſervants; the obſtinacy of laſt ſpring was nothing compared to the headſtrong and headlong madneſs of this winter. I expect with much impatience the firſt days of your meeting; the purity and integrity of the coalition will ſuffer a fiery trial; but if they are true to themſelves and to each other, a majority of the Houſe of Commons muſt prevail; the rebellion of the young gentlemen will be cruſhed, and the maſters will reſume the government of the ſchool. After the addreſs and anſwer, I have no conception that Parliament can be diſſolved during the ſeſſion; but if the preſent Miniſtry can outlive the ſtorm, I think the death-warrant will infalliby be ſigned in the ſummer. *Here* I bluſh for my country, without confeſſing her ſhame. Fox acted like a man of honour, yet ſurely his union with Pitt affords the only hope of ſalvation. How miſerably are we waſting the ſeaſon of peace!

I have written three pages before I come to my own buſineſs and feelings. In the firſt place, I moſt ſincerely rejoice that I left the ſhip, and ſwam aſhore on a plank; the daily and hourly agitation in which I muſt have lived would have made me truly miſerable; and if I had obtained a place during pleaſure, * * * * *, for inſtance? On the firſt news of the diſſolution, I conſidered my ſeat as ſo totally and irrecoverably gone, that I have been leſs afflicted with * * * * *'s obſtinacy. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

On this occaſion remember, you are acting for a *poor* friend; diſmiſs a little of the ſpirit of faction and patriotiſm, and ſtoop to a prudential line of conduct, which in your own caſe you might poſſibly diſdain. * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Perhaps you will abuſe my prudence and patriotiſm, when I inform you, that I have already veſted a part (thirty thouſand livres, about one thouſand three hundred pounds) in the new loan of the King of France. I get eight *per cent.*

cent. on the joint lives of Deyverdun and myſelf, beſides thirty tickets in a very advantageous lottery, of which the higheſt prize is an annuity of forty thouſand livres (one thouſand ſeven hundred pounds) a year. At this moment, the beginning of a peace, I think (and the world ſeems to think) the French funds at leaſt as ſolid as our own, I have empowered my agent, M. de Leſſart, a capital banker at Paris, to draw upon Goſling for the money two months hence: and to avoid all accidents that may reſult from untoward delays, and mercantile churliſhneſs, I expect that you will ſupport my credit in Fleet-ſtreet with your own more reſpectable name. * * * *

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What ſay you now? Am I not a wiſe man? My letter is enormous, and the poſt on the wing. In a few days I will write to my Lady herſelf, and enter ſomething more into the details of domeſtic life. Suffice it to ſay, that the ſcene becomes each day more pleaſant and comfortable, and that I complain only of the diſſipation of Lauſanne. In the courſe of March or April we ſhall take poſſeſſion of Deyverdun's houſe. My books, which by ſome ſtrange neglect, did not leave Paris till the third of this month, will arrive in a few weeks; and I ſhall ſoon reſume the continuation of my Hiſtory, which I ſhall proſecute with the more vigour, as the completion affords me a diſtant proſpect of a viſit to England. Adieu. Ever yours.

N° CLXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

BARON! LAUSANNE, February 2d, 1784.

AFTER my laſt enormous diſpatch, nothing can remain, except ſome ſmall gleanings, or occaſional hints; and thus in order: I am not conſcious that any of your valuable MSS. have miſcarried, or that I have omitted to anſwer any eſſential particulars. They ſtand in my bureau

bureau carefully arranged, and docketted under the following dates; September twenty-three, October twenty-three, November eighteen, December two, December fifteen, December nineteen, December twenty-three, December twenty-nine, January sixteen, which last I have received this day, February the 2d. For greater perspicuity, it will not be amiss (on either side) to number our future epistles, by a conspicuous Roman character inscribed in the front, to which we may at any time refer. But instead of writing by Ostend, the shorter and surer way, especially on all occasions that deserve celerity, will be to inclose them to my banker, M. de Leffart at Paris, who will forward them to me. Through Germany the passage by sea is more uncertain, the roads worse, and the distance greater: we often complain of delay and irregularity at this interesting moment. By your last I find that you have boldly and generously opened a treaty with the enemy, which I proposed with fear and hesitation. I impatiently expect the result; and again repeat, that *whatever* you can obtain for * * * *, I shall consider it as so much saved out of the fire, &c. &c. Do you remember Dunning's motion (in the year 1780) to address the Crown against a dissolution of Parliament; a simple address we rejected, as an infringement on the prerogative? yet how far short of these strong democratical measures, for which you have probably voted, as I should have probably have done: such is the contagion of party. Fox drives most furiously, yet I should not be surprised if Pitt's moderation and character should insensibly win the nation, and even the House, to espouse his cause. * * * * * * *

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Unless when I look back on England with a selfish or a tender regard, my hours roll away very pleasantly, and I can again repeat with truth, that I have not regretted one single moment the step which I have taken. We are now at the height of the winter dissipation, and I am peculiarly happy when I can steal away from great assemblies,

blies, and ſuppers of twenty or thirty people, to a more private party, of ſome of thoſe perſons whom I begin to call my friends. Till we are ſettled in our houſe little can be expected on our ſide; yet I have already given two or three handſome dinners; and though every thing is grown dearer, I am not alarmed at the general view of my expence. Deyverdun ſalutes you; and we are agreed that few married couples are better entitled to the flitch of bacon than we ſhall be at the end of the year. When I had written about half this epiſtle my books arrived; at our firſt meeting all was rapture and confuſion, and two or three poſts, from the ſecond to this day, the fourteenth, have been ſuffered to depart unnoticed. Your letter of the twenty-ſeventh of January, which was not received till yeſterday, has again awakened me, and I thought the ſureſt way would be to ſend off this ſingle ſheet without any farther delay.

I ſincerely rejoice in the ſtability of Parliament *; and the firſt faint dawn of reconciliation, which muſt however be effected by the equal balance of parties, rather than by the wiſdom of the country gentlemen †.

My Lady!—But it would be highly incongruous to begin my letter at the bottom of the page. Adieu, therefore, till next poſt.

N° CLXXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, May 11th, 1784.

ALAS! alas! alas! We may now exchange our mutual condolence. Laſt Chriſtmas, on the change of adminiſtration, I was ſtruck with the thunderbolt of the unexpected event, and in the approaching

* This ſuppoſition was founded on Mr. Banks's declaration in the name of Mr. Pitt.

† At the St. Alban's Tavern.

diſſolution

dissolution I foresaw the loss of * * * * * * * * * * * *. The long continuance and various changes of the tempest rendered me by degrees callous and insensible; when the art of the mariners was exhausted I felt that we were sinking, I expected the ship to founder, and when the fatal moment arrived, I was even pleased to be delivered from hope and fear, to the calmness of despair. I now turn my eyes, not on the past, but on the present and the future; what is lost I try to consider as if it never had existed; and every day I congratulate my own good fortune, let me say my prudence and resolution, in migrating from your noisy stage to a scene of repose and content. But even in this separate state, I was still anxious for my friend upon English earth, and at first was much delighted with your hint, that you were setting off for Coventry, without any prospect of an opposition. Every post, Wednesdays and Saturdays, I eagerly looked for the intelligence of your victory; and in spite of my misbehaviour, which I do not deny, I must abuse *my Lady*, rather than you, for leaving me in so painful a situation. Each day raised and increased my apprehension; the *Courier de l'Europe* first announced the contest, the English papers proclaimed your defeat, and your last letter, which I received four days ago, shewed me that you exerted first the spirit, and at last the temper of an hero. I am not much surprised that you should have been swept away in the general unpopularity, since even in this quiet place, your friends are considered as a factious crew, acting in direct opposition both to the King and people. For yourself I am at a loss what to say. If this repulse should teach you to renounce all connection with Kings and Ministers, and Patriots and Parties, and Parliaments; for all of which you are by many degrees too honest; I should exclaim, with Teague of respectable memory, "By my shoul, dear joy, you have *gained* a loss." Private life, whether contemplative or active, has surely more solid and independent charms; you have *some* domestic comforts; Shef-

field-Place is ſtill ſuſceptible of uſeful and ornamental improvements, (alas! how much better might even the laſt * * * * have been laid out!) and if theſe cares are not ſufficient to occupy your leiſure, I can truſt your reſtleſs and enterpriſing ſpirit to find new methods to preſerve you from the inſipidity of repoſe. But I much fear your diſcontent and regret at being excluded from that Pandæmonium which we have ſo often curſed, as long as you were obliged to attend it. The leaders of the party will flatter you with the opinion of their friendſhip and your own importance; the warmth of your temper makes you credulous and unſuſpicious; and, like the reſt of our ſpecies, male and female, you are not abſolutely deaf to the voice of praiſe. Some other place will be ſuggeſted, eaſy, honourable, certain, where nothing is wanted but a man of character and ſpirit to head a ſuperior intereſt; the oppoſition, if any, is contemptible, and the expence cannot be large. You will go down, find almoſt every circumſtance falſely ſtated, repent that you had engaged yourſelf, but you cannot deſert thoſe friends who are firmly attached to your cauſe; beſides, the money you have already ſpent would have been thrown away; another thouſand will complete the buſineſs: deeper and deeper will you plunge, and the laſt evil will be worſe than the firſt. You ſee I am a free-ſpoken counſellor; may I not be a true prophet! Did I conſult my own wiſhes, I ſhould obſerve to you, that as you are no longer a ſlave, you might ſoon be tranſported, as you ſeem to deſire, to one of the Alpine hills. The purity and calmneſs of the air is the beſt calculated to allay the heat of a political fever; the education of the two Princeſſes might be ſucceſsfully conducted under your eye and that of my Lady; and if you had reſolution to determine on a reſidence, not a viſit, at Lauſanne, your worldly affairs might repoſe themſelves after their late fatigues. But you know that *I* am a friend to toleration, and am always diſpoſed to make the largeſt allowance for the different natures of animals; a

lion

lion and a lamb, an eagle and a worm. I am afraid we are too quiet for you; here it would not be eaſy for you to create any buſineſs; you have for ſome time neglected books, and I doubt whether you would not think our ſuppers and aſſemblies ſomewhat trifling and inſipid. You are far more difficult than I am; you are in ſearch of information, and you are not content with your company, unleſs you can derive from them information or extraordinary amuſement. For my part, I like to draw knowledge from books, and I am ſatisfied with polite attention and eaſy manners. Finally, I am happy to tell, and you will be happy to hear, that this place has in every reſpect exceeded my beſt and moſt ſanguine hopes. How often have you ſaid, as often as I expreſſed any ill-humour againſt the hurry, the expence, and the precarious condition of my London life, "Ay, that is a nonſenſical "ſcheme of retiring to Lauſanne that you have got into "your head, a pretty fancy; you remember how much "you liked it in your youth, but you have now ſeen "more of the world, and if you were to try it again, you "would find yourſelf woefully diſappointed?" I had it in my head, in my heart, I have tried it, I have not been diſappointed, and my knowledge of the world has ſerved only to convince me, that a capital and a crowd may contain much leſs real ſociety, than the ſmall circle of this gentle retirement. The winter has been longer, but, as far as I can learn, leſs rigorous than in the reſt of Europe. The ſpring is now burſting upon us, and in our own garden it is diſplayed in all its glory. I already occupy a temporary apartment, and we live in the lower part of the houſe; before you receive this we ſhall be in full poſſeſſion. We have much to enjoy and ſomething to do, which I take to be the happieſt condition of human life. Now for buſineſs, the kind of ſubject which I always undertake with the moſt reluctance, and leave with the moſt pleaſure. * . * * * *

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Adieu.

And now, my Lady,

LET me approach your gentle, not grimalkin, preſence, with deep remorſe. You have indirectly been informed of my ſtate of mind and body; (the whole winter I have not had the ſlighteſt return of the gout, or any other complaint whatſoever;) you have been appriſed, and are now appriſed, of my motions, or rather of my perfect and agreeable repoſe; yet I muſt confeſs (and I *feel*) that ſomething of a direct and perſonal exchange of ſentiment has been neglected on my ſide, though I ſtill *perſuade* myſelf that when I am ſettled in my new houſe I ſhall have more ſubject, as well as leiſure, to write. Such tricks of lazineſs your active ſpirit is a ſtranger to, though Mrs. * * * complains that ſhe has never had an anſwer to her laſt letters. Poor Lady Pembroke! *you* will feel for her; after a cruel alternative of hope and fear, her only daughter, Lady Charlotte, died at *Aix en Provence*; they have perſuaded her to come to this place, where ſhe is intimately connected with the Cerjat family. She has taken an agreeable houſe, about three miles from the town, and lives retired. I have ſeen her; her behaviour is calm, but her affliction ———. I accept with gratitude your friendly propoſal of Wedgewood's ware, and ſhould be glad to have it bought and packed, and ſent without delay through Germany; and I ſhall only ſay, that I wiſh to have a very complete ſervice for two courſes and a deſſert, and that our ſuppers are numerous, frequently fifteen or twenty perſons. Adieu. I do not mean this as your letter. You are very good to poor Kitty. With you I do not condole about Coventry.

N° CLXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, LAUSANNE, May 28th, 1784.

I BEGIN without preface or apology, as if I had received your letter by the laſt poſt. In my own defence I know not what to ſay; but if I were diſpoſed to recriminate, I might obſerve that you yourſelf are not perfectly free from the ſin of lazineſs and procraſtination. I have often wondered why we are not fonder of letter-writing. We all delight to talk of ourſelves, and it is only in letters, in writing to a friend, that we can enjoy that converſation, not only without reproach or interruption, but with the higheſt propriety and mutual ſatisfaction; ſure that the perſon whom we addreſs feels an equal, or at leaſt a ſtrong and lively intereſt in the conſideration of the pleaſing ſubject. On the ſubject therefore of *ſelf* I will entertain a friend, to whom none of my thoughts or actions, none of my pains or pleaſures, can ever be indifferent. When I firſt cheriſhed the deſign of retiring to Lauſanne, I was much more apprehenſive of wounding your tender attachment, than of offending Lord Sheffield's manly and vehement friendſhip. In the abolition of the Board of Trade, the motives for my retreat became more urgent and forcible; I wiſhed to break looſe, yet I delayed above a year before I could take my final reſolution; and the letter in which I diſcloſed it to you coſt me one of the moſt painful ſtruggles of my life. As ſoon as I had conquered that difficulty, all meaner obſtacles fell before me, and in a few weeks I found myſelf at Lauſanne, aſtoniſhed at my firmneſs and my ſucceſs. Perhaps you ſtill blame or ſtill lament the ſtep which I have taken. If on your own account, I can only ſympathize with your feelings, the recollection of which often coſts me a ſigh: if on mine, let me fairly ſtate what I have eſcaped in England, and

what

what I have found at Lauſanne. Recollect the tempeſts of this winter, how many anxious days I ſhould have paſſed, how many noiſy, turbulent, hot, unwholeſome nights, while my political exiſtence, and that of my friends, was at ſtake; yet theſe feeble efforts would have been unavailing; I ſhould have loſt my ſeat in Parliament, and after the extraordinary expence of another year, I muſt ſtill have purſued the road of Switzerland, unleſs I had been tempted by ſome ſelfiſh patron, or by Lord S.'s aſpiring ſpirit, to incur a moſt inconvenient expence for a new ſeat; and once more, at the beginning of an oppoſition, to engage in new ſcenes of buſineſs. As to the immediate proſpect of any thing like a quiet and profitable retreat, I ſhould not know where to look; my friends are no longer in power. With * * * * and his party I have no connection; and were he diſpoſed to favour a man of letters, it is difficult to ſay what he could give, or what I would accept; the reign of penſions and ſinecures is at at end, and a Commiſſion in the Exciſe or Cuſtoms, the ſummit of my hopes, would give me income at the expence of leiſure and liberty. When I revolve theſe circumſtances in my mind, my only regret, I repeat it again and again, is, that I did not embrace this ſalutary meaſure three, five, ten years ago. Thus much I thought it neceſſary to ſay, and ſhall now diſmiſs this unpleaſing part of the ſubject. For my ſituation here, health is the firſt conſideration; and on that head your tenderneſs had conceived ſome degree of anxiety. I know not whether it has reached you that I had a fit of the gout the day after my arrival. The deed is true, but the cauſe was accidental; careleſsly ſtepping down a flight of ſtairs, I ſprained my ancle; and my ungenerous enemy inſtantly took advantage of my weakneſs. But ſince my breaking that double chain, I have enjoyed a winter of the moſt perfect health that I have perhaps ever known, without any mixture of the little flying incommodities which in my beſt days have ſometimes diſturbed the tranquillity of my

Engliſh

Engliſh life. You are not ignorant of Dr. Tiſſot's reputation, and his merit is even above his reputation. He aſſures me, that in his opinion, the moiſture of England and Holland is moſt pernicious; the dry pure air of Switzerland moſt favourable to a gouty conſtitution: that experience juſtifies the theory; and that there are fewer martyrs of that diſorder in this, than in any other country in Europe. This winter has every where been moſt uncommonly ſevere: and you ſeem in England to have had your full ſhare of the general hardſhip: but in this corner, ſurrounded by the Alps, it has rather been long than rigorous; and its duration ſtole away our ſpring, and left us no interval between furs and ſilks. We now enjoy the genial influence of the climate and the ſeaſon; and no ſtation was ever more calculated to enjoy them than Deyverdun's houſe and garden, which are now become my own. You will not expect that the pen ſhould deſcribe, what the pencil would imperfectly delineate. A few circumſtances may, however, be mentioned. My library is about the ſame ſize with that in Bentinck-ſtreet, with this difference, however, that inſtead of looking on a paved court twelve feet ſquare, I command a boundleſs proſpect of vale, mountain, and water, from my three windows. My apartment is completed by a ſpacious light cloſet, or ſtore-room, with a bed-chamber and dreſſing-room. Deyverdun's habitation is pleaſant and convenient, though leſs extenſive: for our common uſe we have a very handſome winter apartment of four rooms; and on the ground-floor, two cool ſaloons for the ſummer, with a ſufficiency, or rather ſuperfluity, of offices, &c. A terrace, one hundred yards long, extends beyond the front of the houſe, and leads to a cloſe impenetrable ſhrubbery; and from thence the circuit of a long and various walk carries me round a meadow and vineyard. The intervals afford abundant ſupply of fruit, and every ſort of vegetables; and if you add, that this villa (which has been much ornamented by my friend) touches the beſt and moſt ſociable part of the

town,

town, you will agree with me, that few perſons, either princes or philoſophers, enjoy a more deſirable reſidence. Deyverdun, who is proud of his own works, often walks me round, pointing out, with acknowledgment and enthuſiaſm, the beauties that change with every ſtep and with every variation of light. I ſhare, or at leaſt I ſympathize with his pleaſure. He appears contented with my progreſs, and has already told ſeveral people, that he does not deſpair of making me a gardener. Be that as it may, you will be glad to hear that I am, by my own choice, infinitely more in motion, and in the open air, than I ever have been formerly; yet my perfect liberty and leiſure leave me many ſtudious hours; and as the circle of our acquaintance retire into the country, I ſhall be much leſs engaged in company and diverſion. I have ſeriouſly reſumed the proſecution of my Hiſtory; each day and each month adds ſomething to the completion of the great work. The progreſs is ſlow, the labour continual, and the end remote and uncertain; yet every day brings its amuſement, as well as labour; and though I dare not fix a term, even in my own fancy, I advance, with the pleaſing reflection, that the buſineſs of publication (ſhould I be detained here ſo long) muſt enforce my return to England, and reſtore me to the beſt of mothers and friends. In the mean while, with health and competence, a full independence of mind and action, a delightful habitation, a true friend, and many pleaſant acquaintance; you will allow, that I am rather an object of envy than of pity; and if you were more converſant with the uſe of the French language, I would ſeriouſly propoſe to you to repoſe yourſelf with us in this fine country. My indirect intelligence (on which I ſometimes depend with more implicit faith than on the kind diſſimulation of your friendſhip) gives me reaſon to hope that the laſt winter has been more favourable to your health than the preceding one. Aſſure me of it yourſelf honeſtly and truly, and you will afford me one of the moſt lively pleaſures.

N° CLXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, June 19th, 1784.

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In this glorious season I frequently give tea and supper to a dozen men and women with ease and reputation, and heartily wish you and my Lady were among them. In this corner of Europe we enjoy, or shall speedily enjoy, (besides threescore English, with Lady Pembroke, and forty French, with the Duchess de Sivrac at their head,) M. and Madame Necker, the Abbé Raynal, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, Prince Henry of Prussia, perhaps the Duke of Cumberland; yet I am still more content with the humble natives, than with *most* of these *illustrious* names. Adieu. The post is on the wing, and you owe me a long epistle. I am, as usual, in the firm intention of writing next week to my Lady.

N° CLXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

LAUSANNE, October 18th, 1784.

SINCE my retreat to Lausanne our correspondence has never received so long an interruption; and as I have been equally taciturn with the rest of the English world, it may now be a problem among that sceptical nation, whether the Historian of the Decline and Fall be a living substance or an empty name. So tremendous is the sleepy power of laziness and habit, that the silence of each post operated still more strongly to benumb the hand, and to freeze the *epistolary* ink. How or when I should have naturally awakened, I cannot tell; but the pressure of my affairs,

affairs, and the arrival of your laſt letter, compel me to remember that you are entruſted with the final amputation of the beſt limb of my property. The ſubject is in itſelf ſo painful, that I have poſtponed it, like a child's phyſic, from day to day; and loſing whole mornings, as I walked about my library, in uſeleſs regret and impotent reſolution, you will be amazed to hear that (after peeping to ſee if you are all well, and returned from Ireland) I have not yet had the courage to peruſe your letter, for fear of meeting with ſome gloomy intelligence; and I will now finiſh what I have to ſay of pecuniary matters, before I know whether its contents will fortify or overthrow my unbiaſſed ſentiments. * * * * * * * * * To what purpoſe (will you ſay) are theſe tardy and uſeleſs repinings? To arraign your manager? No, I am ſatisfied with the ſkill and firmneſs of the pilot, and complain only of the untoward violence of the tempeſt. To repent of your retreat into Switzerland? No, ſurely, every ſubſequent event has tended to make it as neceſſary as it has proved agreeable. Why then theſe lamentations? Hear and attend—It is to intereſt (if poſſible more ſtrongly) your zeal and friendſhip, to juſtify a ſort of avarice, a love of money, very foreign to my character, but with which I cling to theſe laſt fragments of my fortune. * * * * * * * * * * * * *

As far as I can judge from the experience of a year, though I find Lauſanne much more expenſive than I imagined, yet my ſtile of living (and a very handſome ſtile it is) will be brought *nearly* within my ordinary revenues. I wiſh our poor country could ſay as much! But it was always my favourite and rational wiſh, that at the winding up of my affairs I might poſſeſs a ſum, from one to two thouſand pounds, neither buried in land, nor locked up in the funds, but free, light, and ready to obey any call of intereſt, or pleaſure, or virtue; to defray any extraordinary expence, ſupport any delay, or remove any obſtacle.

For

For the attainment of this object, I trust in your assistance. * * * * * * * * * * * Thus much for this money transaction; to you I need add no other stimulative, than to say that my ease and comfort very much depend on the success of this plan.

As I thought every man of sense and fortune in Ireland must be satisfied, I did not conceive the cloud so dark as you represent it. I will seriously peruse the 8vo. and in due time the 4to. edition *; it would become a classic book, if you could find leisure (will you ever find it?) to introduce order and ornament. You must negociate *directly* with Deyverdun; but the state will not hear of parting with their only Reynolds †. I embrace my Lady; let her be angry, provided she be well. Adieu. Yours.

P. S. The care of Ireland may have amused you in the summer; but how do you mean to employ the winter? Do you not cast a longing, lingering look at St. Stephen's chapel? With your fiery spirit, and firm judgment, I almost wish you there; not for your benefit, but for the public. If you resolve to recover your seat, do not listen to any fallacious and infinite projects of interest, contest, return, petition, &c. but limit your expence.

N° CLXXX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, October 22d, 1784.

A FEW weeks ago, as I was walking on our terrace with M. Tissot, the celebrated physician; M. Mercier, the author of the *Tableau de Paris*; Monsieur, Madame, and Mademoiselle Necker; the Abbé de Bourbon, a natural

* Observations on the Commerce with the American States.

† Alluding to his portrait.

a natural ſon of Lewis the Fifteenth, the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick, Prince Henry of Pruſſia, and a dozen Counts, Barons, and extraordinary perſons, among whom was a natural ſon of the Empreſs of Ruſſia——Are you ſatisfied with this liſt? which I could enlarge and embelliſh, without departing from truth; and was not the Baron of Sheffield (profound as he is on the ſubject of the American trade) doubly miſtaken with regard to Gibbon and Lauſanne? Whenever I uſed to hint my deſign of retiring, that illuſtrious Baron, after a proper effuſion of d——d fools, condeſcended to obſerve, that ſuch an obſcure nook in Switzerland might pleaſe me in the ignorance of youth, but that after taſting for ſo many years the various ſociety of Paris and London, I ſhould ſoon be tired with the dull and uniform round of a provincial town. In the winter, Lauſanne is indeed reduced to its native powers; but during the ſummer, it is poſſibly, after Spa, one of the moſt favourite places of general reſort. The tour of Switzerland, the Alps, and the Glaciers, is become a faſhion. Tiſſot attracts the invalids, eſpecially from France; and a colony of Engliſh have taken up the habit of ſpending their winters at Nice, and their ſummers in the Pays de Vaud. Such are the ſplendour and variety of our ſummer viſitors; and *you* will agree with me more readily than the Baron, when I ſay that this variety, inſtead of being a merit, is, in my opinion, one of the very few objections to the reſidence of Lauſanne. After the diſſipation of the winter I expected to have enjoyed, with more freedom and ſolitude, myſelf, my friend, my books, and this delicious paradiſe; but my poſition and character make me here a ſort of public character, and oblige me to ſee and be ſeen. However, it is my firm reſolution for next ſummer to aſſume the independence of a philoſopher, and to be viſible only to the perſons whom I like. On that principle I ſhould not, moſt aſſuredly, have avoided the Neckers and Prince Henry. The former have purchaſed the barony of Copet near Geneva; and as the buildings

were

were very much out of repair, they paſſed this ſummer at a country-houſe at the gates of Lauſanne. They afford a new example, that perſons who have taſted of greatneſs, can ſeldom return with pleaſure to a private ſtation. In the moments when we were alone he converſed with me freely, and I believe truly, on the ſubject of his adminiſtration and fall; and has opened ſeveral paſſages of modern hiſtory, which would make a very good figure in *the* American book *. If they ſpent the ſummers at the caſtle of Copet, about nine leagues from hence, a fortnight or three weeks viſit would be a pleaſant and healthful excurſion; but, alas! I fear there is little appearance of its being executed. *Her* health is impaired by the agitation of her mind: inſtead of returning to Paris, ſhe is ordered to paſs the winter in the ſouthern provinces of France, and our laſt parting was ſolemn; as I very much doubt whether I ſhall ever ſee her again. They have now a very troubleſome charge, which you will experience in a few years, the diſpoſal of a Baroneſs; Mademoiſelle † Necker, one of the greateſt heireſſes in Europe, is now about eighteen, wild, vain, but good-natured, with a much larger proviſion of wit than of beauty: what increaſes their difficulties is their religious obſtinacy of marrying her only to a proteſtant. It would be an excellent opportunity for a young Engliſhman of a great name and a fair reputation. Prince Henry muſt be a man of ſenſe; for he took more notice, and expreſſed more eſteem for me, than any body elſe. He is certainly (without touching his military character) a very lively and entertaining companion. He talked with freedom, and generally with contempt, of moſt of the princes of Europe; with reſpect of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, but never mentioned the name of his brother, except once, when he hinted that it was *he himſelf* that won the battle of Roſbach. His nephew, and our nephew, the

* Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

† Now Madame de Staal.

the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick is here for his education. Of the Engliſh, who live very much as a national colony, you will like to hear of Mrs. Fraſer and *one* more. Donna Catherina * pleaſes every body, by the perfect ſimplicity of her ſtate of nature. You know ſhe has had the reſolution to return from England (where ſhe told me ſhe ſaw you) to Lauſanne, for the ſake of Miſs Briſtow, who is in bad health, and in a few days they ſet off for Nice. *The other* is the Eliza; ſhe paſſed through Lauſanne, in her road from Italy to England; poorly in health, but ſtill adorable, (nay, do not frown!) and I enjoyed ſome delightful hours by her bed-ſide. She wrote me a line from Paris, but has not executed her promiſe of viſiting Lauſanne in the month of October. My pen has run much faſter, and much farther, than I intended on the ſubject of others; yet, in deſcribing them, I have thrown ſome light over myſelf and my ſituation. A year, a very ſhort one, has now elapſed ſince my arrival at Lauſanne; and after a cool review of my ſentiments, I can ſincerely declare, that I have never, during a ſingle moment, repented of having executed my *abſurd* project of retiring to Lauſanne. It is needleſs to dwell on the fatigue, the hurry, the vexation which I muſt have felt in the narrow and dirty circle of Engliſh politics. My preſent life wants no foil, and ſhines by its own native light. The choſen part of my library is now arrived, and arranged in a room full as good as that in Bentinck-ſtreet, with this difference indeed, that inſtead of looking on a ſtone court, twelve feet ſquare, I command, from three windows of plate glaſs, an unbounded proſpect of many a league of vineyards, of fields, of wood, of lake, and of mountains; a ſcene which Lord Sheffield will tell you is ſuperior to all you can imagine. The climate, though ſevere in winter, has perfectly agreed with my conſtitution, and the year is accompliſhed without any return of the gout. An excellent houſe,

* The Honourable Mrs. Fraſer.

house, a good table, a pleasant garden, are no contemptible ingredients in human happiness. The general style of society hits my fancy; I have cultivated a large and agreeable circle of acquaintance, and I am much deceived if I have not laid the foundations of two or three more intimate and valuable connections; but their names would be indifferent, and it would require pages, or rather volumes, to describe their persons and characters. With regard to my standing dish, my domestic friend, I could not be much disappointed, after an intimacy of eight-and-twenty years. His heart and his head are excellent; he has the warmest attachment for me, he is satisfied that I have the same for him: some slight imperfections must be mutually supported; two bachelors, who have lived so long alone and independent, have their peculiar fancies and humours, and when the mask of form and ceremony is laid aside, every moment in a family-life has not the sweetness of the honey-moon, even between the husbands and wives who have the truest and most tender regard for each other. Should you be very much surprised to hear of my being married? Amazing as it may seem, I do assure you that the event is less improbable than it would have appeared to myself a twelvemonth ago. Deyverdun and I have often agreed, in jest and in earnest, that a house like ours would be regulated, and graced, and enlivened, by an agreeable female companion; but each of us seems desirous that his friend should sacrifice himself for the public good. Since my residence here I have lived much in women's company; and, to your credit be it spoken, I like you the better the more I see of you. Not that I am in love with any particular person. I have discovered about half-a-dozen *wives* who would please me in different ways, and by various merits: one as a mistress (a widow, vastly like *the* Eliza; if she returns I am to bring them together); a second, a lively entertaining acquaintance; a third, a sincere good-natured friend; a fourth, who would represent with grace and dignity at the head of my table and family; a fifth, an excellent œconomist and housekeeper;

houſekeeper; and a ſixth, a very uſeful nurſe. Could I find all theſe qualities united in a ſingle perſon, I ſhould dare to make my addreſſes, and ſhould deſerve to be refuſed. You hint in ſome of your letters, or rather poſtſcripts, that you conſider me as having renounced England, and having fixed myſelf for the reſt of my life in Switzerland, and that you ſuſpect the ſincerity of my vague or inſidious ſchemes of purchaſe or return. To remove, as far as I can, your doubts and ſuſpicions, I will tell you, on that intereſting ſubject, fairly and ſimply as much as I know of my own intentions. There is little appearance that I ſhall be ſuddenly recalled by the offer of a place or penſion. I have no claim to the friendſhip of your young miniſter, and ſhould he propoſe a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, or Secretary at Paris, the ſuppoſed objects of my low ambition, Adam in Paradiſe would refuſe them with contempt. *Here* therefore I ſhall certainly live till I have finiſhed the remainder of my Hiſtory; an arduous work, which does not proceed ſo faſt as I expected, amidſt the avocations of ſociety, and miſcellaneous ſtudy. As ſoon as it is completed, moſt probably in three or *four* years, I ſhall infallibly return to England, about the month of May or June; and the neceſſary labour of printing with care two or three quarto volumes, will detain me till their publication, in the enſuing ſpring. Lord Sheffield and yourſelf will be the loadſtone that moſt forcibly attracts me; and as I ſhall be a vagabond on the face of the earth, I ſhall be the better qualified to domeſticate myſelf with you, both in town and country. Here then, at no very extravagant diſtance, we have the certainty (if we live) of ſpending a year together, in the peace and freedom of a friendly intercourſe; and a year is no very contemptible portion of this mortal exiſtence. Beyond that period all is dark, but not gloomy. Whether, after the final completion of my Hiſtory, I ſhall return to Lauſanne, or ſettle in England, muſt depend on a thouſand events which lie beyond the reach of human foreſight, the

ſtate

ſtate of public and private affairs, my own health, the health and life of Deyverdun, the various changes which may have rendered Lauſanne more dear, or leſs agreeable, to me than at preſent. But without loſing ourſelves in this diſtant futurity, which perhaps we may never ſee, and without giving any poſitive anſwer to Maria's parting queſtion, whether I ſhall be buried in England or Switzerland, let me ſeriouſly and earneſtly aſk you, whether you do not mean to viſit me next ſummer? The defeat at Coventry would, I ſhould think, facilitate the project; ſince the Baron is no longer detained the whole winter from his domeſtic affairs, nor is there any attendance on the Houſe that keeps him till Midſummer in duſt and diſpute. I can ſend you a pleaſant route, through Normandy, Paris, and Lyons, a viſit to the Glaciers, and your return down the Rhine, which would be commodiouſly executed in three or four months, at no very extravagant expence, and would be productive of health and ſpirits to you, of entertainment to you both, and of inſtruction to *the* Maria. Without the ſmalleſt inconvenience to myſelf, I am able to lodge yourſelves and family, by arranging you in the winter apartment, which in the ſummer ſeaſon is not of any uſe to us. I think you will be ſatisfied with your habitation, and already ſee you in your dreſſing-room; a ſmall pleaſant room, with a delightful proſpect to the weſt and ſouth. If poor aunt Kitty (you oblige me beyond expreſſion by your tender care of that excellent woman) if ſhe were only ten years younger, I would deſire you to take her with you, but I much fear we ſhall never meet again. You will not complain of the brevity of this epiſtle; I expect, in return, a full and fair account of yourſelf, your thoughts and actions, ſoul and body, preſent and future, in the ſafe, though unreſerved, confidence of friendſhip. The Baron in two words hinted but an indifferent account of your health; you are a fine machine; but as he was abſent in Ireland, I hope I underſtand the cauſe and the

remedy. Next to yourſelf, I want to hear of the two Baroneſſes. You muſt give me a faithful picture (and though a mother you can give it) of their preſent external and internal forms; for a year has now elapſed, and in *their* lives a year is an age. Adieu. Ever yours.

N° CLXXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, March 13th, 1785.

MY long ſilence (and it has been long) muſt not, on this occaſion, be imputed to lazineſs, though that little devil may likewiſe have been buſy. But you cannot forget how many weeks I remained in ſuſpence, expecting every poſt the final ſentence, and not knowing what to ſay in that paſſive uncertainty. It is now ſomething more than a fortnight ſince your laſt letter, and that of Goſling informed me of the event. I have intended every day to write, and every day I have ſtarted back with reluctance and diſguſt, from the conſideration of the wretched ſubject. Lenborough irrecoverably gone, for three-fourths of its real, at leaſt of its ancient, value; my ſeat in parliament ſunk in the abyſs of your curſed politics, and a balance neatly cyphered and ſummed by Goſling, which ſhews me a very ſhallow purſe, in which others have a clearer right to dip than myſelf.

March 21ſt.

Another week is now elapſed, and though nothing is changed in this too faithful ſtate of my affairs, I feel myſelf able to encounter them with more ſpirit and reſolution; to look on the future, rather than the paſt, on the fair, rather than on the foul ſide of the proſpect. I ſhall ſpeak in the confidence of friendſhip, and while you liſten to the more doleful tale of my wants and wiſhes,

you

you will have the satisfaction of hearing some circumstances in my present situation of a less unpleasing nature. 1. In the first place, I most heartily rejoice in the sale, however unfavourable, of the Bucks estate. Considering the dullness of the times, and the high interest of money, it is not a little to obtain even a tolerable price, and I am sensible how much your patience and industry have been exercised to extort the payment. 2. Your resistance to my Swiss expedition was more friendly than wise. Had I yielded, after eighteen months of suspence and anxiety, I should now, a still poorer man, be driven to embrace the same resource, which has succeeded according to, or even beyond, my most sanguine expectations. I do not pretend to have discovered the terrestrial paradise, which has not been known in this world since the fall of Adam; but I can truly declare, (now the charms of novelty are long since faded,) that I have found the plan of life the best adapted to my temper and my situation. I am now writing to you in a room as good as that in Bentinck-street, which commands the country, the lake, and the mountains, and the opening prospect of the spring. The aforesaid room is furnished without magnificence, but with every conveniency for warmth, ease, and study, and the walls are already covered with more than two thousand volumes, the choice of a chosen library. I have health, friends, an amusing society, and perfect freedom. A Commissioner of the Excise! the idea makes me sick. If you ask me what I have saved by my retreat to Lausanne? I will fairly tell you (in the two great articles of a carriage and a house in town, both which were indispensable, and are now annihilated, with the difference of clubs, public places, servants wages, &c.) about four hundred pounds, or guineas, a year; no inconsiderable sum, when it must be annually found as addition to an expence which is somewhat larger than my present revenue. 3. *What is then*, you will ask, *my present establishment? This* is not by any means a cheap country; and, except in the article of wine, I could give a

dinner, or make a coat, perhaps for the ſame price in London as at Lauſanne. My chief advantage ariſes from the things which I do not want; and in ſome reſpects my ſtyle of living is enlarged by the increaſe of my relative importance, an obſcure bachelor in England, the maſter of a conſiderable houſe at Lauſanne. Here I am expected to return entertainments, to receive ladies, &c. and to perform many duties of ſociety, which, though agreeable enough in themſelves, contribute to inflame the houſe-keeper's bills. From the diſburſements of the firſt year I cannot form any juſt eſtimate; the extraordinary expences of the journey, carriage of heavy goods from England, the acquiſition of many books, which it was not expedient to tranſport, the purchaſe of furniture, wine, fitting up my library, and the irregularity of a new menage, have conſumed a pretty large ſum. But in a quiet, prudent, regular courſe of life, I think I can ſupport myſelf with comfort and honour for ſix or ſeven hundred pounds a year, inſtead of a thouſand or eleven hundred in England.

Beſides theſe uncertainties, (uncertain at leaſt as to the time,) I have a ſure and honourable ſupply from my own pen. I continue my Hiſtory with pleaſure and aſſiduity; the way is long and laborious, yet I ſee the end, and I can almoſt promiſe to land in England next September twelvemonth, with a manuſcript of the current value of about four thouſand pounds, which will afford either a ſmall income or a large capital. 5. It is in the meanwhile that my ſituation is ſomewhat difficult. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Such are the ſervices and revenues of the year; proceed we now, in the ſtyle of the budget, to the ways and means of extraordinary ſupplies. * * * * * * * * * * * * * I will not affront your friendſhip, by obſerving that you will incur little or no riſk on this occaſion. Read, conſider, act, and write.

It

It is the privilege of friendship to make our friend a patient hearer, and active associate in our own affairs; and I have now written five pages on my private affairs, without saying a word either of the public, or of yourself. Of the public I have little to say; I never was a very warm patriot, and I grow every day a citizen of the world. The scramble for power or profit at Westminster or St. James's, and the names of Pitt and Fox, become less interesting to me than those of Cæsar and Pompey. You are not a friend of the young Minister, but he is a great favourite on the continent, as he appears to be still; and you must own that the fairness of his character, his eloquence, his application to business, and even his youth, must prepossess at least the ignorant in his favour. Of the merit or defects of his administration I cannot pretend to speak; but I find, from the complaints of some interested persons, that his restraints on the smuggling of tea have already ruined the East India Companies of Antwerp and Sweden, and that even the Dutch will scarcely find it worth their while to send any ships to China. Your Irish friends appear to be more quiet, at least the volunteers and national congress seem to subside. How far that tranquillity must be purchased on our side, by any pernicious sacrifices, you will best decide; and from some hint in your last letters, I am inclined to think that you are less affected than might be supposed with national or local prejudice. Your introduction I have attentively read; the matter, though most important in itself, is out of the line of my studies and habits, and the subordinate beauties of style you disclaim. Yet I can say with truth, that I never met with more curious and diligent investigation, more strong sense, more liberal spirit, and more cool and impartial temper in the same number of pages. By this time you have probably read Necker's book on the finances. Perhaps for you there is too much French enthusiasm and paint; but in many respects you must have gained a knowledge of his country; and on the whole, you must have been pleased with the picture of a great

great and benevolent mind. In your attack on Deyverdun for my picture I cannot promiſe you much ſucceſs; he ſeems reſolved to maintain his right of poſſeſſion, and your only chance would be a perſonal aſſault. The next ſummer (how time ſlips away!) was fixed for your viſit to Lauſanne. We are prepared at all points to receive *you*, my Lady, and a princeſs or two, with their train; and if you have proper contempt for St. Stephen's chapel, you are perfectly free, and at leiſure (can you ever be at leiſure?) for the ſummer ſeaſon. As you are now in a great meaſure diſengaged from any affairs, you may find time to inform me of your proceedings and your projects. At preſent I do not even know whether you paſs the winter at Sheffield-Place or in Downing-ſtreet. My Lady revenges herſelf of my long ſilence; yet I embrace her and the infants. Adieu. You have deranged the Decline and Fall this morning. I have finiſhed my epiſtle ſince dinner, and am now going to a pleaſant party and good ſupper.

N° CLXXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, September 5th, 1785.

EXTRACT from a weekly Engliſh Paper, September 5th, 1785. "It is reported, but we hope without foundation, that the celebrated Mr. Gibbon, who had retired to Lauſanne in Switzerland to finiſh his valuable Hiſtory, lately died in that city."

The hope of the Newſpaper-writer is very handſome and obliging to the Hiſtorian; yet there are ſeveral weighty reaſons which would incline me to believe that the intelligence may be true. *Primo*, It muſt one day be true; and therefore may very probably be ſo at preſent. *Secundo*, We may always depend on the impartiality, accuracy, and veracity of an Engliſh Newſpaper. *Tertio*, which is indeed

indeed the ſtrongeſt argument, We are credibly informed that for a long time paſt the ſaid celebrated Hiſtorian has not written to any of his friends in England; and as that reſpectable perſonage had always the reputation of a moſt exact and regular correſpondent, it may be fairly concluded from his ſilence, that he either is, or ought to be dead. The only objection that I can foreſee, is the aſſurance that Mr. G—— himſelf read the article as he was eating his breakfaſt, and laughed very heartily at the miſtake of his brother Hiſtorian; but as he might be deſirous of concealing that unpleaſant event, we ſhall not inſiſt on his apparent health and ſpirits, which might be affected by that ſubtle politician. He affirms, however, not only that he is alive, and was ſo on the fifth of September, but that his head, his heart, his ſtomach, are in the moſt perfect ſtate, and that the climate of Lauſanne has been congenial both to his mind and body. He confeſſes indeed, that after the laſt ſevere winter, the gout, his old enemy, from whom he hoped to have eſcaped, purſued him to his retreat among the mountains of Helvetia, and that the ſiege was long, though more languid than in his precedent attacks; after ſome exerciſe of patience he began to creep, and gradually to walk; and though he can neither run, nor fly, nor dance, he ſupports himſelf with firmneſs on his two legs, and would willingly kick the impertinent Gazetteer; impertinent enough, though more eaſily to be forgiven than the inſolent *Courier du Bas Rhin*, who about three years ago amuſed himſelf and his readers with a fictitious epiſtle from Mr. Gibbon to Dr. Robertſon

Perhaps now you think, Baron, that I ſhall apologize in humble ſtyle for my ſilence and neglect. But, on the contrary, I do aſſure you that I am truly provoked at your Lordſhip's not condeſcending to be in a paſſion. I might really have been dead, I might have been ſick; if I were neither dead nor ſick, I deſerved a volley of curſes and reproaches for my infernal lazineſs, and you have defrauded me of my juſt dues. Had I been ſilent till Chriſtmas,

till

till doomsday, you would never have thought it worth your while to abuse me. Why then (let me ask in your name) did you not write before? That is indeed a very curious question of natural and moral philosophy. Certainly I am not lazy; elaborate quartos have proved, and will abundantly prove my diligence. I *can* write; spare my modesty on that subject. I like to converse with my friends by pen or tongue, and as soon as I can set myself a going, I know no moments that run off more pleasantly. I am so well convinced of that truth, and so much ashamed of forcing people that I love to forget me, that I have now resolved to set apart the first hour of each day for the discharge of my obligations; beginning, *comme de raison*, with yourself, and regularly proceeding to Lord Loughborough and the rest. May Heaven give me strength and grace to accomplish this laudable intention! Amen. Certainly (yet I do not know whether it be so certain) I should write much oftener to you if we were not linked in business, and if my business had not always been of the unpleasant and mortifying kind. Even now I shove the ugly monster to the end of this epistle, and will confine him to a page by himself, that he may not infect the purer air of our correspondence. Of my situation here I have little new to say, except a very comfortable and singular truth, that my passion for my wife or mistress (Fanny Lausanne) is not palled by satiety and possession of two years. I have seen her in all seasons, and in all humours, and though she is not without faults, they are infinitely overbalanced by her good qualities. Her face is not handsome, but her person, and every thing about her, has admirable grace and beauty: she is of a very cheerful sociable temper; without much learning, she is endowed with taste and good sense; and though not rich, the simplicity of her education makes her a very good œconomist; she is forbid by her parents to wear any expensive finery; and though her limbs are not much calculated for walking, she has not yet asked me to keep her a coach. Last spring (not to wear the metaphor to rags) I saw

Lausanne

Lauſanne in a new light, during my long fit of the gout, and muſt boldly declare, that either in health or ſickneſs I find it far more comfortable than your huge metropolis. In London my confinement was ſad and ſolitary; the many forgot my exiſtence when they ſaw me no longer at Brookes's; and the few, who ſometimes caſt a thought or an eye on their friend, were detained by buſineſs or pleaſure, the diſtance of the way, or the hours of the Houſe of Commons, and I was proud and happy if I could prevail on Elmſly to enliven the dulneſs of the evening. Here the objects are nearer, and much more diſtinct, and I myſelf am an object of much larger magnitude. People are not kinder, but they are more idle, and it muſt be confeſſed that, of all nations on the globe, the Engliſh are the leaſt attentive to the old and infirm; I do not mean in acts of charity, but in the offices of civil life. During three months I have had round my chair a ſucceſſion of agreeable men and women, who came with a ſmile, and vaniſhed at a nod; and as ſoon as it was agreeable I had a conſtant party at cards, which was ſometimes diſmiſſed to their reſpective homes, and ſometimes detained by Deyverdun to ſupper, without the leaſt trouble or inconvenience to myſelf. In a word, my plan has moſt completely anſwered; and I ſolemnly proteſt, after two years trial, that I have never in a ſingle moment repented of my tranſmigration. The only diſagreeable circumſtance is the increaſe of a race of animals, with which this country has been long infeſted, and who are ſaid to come from an iſland in the Northern Ocean. I am told, but it ſeems incredible, that upwards of forty thouſand Engliſh, maſters and ſervants, are now abſent on the continent; and I am ſure we have our full proportion, both in town and country, from the month of June to that of October. The occupations of the cloſet, indifferent health, want of horſes, in ſome meaſure plead my excuſe; yet I do too much to pleaſe myſelf, and probably too little to ſatisfy my countrymen. What is ſtill more unlucky is, that a part

of

of the colony of this preſent year are really good company, people one knows, &c.; the Aſtons, Hales, Hampdens, Trevors, Lady Clarges and Miſs Carter, Lord Northington, &c. I have ſeen Trevor ſeveral times, who talks of you, and ſeems to be a more exact correſpondent than myſelf. *His wife* is much improved by her diplomatic life, and ſhines in every company, as a woman of faſhion and elegance. But thoſe who have repaid me for the reſt, were Lord and Lady Spencer. I ſaw them almoſt every day, at my houſe or their own, during their ſtay of a month; for they were haſtening to Italy, that they might return to London next February. He is a valuable man, and where he is familiar, a pleaſant companion; ſhe a charming woman, who, with ſenſe and ſpirit, has the ſimplicity and playfulneſs of a child. You are not ignorant of her talents, of which ſhe has left me an agreeable ſpecimen, a drawing of the Hiſtoric Muſe, ſitting in a thoughtful poſture to compoſe. So much of ſelf and Co. let us now talk a little of your houſe and your two countries. Does my Lady ever join in the abuſe which I have merited from you? Is ſhe ſatisfied with her own behaviour, her unpardonable ſilence, to one of the prettieſt, moſt obliging, moſt entertaining, moſt, &c. epiſtles that ever was penned ſince the epiſtles of * * * * * *? Will ſhe not *mew* one word of reply? I want ſome account of her ſpirits, health, amuſements, of the elegant accompliſhments of Maria, and the opening graces of Louiſa: of yourſelf I wiſh to have ſome of thoſe details which ſhe is moſt likely to tranſmit. Are you patient in your excluſion from the Houſe? Are you ſatisfied with legiſlating with your pen? Do you paſs the whole winter in town? Have you reſumed the purſuits of farming, &c.? What new connections, public or private, have you formed? A tour to the continent would be the beſt medicine for the ſhattered nerves of a ſoldier and politician. By this expreſſion you will perceive that your letter to Deyverdun is received; it landed laſt poſt, after I had already written the two firſt pages of this compoſition. On the

the whole my friend was pleased and flattered; but instead of surrendering, or capitulating, he seems to be making preparations for an obstinate defence. He already talks of the right of possession *, of the duties of a good citizen, of a *writ ne excat regnum*, and of a vote of the two hundred, that whomsoever shall, directly or indirectly, &c. is an enemy to his country. Between you be the strife, while I sit with my scales in my hand, like Jupiter on Mount Ida. I begin to view with the same indifference the combat of Achilles Pitt, and Hector Fox; for such, as it should now seem, must be the comparison of the two warriors. * * * * * * * *

At this distance I am much less angry with bills, taxes, and propositions, than I am pleased with Pitt for making a friend and a deserving man happy, for releasing Batt from the shackles of the law, and for enhancing the gift of a secure and honourable competency, by the handsome manner in which it was conferred. This I understand to be the case, from the unsuspicious evidence of Lord Northington and Chief Baron Skinner; and if I can find time, *(resolution,)* I will send him a hearty congratulation; if I fail, you may at least communicate my intentions. Of Ireland I know nothing, and while I am writing the Decline of a great Empire, I have not leisure to attend to the affairs of a remote and petty province.' I see that your friend Foster has been hooted by the mob, and unanimously chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. How could Pitt expose himself to the disgrace of withdrawing his propositions after a public attempt? Have Ministers no way of computing beforehand the sense or nonsense of an Irish Parliament? I am quite in the dark; your pamphlet, or book, would probably have opened my eyes; but, whatever may have been the reason, I give you *my word of honour*, that I have never seen nor heard of it. Here we are much more engaged with continental politics. In general we hate the Emperor, as the enemy of peace, without

* His portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

without daring to make war. The old lion of Pruſſia acts a much more glorious part, as the champion of public tranquillity, and the independence of the German ſtates.

And now for the bitter and nauſeous pill of pecuniary buſineſs, upon which I ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in the two articles of my diſcourſe, land and money. * * * * * * * * * * * *

It is impoſſible to hate more than I do this odious neceſſity of owing, borrowing, anticipating, and I look forwards with impatience to the happy period when the ſupplies will always be raiſed within the year, with a decent and uſeful ſurplus in the treaſury. I now truſt to the concluſion of my Hiſtory, and it will haſten and ſecure the principal comforts of my life. You will believe I am not lazy; yet I fear the term is ſomewhat more diſtant than I thought. My long gout loſt me three months in the ſpring; in every great work unforeſeen dangers, and difficulties, and delays will ariſe; and I ſhould be rather ſorry than ſurpriſed if next autumn was poſtponed to the enſuing ſpring. If my Lady (a good creature) ſhould write to Mrs. Porten, ſhe may convey news of my life and health, without ſaying any thing of this *poſſible* delay. Adieu. I embrace, &c.

LAUSANNE, October 1ſt, 1785.

N°. CLXXXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, January 17th, 1786.

HEAR, all ye nations! An epiſtle from Sheffield-Place received the ſeventeenth of January, is anſwered the ſame day; and to ſay the truth, this method, which is the beſt, is at the ſame time the moſt eaſy and pleaſant. Yet I do not allow that on the laſt paſt ſilence and delay you have any more reaſon to ſwear than myſelf. Our letters croſſed each other, our claims were equal, and if both had

had been ſtiffly maintained, our mutual ſilence muſt have continued till the day of judgment. The balance was doubtleſs in my favour, if you recollect the length, the fulneſs, the variety of pleaſant and inſtructive matter of my laſt diſpatch. Even at preſent, of myſelf, my occupations, my deſigns, I have little or nothing to add; and can only ſpeak dryly and briefly to very dry and diſagreeable buſineſs. * * * * * But we ſhall both agree, that the true criminal is my Lady; and though I do ſuppoſe that a letter is on the road, which will make ſome amends, her obſtinate, contumacious, dilatory ſilence, ſo many months or years ſince my valuable letter, is worthy a royal tigreſs. * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Notwithſtanding your gloomy politicians, I do love the funds; and were the next war to reduce them to half, the remainder would be a better and pleaſanter property, than a ſimilar value in your dirty acres. We are now in the height of our winter amuſements; balls, great ſuppers, comedies, &c. and, except St. Stephen's, I certainly lead a more gay and diſſipated life here, among the Alps, (by the bye, a moſt extraordinary mild winter,) than in the midſt of London. Yet my mornings, and ſometimes an afternoon, are diligently employed. My work advances, but much remains, indeed much more than I imagined; but a great book, like a great houſe, was never yet finiſhed at the given time. When I talk of the ſpring of eighty-ſeven, I ſuppoſe all my time well beſtowed; and what do you think of a fit of the gout, that may diſqualify me for two or three months? You may growl, but if you calmly reflect on my pecuniary and ſentimental ſtate, you will believe that I moſt earneſtly deſire to complete my labour, and *viſit* England. Adieu.

N° CLXXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, May 10th, 1786.

BY the difference, I suppose, of the posts of France and Germany, Sir Stanier's letter, though first written, is still on the road, and your's, which I received yesterday morning, brought me the first account of poor Mrs. Porten's departure. There are few events that could afflict me more deeply, and I have been ever since in a state of mind more deserving of your pity than of your reproaches. I certainly am not ignorant that we have nothing better to wish for ourselves than the fate of that best-humoured woman, as you very justly style her; a good understanding and an excellent heart, with health, spirits, and a competency, to live in the midst of her friends till the age of fourscore, and then to shut her eyes without pain or remorse. Death can have deprived her only of some years of weakness, perhaps of misery; and for myself, it is surely less painful to lose her at present, than to find her in my visit to England next year sinking under the weight of age and infirmities, and perhaps forgetful of herself and of the persons once the dearest to her. All this is perfectly true: but all these reflections will not dispel a thousand sad and tender remembrances that rush upon my mind. To her care I am indebted in earliest infancy for the preservation of my life and health. I was a puny child, neglected by my mother, starved by my nurse, and of whose being very little care or expectation was entertained; without her maternal vigilance I should either have been in my grave, or imperfectly lived a crooked ricketty monster, a burden to myself and others. To her instructions I owe the first rudiments of knowledge, the first exercise of reason, and a taste for books, which is still the pleasure and glory of my life; and though the taught

taught me neither language nor ſcience, ſhe was certainly the moſt uſeful preceptor I ever had. As I grew up, an intercourſe of thirty years endeared her to me, as the faithful friend and the agreeable companion. You have ſeen with what freedom and confidence we lived together, and have often admired her character and converſation, which could alike pleaſe the young and the old. All this is now loſt, finally, irrecoverably loſt! I will agree with my Lady, that the immortality of the ſoul is at ſome times a very comfortable doctrine. A thouſand thanks to her for her conſtant kind attention to that poor woman who is no more. I wiſh I had as much to applaud, and as little to reproach, in my own behaviour towards Mrs. Porten ſince I left England; and when I reflect that my letters would have ſoothed and comforted her decline, I feel more deeply than I can expreſs, the real neglect, the ſeeming indifference, of my ſilence. To delay a letter from the Wedneſday to the Saturday, and then from the Saturday to the Wedneſday, appears a very ſlight offence; yet in the repetition of ſuch delay, weeks, months, and years will elapſe, till the omiſſion may become irretrievable, and the conſequence miſchievous or fatal. After a long lethargy, I had rouſed myſelf laſt week, and wrote to the three old Ladies; my letter for Mrs. Porten went away laſt poſt, Saturday night, and yours did not arrive till Monday morning. Sir Stanier will probably open it, and read the true picture of my ſentiments for a friend who, when I wrote, was already extinct. There is ſomething ſad and awful in the thought, yet, on the whole, I am not ſorry that even this tardy epiſtle preceded my knowledge of her death: but it did not precede (you will obſerve) the information of her dangerous and declining ſtate, which I conveyed in my laſt letter, and her anxious concern that ſhe ſhould never ſee or *hear* from me again. This idea, and the hard thoughts which you muſt entertain of me, preſs ſo much on my mind, that I muſt frankly acknowledge a ſtrange inexcuſable ſupineneſs, on which I deſire you would make

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no comment, and which in ſome meaſure may account for my delays in correſponding with you. The unpleaſant nature of buſineſs, and the apprehenſion of finding ſomething diſagreeable, tempted me to poſtpone from day to day, not only the anſwering, but even the opening, your penultimate epiſtle; and when I received your laſt, yeſterday morning, the ſeal of the former was ſtill unbroken. Oblige me ſo far as to make no reflections; my own may be of ſervice to me hereafter. Thus far (except the laſt ſentence) I have run on with a ſort of melancholy pleaſure, and find my heart much relieved by unfolding it to a friend. And the ſubject ſo ſtrongly holds me, ſo much diſqualifies me for other diſcourſe, either ſerious or pleaſant, that here I would willingly ſtop, and reſerve all miſcellaneous matter for a ſecond volunteer epiſtle. But we both know how frail are promiſes, how dangerous are delays, and there are ſome pecuniary objects on which I think it neceſſary to give you an immediate, though now tardy, explanation.

I do not return you any formal thanks for * * * * * * * * * * *

I have really a hundred things to ſay of myſelf, of you and Co. of your works, of mine, of my books in Downing-ſtreet, of Lauſanne, of politics, &c. &c. After this, ſome epiſtolary debts muſt and SHALL be paid; and to proceed with order, I have fixed this day fortnight (May twenty-fifth) for the date and diſpatch of your ſecond epiſtle. Give me credit once more. Pray does my Lady think herſelf abſolved from all obligation of writing to me? To her at leaſt I am not in arrear. Adieu.

N° CLXXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Sir* STANIER PORTEN, Kensington-Palace.

MY DEAR SIR, LAUSANNE, May 12th, 1786.

THE melancholy event which you have communicated, in your last obliging letter of the twenty-fourth of April, might indeed be too naturally feared and expected. If we consult our reason, we can wish nothing better for ourselves than the lot of that dear and valuable friend whom we have now lost*. A warm heart, a strong and clear understanding, a most invaluable happiness of temper, which shewed her the agreeable or comfortable side of every object, and every situation; an easy competency, the reward of her own attention; private friendship, general esteem, a mature age, and a placid decline. But these rational motives of consolation are insufficient to check a thousand soft and sad remembrances that rush into my mind; the intimacy of a whole life; of mine, at least, from the earliest dawn of my infancy; the maternal and assiduous care of my health, and afterwards of my mind; the freedom and frequency of our conversations; the regret which I felt in our last separation, and the hope, however faint and precarious, of seeing her again. Time alone can reconcile us to this irreparable loss, and to his healing power I must recommend your grief, as well as my own. I sincerely applaud her very proper and natural disposal of her effects, and am proud of the pre-eminence which she has allowed me in a list of dear and worthy relations.

I am too full of a single idea to expatiate, as I should otherwise do, on indifferent matters; yet not totally indifferent to my friends, since they relate to my present situation. My health is in general perfectly good, and the only

* His aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten.

drawbacks ſome occaſional viſits of the gout, which abate, however, in ſtrength, and are grown, I think leſs frequent and laſting. The life which I lead is temperate and tranquil, and the diſtemper itſelf is not common in the purity and dryneſs of the climate. After a long trial, I can now approve my own choice of retiring to Switzerland. My delightful habitation, at once in town and country; my library, and the ſociety of agreeable men and women, compoſe a very eligible plan of life, which is ſhaded with very few, and very ſlight exceptions. I proſecute with eaſe, and regular diligence, the concluſion of my Hiſtory; and, as far as I can judge, I may hope to deliver it to the preſs in the courſe of next year. That important buſineſs will recal me to England, and detain me there ſome months; and I ſhall rejoice in the opportunity of reviſiting my country and my friends; among them thoſe of Kenſington-Palace hold a high and diſtinguiſhed place.

I truly ſympathize, my dear Sir, in your paternal feelings, in the health and progreſs of your very promiſing children. May that, and every other bleſſing, attend both yourſelf and Lady Porten. My friend M. Deyverdun deſires to aſſure you of his reſpect and good wiſhes. I am, dear Sir, moſt affectionately yours.

N° CLXXXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, July 22d, 1786.

* * * * * * *

* * * Since I have another page, and ſome leiſure moments, we may as well employ it in friendly converſe; the more ſo, as the great letter to which I alluded is wonderfully precarious and uncertain: the more ſo likewiſe, as our correſpondence for ſome time paſt has been of an abrupt and diſagreeable caſt. Let us firſt talk of Sheffield's

field's works: they are of two sorts: *Primo*, Two nymphs, whom I much desire to see; the sprightly Maria and the gentle Louisa. I perfectly represent them both in the eye of fancy; each of them accomplished according to her age and character, yet totally different in their external and internal forms. *Secundo*, Three pamphlets; pamphlets! I cry you mercy; three weighty treatises, almost as useful as an inquiry into the state of the primitive church. And here let me justify, if I have not before, my silence on a subject which we authors do not easily forgive. The first, whose first editions had seen the light before I left England, followed me here in a more complete edition; and that Treatise on the American Trade has been read, judged, approved, and reported. The second, on Ireland, I have seen by accident the copy you sent to Mr. Trevor, who passed last summer (eighty-five) here. The third, and in my present situation the most interesting, on the French Commerce*, I have not yet seen by any means whatsoever, and you who know what orders you have given to Elmsly or others, will best discern on whom should be laid the fault and the blame. By the bye, Mrs. Trevor is now here, without her husband, and I am just going to see her, about a mile out of town: she is judged elegant and amiable. But to return to your books, all that I have seen must do you honour, and might do the public service; you are above the trifling decorations of style; but your sense is strong, your views impartial, and your industry laudable. I find that your American Tract is just translated into German. Do you still correspond with * * * *? If he could establish a beneficial intercourse between the two first nations in the world, I would excuse him some little political tergiversation. At some distance of time and place, those domestic squabbles lose much of their importance; and though I should not forgive him any breach of private friendship or confidence,

* A mistake—Lord Sheffield did not PUBLISH any tract on French Commerce.

I cannot much blame him if he chose rather to serve his family and his country, than to persevere in a hopeless and, as I suspect, an unpopular opposition. You have never told me clearly and correctly how you support your inactive retreat from the House of Commons; whether you have resumed your long forgotten taste for rural and domestic pleasures, and whether you have never cast a look towards Coventry, or some other borough equally pure and respectable. In the short space that is left I will only repeat more distinctly, that in the present contemplation of my work, June or July of next year is the earliest term at which I can hope to see England; and if I have a fit of the gout? I have indeed been free from the monster this last twelvemonth; but he is most arbitrary and capricious. Of my own situation let me say with truth that it is tranquil, easy, and well adapted to my character. All enthusiasm is now at an end; I see things in their true light, and I applaud the judgment and choice of my retirement. I am well, happy, and diligent; but your kind hint of the London house is perfectly superfluous; as instead of the *spring*, we must already read the *summer* of next year. Do not be childish or passionate; trust me, I wish to appear in England; but it must be with my book in my hand; and a book takes more time in making than a pudding. Adieu. Will my Lady never write?

You see why I have left a blank in the first page; and when I begun I had no design of going beyond it; and now, unless I have some extraordinary fit of diligence and zeal, shall probably wait till the return of your epistle. A word before we part, about the least unpleasant of my business; my library in Downing-street. Excuse the accidental derangement; I shall send for no more books, and only beg you to give them shelter in your uninhabited parlour till my arrival. Two or three mornings will suffice for personal review, and the subsequent steps of sale or travel will most properly be executed under my own eye. Once more adieu.

N° CLXXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mr.* CADELL, *Bookſeller*, London.

DEAR SIR, LAUSANNE, December 16th, 1786.

I RECEIVED your letter this morning (the 16th inſtant), and anſwer it the ſame day. I am a ſad correſpondent, but it has been my conſtant endeavour that my negligence ſhould never affect the intereſt or happineſs of my friends.

The report you ſo kindly mention is ſomewhat incorrect. I never could fix a particular day for dining with Lord Sheffield, nor ſhould I think of performing the journey in the winter month of February. The laſt autumn was the term which I had fixed in my hopes, and long ſince in my letters to him. It has been changed to next ſpring, and by the ſpring I muſt now underſtand the middle of the ſummer, which I can at preſent aſcertain with ſome confidence, from a nearer proſpect of the end of my work, which I ſhall bring over for the preſs. It will conſiſt of three more quarto volumes, ſomewhat thinner, perhaps, than their predeceſſors; but as that difference cannot be enough to affect the price, it will be ſo much ſaved on the author's pains, and the printer's expences. I am happy to underſtand the public entertain the ſame opinion of the paſt, and the ſame impatience for the remainder; and, unleſs I am ſtrangely deceived, their expectation will not be diſappointed. The three laſt volumes are laboured at leaſt with equal diligence; they contain a longer period of time, and a far greater variety of events; and the whole will compriſe a general ſeries of hiſtory, from the reign of Trajan and the Antonines, to the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the Second; with a review of Mahomet and his ſucceſſors, the Cruſades and the Turks, as far as in their utmoſt latitude they are connected with the fate of the Eaſtern or Weſtern Empire. With regard to our pecuniary arrangements, I perſuade myſelf

that

that we shall have no more difficulties now than heretofore; that you will cheerfully assign the same value to the three younger as to the three elder brothers; and that so important a transaction will have been concluded in the first instance by three minutes of conversation, and in the second by three lines of a letter; a memorable example in the annals of authors and booksellers. If you agree with me on this subject, you may provide paper, &c. as soon as you please in the spring, in the full confidence of seeing me with my book in the summer; and I should not be sorry to learn what time (in using the utmost expedition) would be sufficient for printing, and how late you would consent to publish in the ensuing spring. At this moment, when I am straining every nerve to conclude my living labours, I am ill-disposed to lose any time in the dull dead work of correcting a new edition. When I am in England, quiet in the country, there would be room and leisure for a complete revision; and I should have no objection to place at the end of the sixth volume a string of amendments and improvements, which hereafter might be inserted in their proper places. We shall likewise have occasion for a good and general index to the whole.

I sincerely condole with you in your various losses: Rose and Strahan we e indeed valuable men. For myself, you will rejoice to hear that I am satisfied with my Swiss retirement; and that, except some mild and transient fits of the gout, I enjoy as much health and happiness as is compatible with the lot of man. I expect with much impatience Dr. Robertson's improved edition. There are three or four books which I should like to have without delay: that work, Pennant's Arctic Zoology, White's Sermons (the Arabic professor), the Annual Registers since the year 1782. With Elmsley's assistance (he is a sad dog, but I will write to him soon) could you not inclose them in a small box, with any other recent publications of merit, and dispatch them instantly by some more costly and expeditious mode of conveyance? I am, most faithfully yours.

N° CLXXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, January 20th, 1787.

AFTER ſome ſallies of wrath, you ſeem at length to have ſubſided in ſullen ſilence, and I muſt confeſs not totally without reaſon. Yet if your mind be ſtill open to truth, you will confeſs that I am not ſo black as I appear. 1. Your Lordſhip has ſhewn much leſs activity and eloquence than formerly, and your laſt letter was an anſwer to mine, which I had expected ſome time with impatience. Bad examples are dangerous to young people. 2. Formerly I have neglected anſwering your epiſtles on eſſential, though unpleaſant, buſineſs; and the *res-publica* or *privata* may have ſuffered by my neglect. Suppoſing therefore we had no tranſactions, why ſhould I write ſo often? To exchange ſentimental compliments, or to relate the various and important tranſactions of the republic of Lauſanne. As long as I do not inform you of my death, you have good grounds to believe me alive and well. You have a general, and will ſoon have a more particular idea of my ſyſtem and arrangement here. One day glides away after another in tranquil uniformity. Every object muſt have ſides and moments leſs luminous than others; but, upon the whole, the life and the place which I have choſen are moſt happily adapted to my character and circumſtances; and I can now repeat, at the end of three years, what I ſoon and ſincerely affirmed, that never, in a ſingle inſtant, have I repented of my ſcheme of retirement to Lauſanne; a retirement which was judged by my beſt and wiſeſt friend a project little ſhort of inſanity. The place, the people, the climate, have anſwered or exceeded my warmeſt expectations. And though I truly rejoice in my approaching viſit to England, Mr. Pitt, were he your friend and mine, would not find it an eaſy taſk to prevent my return. 3. And now let me add a third reaſon, which

often

often diverted me from writing; namely, my impatience to see you this next summer. I am building a great book, which, besides the three stories already exposed to the public eye, will have three stories more before we reach the roof and battlements. You too have built or altered a great Gothic castle with baronial battlements. Did you finish it within the time you intended? As that time drew near, did you not find a thousand nameless and unexpected works that must be performed; each of them calling for a portion of time and labour? and had you not despised, nobly despised, the minute diligence of finishing, fitting up, and furnishing the apartments, you would have discovered a new train of indispensable business. Such, at least, has been my case. A long while ago, when I contemplated the distant prospect of my work, I gave you and myself some hopes of landing in England last autumn; but, alas! when autumn grew near, hills began to rise on hills, Alps on Alps, and I found my journey far more tedious and toilsome than I had imagined. When I look back on the length of the undertaking, and the variety of materials, I cannot accuse, or suffer myself to be accused of idleness; yet it appeared that unless I doubled my diligence, another year, and perhaps more, would elapse before I could embark with my complete manuscript. Under these circumstances I took, and am still executing, a bold and meritorious resolution. The mornings in winter, and in a country of early dinners, are very concise; to them, my usual period of study, I now frequently add the evenings, renounce cards and society, refuse the most agreeable evenings, or perhaps make my appearance at a late supper. By this extraordinary industry, which I never practised before, and to which I hope never to be again reduced, I see the last part of my History growing apace under my hands; all my materials are collected and arranged; I can exactly compute, by the square foot, or the square page, all that remains to be done; and after concluding text and notes, after a general

review

review of my time and my ground, I can now decisively ascertain the final period of the Decline and Fall, and can boldly promise that I will dine with you at Sheffield-Place in the month of August, or perhaps of July, in the present year; within less than a twelvemonth of the term which I had loosely and originally fixed; and perhaps it would not be easy to find a work of that size and importance in which the workman has so tolerably kept his word with himself and the public. But in this situation, oppressed with this particular object, and stealing every hour from my amusement, to the fatigue of the pen, and the eyes, you will conceive, or you might conceive, how little stomach I have for the epistolary style; and that instead of idle, though friendly, correspondence, I think it far more agreeable to employ my time in the effectual measures that may hasten and exhilarate our personal interview. About a month ago I had a voluntary, and not unpleasing, epistle from Cadell; he informs me that he is going to print a new octavo edition, the former being exhausted, and that the public expect with impatience the conclusion of that excellent work, whose reputation increases every day, &c. I answered him by the return of the post, to inform him of the period and extent of my labours, and to express a reasonable hope that he would set the same value on the three last as he had done on the three former volumes. Should we conclude in this easy manner a transaction so honourable to the author and bookseller, my way is clear and open before me; in pecuniary matters I think I am assured for the rest of my life of never troubling my friends, or being troubled myself; a state to which I aspire, and which I indeed deserve, if not by my management, at least by moderation.

In your last, you talk more of the French treaty than of yourself and your wife and family; a true English *quid nunc!* For my part, in this remote, inland, neutral country, you will suppose, that after a flight glance on the papers, I have neither had the means nor the inclination to think

think very deeply about it. As a citizen of the world, a character to which I am every day rising or sinking, I must rejoice in every agreement that diminishes the separation between neighbouring countries, which softens their prejudices, unites their interest and industry, and renders their future hostilities less frequent and less implacable. With regard to the present treaty, I hope both nations are gainers; since otherwise it cannot be lasting; and such double mutual gain is surely possible in fair trade, though it could not easily happen in the mischievous amusements of war and gaming. * * *

* * * * * * *

What a delightful hand have these great statesmen made of it since my departure! without power, and, as far as I can see, without hope. When we meet I shall advise you to digest all your political and commercial knowledge, (England, Ireland, France, America,) and, with some attention to style and order, to make the whole a classic book, which may preserve your name and benefit your country. I know not whether you have seen Sir Henry Clinton since his return: he passed a day with me, and seemed pleased with my reception and place. We talked over you and the American war. I embrace the *silent my Lady* and the two honourable Misses, whom I sigh to behold and admire. Adieu. Ever yours.

Though I can part with land, you find I cannot part with books: the remainder of my library has so long embarrassed your room, that it may now await my presence and final judgment. Has my Lady read a novel intitled Caroline de Lichfield, of our home manufacture; I may say of ours, since Deyverdun and myself were the judges and patrons of the manuscript. The author, who is since married a second time, (Madame de Crousaz, now Montolieu,) is a charming woman. I was in some danger. Once more, bar a long fit of the gout, and the Historian will land at Dover before the end of July. Adieu.

N° CLXXXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mr.* CADELL, London.

DEAR SIR, LAUSANNE, February 24th, 1787.

I AM perfectly ſatisfied with your's and Mr. Strahan's cheerful and liberal aſſent to my propoſal, and am glad to find that your partner has not degenerated from his worthy father, whoſe loſs I ſincerely lament. The ſole remaining difficulty (of the volumes falling below the guinea price) it is unneceſſary for the preſent to diſcuſs, as I think it unlikely to happen. As I am reſolved to finiſh and reviſe the work before I leave Lauſanne, it will depend on yourſelf to arrange your preparations of paper, &c. in ſuch a manner that we may loſe no time, but go to preſs the firſt week after my arrival. But in the mean while I wiſh you to reflect and inquire; 1ſt, In how many months the impreſſion of the three volumes may be completed, either with ordinary or extraordinary diligence. And, 2dly, How late in next year you would be deſirous or willing to publiſh. On my reviſal I may find more alterations and improvements to make than I at preſent foreſee; I may be diſabled by a fit of the gout; and your ſpeedy anſwer will inform me of the utmoſt latitude in which I may be indulged, without totally diſconcerting our common intereſt. You probably agree with me in the neceſſity of a good general index for the ſix volumes. If you are poſſeſſed of an intelligent workman, he might without delay take in hand the firſt three volumes; but in that caſe I muſt deſire him to ſend me as ſoon as poſſible a *ſhort* ſpecimen by the poſt. I have thought on the ſubject of index-making, and can give him ſome advice, which will abridge the ſize, without impairing the uſe and value of his alphabetical table. By a letter of the thirteenth inſtant, Elmſly informs me that he is on the point of ſending the books; and I hope to have them here before the

the end of next month. I propoſe writing to him very ſoon; but as the events of life are uncertain, it may be ſafer to anſwer his queſtion through your channel: "The "author of Caroline (Madame de Crouſaz) is now be- "come Madame la Baronne de Montolieu by ſecond "marriage, and has other cares and pleaſures beſides thoſe "of writing. Her pen is not idle, but her new ſchemes "of romance are not in any degree of forwardneſs or "maturity. Perhaps an handſome propoſal from an Eng- "liſh bookſeller might ſtimulate her diligence." I am ſincerely yours.

In our ſtyle of negociation it is almoſt ſuperfluous to ſay that I reſerve about a ſcore of copies for myſelf and my friends.

N° CXC.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, June 2d, 1787.

I BEGIN to diſcover that if I wait till I could atchieve a juſt and ſatisfactory epiſtle, equally pleaſant and inſtructive, you would have a poor chance of hearing from me. I will therefore content myſelf with a ſimple anſwer to a queſtion, which (I love to believe) you repeat with ſome impatience: "When may we expect you in Eng- "land?" My great building is, as it were, completed, and ſome ſlight ornaments, the painting and glazing of the laſt finiſhed rooms may be diſpatched without inconvenience in the autumnal reſidence of Sheffield-Place. It is therefore my ſincere and peremptory intention to depart from Lauſanne about the twentieth of July, and to find myſelf *(me trouver)* in London on or before the glorious firſt of Auguſt. I know of nothing that can prevent it but a fit of the gout, the capricious tyrant, who obeys no laws either of time or place; and ſo unfortunately are we circumſtanced,

circumſtanced, that ſuch a fit, if it came late and laſted long, would effectually diſable me from coming till next ſpring; ſince thereby I ſhould loſe the ſeaſon, the monſoon, for the impreſſion of three quarto volumes, which will require nine months (a regular parturition), and cannot advantageouſly appear before the beginning or middle of May. At the ſame time do not be apprehenſive that I mean to play you a dog's trick. From a thouſand motives it is my wiſh to come over this year; the deſire of ſeeing you, and the *ſilent ſullen* my Lady; the family arrangements, diſcharge of ſervants, which I have already made; the ſtrong wiſh of ſettling my three youngeſt children in a manner honourable to them and beneficial to their parents. Much miſcellaneous matter riſes to my pen, but I will not be tempted to turn the leaf. Expect me therefore at Sheffield-Place, with ſtrong probability, about the fifteenth of Auguſt. Adieu. Yours.

N° CXCI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

LAUSANNE, July 21ſt, 1787.

THE twentieth of July is paſt, and I am ſtill at Lauſanne; but the march of heavy bodies, ſuch as armies and hiſtorians, can ſeldom be ſeen or fixed to a preciſe day. Some particular reaſons have engaged me to allow myſelf another week; and the day of my departure is now *(I believe)* determined for Sunday the twenty-ninth inſtant. You know the road and the diſtance. I am no rapid Engliſh traveller, and my ſervant is not accuſtomed to ride poſt. I was never fond of deeds of darkneſs, and if the weather be hot, we muſt repoſe in the middle of the day. Yet the roads are in general good: between ſun and ſun the interval is long; and, barring the accidents of winds and waves, I think it poſſible to reach London in ten or twelve days; *viz.* on or before the ninth of Auguſt.

Auguſt. With your active ſpirit, you will ſcarce underſtand how I can look on this eaſy journey with ſome degree of reluctance and apprehenſion; but after a tranquil ſedentary life of four years, (having lain but a ſingle night out of my own bed,) I ſee mountains and monſters in the way; and ſo happy do I feel myſelf *at home*, that nothing but the ſtrongeſt calls of friendſhip and intereſt could drag me from hence. You ingeniouſly propoſe that I ſhould turn off at Sittingbourn, and ſeem to wonder what buſineſs I can find, or make, for an immediate reſidence in the capital. Have you totally forgot that I bring over three quarto volumes for the preſs? and are you ignorant that not a moment muſt be loſt, if we are deſirous of appearing at a proper ſeaſon; and that I muſt ſet the machine in motion before I can ſecede to Sheffield-Place with an eaſy mind, and for a reaſonable term? Of this be aſſured, that I ſhall not be leſs impatient than yourſelf, and that, of human two-legged animals, yourſelf and yours are the firſt whom I ſhall wiſh to ſee in England. For myſelf, I do not regret the occupancy of Downing-ſtreet; in my firſt viſit to London, a lodging or hotel in the Adelphi will be more convenient; but I have ſome anxiety about my books, and muſt try whether I can approach thoſe holy relics, without offending the delicacy of an amiable Ducheſs. Our interview is ſo near, that I have little more to add, except a caution about my own concerns, in which you will confeſs, that from ——, and ——, to ——, I have been generally unlucky. If any thing remains, preſent or future, it muſt be agitated and decided; but all retroſpects are uſeleſs and painful, and we have ſo many pleaſant ſubjects of converſation, that all ſuch odious matters may be buried in oblivion. Adieu. I embrace my Lady and Louiſa, but I no longer preſume, even on paper, to embrace the blooming Maria. Ever yours.

N° CXCII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

ADELPHI HOTEL, August 8th, 1787.

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY. This day August the seventh) the celebrated E. G. arrived with a numerous retinue (one servant.) We hear that he has brought over from Lausanne the remainder of his History for immediate publication. The post had left town before my arrival. I am pleased, but indeed astonished, to find myself in London, after a journey of six hundred miles, and hardly yet conceive how I had resolution to undertake it. I find myself not a little fatigued, and have devoted this hot day to privacy and repose, without having seen any body except Cadell and Elmsley, and my neighbour Batt, whose civility amounts to kindness and real friendship. But you may depend on it, that instead of sauntering in town, or giving way to every temptation, I will dispatch my necessary work, and hasten with impatience to the groves of Sheffield-Place; a project somewhat more rational than the hasty turbulent visit which your vigour had imagined. If you come up to quicken my diligence we shall meet the sooner; but I see no appearance of my leaving town before the end of next week. I embrace, &c. Adieu.

N° CXCIII.

The Same to the Same.

Monday Afternoon, 178-.

I PRECIPITATE, I inconvenience! Alas! alas! I am a poor miserable cripple, confined to my chair. Last Wednesday evening I felt some flying symptoms of the gout: for two succeeding days I struggled bravely, and

went

went in a chair to dine with Batt and Lord Loughborough: but on Saturday I yielded to my conqueror. I have now paſſed three wearisome days without amuſement, and three miſerable nights without ſleep. Yet my acquaintance are charitable; and as virtue ſhould never be made too difficult, I feel that a man has more friends in Pall-mall than in Bentinck-ſtreet. This fit is remarkably painful; the enemy is poſſeſſed of the left foot and knee, and how far he may carry the war God only knows. Of futurity it is impoſſible to ſpeak; but it will be fortunate if I am able to leave town by the end, not of this, but of the enſuing week. What may be the future progreſs, whether ſlow or rapid, fluctuating or ſteady, time alone will determine; and to that maſter of human knowledge I muſt leave our Bath journey. Pity me, magnanimous Baron; pity me, tender females; pity me, Swiſs exile *; and believe me, it is far better to be learning Engliſh at Uckfield. I write with difficulty, as the leaſt motion or conſtraint in my attitude is repeated by all the nerves and ſinews in my knee. But you ſhall find each day a note or bulletin of my health. To-morrow I muſt give pain to Mrs. G——. Adieu. Ever yours.

N°. CXCIV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

BATH, December 18th, 1787.

ALAS! alas! alas! How vain and fallacious are all the deſigns of man. This is now the eighteenth of December, preciſely one month ſince my departure from Sheffield-Place; and it was firmly my wiſh, my hope, my reſolution, that after diſpatching ſome needful buſineſs in London, and accompliſhing a pious duty at Bath, I ſhould

* M. Wihel. de Severy.

ſhould by this day be reſtored to the tranquil leiſure, and friendly ſociety, of Sheffield-Place. A cruel tyrant has diſconcerted all my plans; my buſineſs in town has been neglected, my attendance at Bath is juſt begun, and my return is yet diſtant. I was not a little edified to hear of ſome expreſſions of regret and diſcontent on my departure; and though I am not able to produce as good evidence, you will perhaps believe that in the ſolitude of a London lodging I often railed at the gout for maliciouſly delaying his attack till I was removed from a place where my ſufferings would have been alleviated by every kind and comfortable attention. I grew at laſt ſo deſperately impatient, as to reſolve on immediate flight, without waiting till I had totally expelled the foe, and recovered my ſtrength. I performed the journey with tolerable eaſe, but the motion has agitated the remains of the humour. I am very lame, and a ſecond fit may poſſibly be the puniſhment of my raſhneſs.

As yet I have ſeen nothing of Bath except Mrs. G——; and weakneſs, as well as propriety, will confine me very cloſely to her. Lord Sheffield, with Mrs. Holroyd and Maria, dined with us yeſterday. We begin to throw out hints of the ſhortneſs of our ſtay, and indiſpenſable buſineſs; and, unleſs I ſhould be confined by the gout, it is reſolved in our cabinet to leave Bath on Thurſday the twenty-ſixth, and paſſing through Lord Loughborough's and town, to ſettle at Sheffield-Place, moſt aſſuredly, before the end of the year. For my own part I can ſay with truth, that did not the preſs loudly demand my preſence, I could, without a ſigh, allow the Ducheſs to reign in Downing-ſtreet the greateſt part of the winter, and ſhould be happy in the ſociety of two perſons (no common bleſſing) whom I love, and by whom I am beloved.

Adieu, dear Madam, and believe me, with the affection of a friend and a brother, ever yours.

N° CXCV.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

MY DEAR SIR, COLLEGE of EDINBURGH, February 27th, 1788.

THOUGH you have now been some time in London, yet as I heard of your welfare by different channels, and as I know from experience how much a man has to do who is printing three quartos, even after he thinks they are altogether ready for the press, I have hitherto forborne to interrupt you by any letter or inquiry of mine. But there is such a general impatience to see your new publication among people of letters here; and, as your friend, I am so frequently interrogated about the length it has advanced, and the time when it will appear, that I begin to be ashamed of knowing nothing more about it than other people. I must request of you then to furnish me with such information as may both preserve my credit, and gratify my own curiosity. My expectations from this part of your work are, indeed, very high. Your materials begin to improve, and are certainly much more copious than during a great part of the period you have gone through. You have three or four events as great, and splendid, and singular, as the heart of an historian could wish to delineate. The contemporary writers will furnish you with all the necessary facts. To adorn them as elegant writers, or to account for them as philosophers, never entered into their heads. This they have left to you.

Since you went to the continent I have not done so much as I wished. My health, until lately, has been more shattered; and as I advance in life, (I am now sixty-six,) though my faculties, I imagine, are still entire, yet I find my mind less active and ardent. I have, however, finished a very careful revise of all my works, and have given them the last polish they will receive from my hand.

I have

I have made some additions to each of them, and in the History of Scotland pretty considerable ones. I have desired Mr. Strahan to send to you a copy of them uniformly bound, and hope you will accept of them, as a memorial of my esteem and affection. You will see that I have got in Mr. Whitaker an adversary so bigotted and zealous, that though I have denied no article of faith, and am at least as orthodox as he himself, yet he rails against me with all the asperity of theological hatred. I shall adhere to my fixed maxim of making no reply. May I hope that when you see Lord Loughborough you will remember me to him with kindness and respect. Our friend Mr. Smith, whom we were in great danger of losing, is now almost perfectly re-established. I have the honour to be, with great truth, your most faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CXCVI.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

DOWNING-STREET, June 21st, 1788.

INSTEAD of the Historian you receive a short letter, in your eyes an indispensable tribute. This day, at length, after long delay and frequent expostulation, I have received the writings, which I am now in the act of signing, sealing, and delivering, according to the lawyer's directions. * * * * * * * * * * * * I long to be at Sheffield-Place. You see my departure is not postponed a moment by idleness or pleasure, but the precise day still hangs on contingencies, and we must all be patient, if our wishes should be thwarted. I say our wishes, for I sincerely desire to be with you. I have had many dinners, some splendid and memorable, with Hastings last Thursday, with the Prince of Wales next Tuesday at Craufurd's. But the town empties, Texier is silent, and in an evening, I

desiderate the resources of a family or a club. Caplin has finished the Herculean labour, and seven majestic boxes will abdicate on Monday your hall. Severy has likewise dispatched his affairs, and secured his companion Clarke, who is arrived in town; but his schemes are abridged by the inexorable rigour of Lord Howe, who has assured our great and fair intercessors, that by the King's orders the dock-yards are shut against all strangers. We therefore give up Portsmouth, and content ourselves with two short trips; one to Stowe and Oxford, the other to Chatham; and if we can catch a launch and review, *encore vit on*. He (Severy, not Lord Howe) salutes with me the family. Adieu. Yours.

N° CXCVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

DOWNING-STREET, Saturday.

ACCORDING to your imperious law I write a line, to postpone my arrival till Friday, or perhaps Saturday, but I hope Friday, and I promise you that not a moment shall be wasted. And now let me add a cool word as to my final departure, which is irrevocably fixed between the tenth and fifteenth of July. After a full and free enjoyment of each other's society, let us submit, without a struggle, to reason and fate. It would be idle to pretend business at Lausanne; but a complete year will elapse before my return. Severy and myself are now expected with some impatience. I am thankful for your hospitable entertainment; but I wish you to remember Homer's admirable precept:

"Welcome the coming, *speed* the parting guest."

Spare me, therefore, spare yourself, the trouble of a fruitless contest, in which, according to a great author, I foresee a certain loss of time, and a probable loss of temper. I believe we shall have both Craufurd and Hugonin at Sheffield-Place. Adieu.

N° CXCVIII.

The Same to the Same.

DOWNING-STREET, Saturday, June 1788.

I HAVE but a moment between my return home and my dreſſing, and heartily tired I am; for I am now involved in the horrors of ſhopping, packing, &c. yet I muſt write four lines, to prevent a growl, which might ſalute the arrival of an empty-handed poſt on Sunday. I hope the whole caravan, Chriſtians and Pagans, arrived in good health at the caſtle; that the turrets begin to riſe to the third heaven; that each has found a proper occupation; and that Tuſt * enjoys the freedom and felicity of the lawn. Yeſterday the auguſt ſcene was cloſed for this year. Sheridan ſurpaſſed himſelf; and though I am far from conſidering him as a perfect orator, there were many beautiful paſſages in his ſpeech, on juſtice, filial love, &c.; one of the cloſeſt chains of argument I ever heard, to prove that Haſtings was reſponſible for the acts of Middleton; and a compliment, much admired, to a certain Hiſtorian of your acquaintance. Sheridan, in the cloſe of his ſpeech, ſunk into Burke's arms; but I called this morning, he is perfectly well. I fear that I ſhall not be able to dine at home a ſingle day. To-morrow Severy and myſelf go to Buſhy. I hope to be with you by Sunday the twenty ſecond inſtant. The caſing of my books is a prodigious operation. Adieu.

N° CXCIX.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, COLLEGE of EDINBURGH, July 30th, 1788.

LONG before this I ſhould have acknowledged the receipt of your moſt acceptable preſent; but for ſeveral weeks I have been afflicted with a violent fit of deafneſs, and that unſocial malady is always accompanied

* Lady Sheffield's lap-dog.

panied with such a degree of languor, as renders even the writing of a letter an effort. During my solitude the perusal of your book has been my chief amusement and consolation. I have gone through it once with great attention, and am now advanced to the last volume in my second reading. I ventured to predict the superior excellence of the volumes lately published, and I have not been a false prophet. Indeed, when I consider the extent of your undertaking, and the immense labour of historical and philosophic research requisite towards executing every part of it, I am astonished that all this should have been accomplished by one man. I know no example, in any age or nation, of such a vast body of valuable and elegant information communicated by any individual. I feel, however, some degree of mortification mingled with my astonishment. Before you began your historic career, I used to pride myself in being at least the most illustrious historian of the age; but now, alas! I can pretend no longer even to that praise, and must say, as Pliny did of his uncle, *Si comparer illi sum desidiosissimus.* Your style appears to me improved in these new volumes; by the habit of writing, you write with greater ease. I am sorry to find that our ideas on the effects of the Crusades do not altogether coincide. I considered that point with great care, and cannot help thinking still that my opinion was well founded. I shall consult the authorities to which I refer; for when my sentiments differ from yours, I have some reason to distrust them, and I may possibly trouble you with a letter on the subject. I am much flattered with the manner in which you have so often mentioned my name. *Lætus sum laudari a te laudato viro.* I feel much satisfaction in having been distinguished by the two historians of my own times, whose favourable opinion I was most ambitious of obtaining.

I hope this letter may find you still in England. When you return to Lausanne, permit me to recommend to your good offices my youngest son, who is now at Yverdun on account of his health, and lives with M. Herman, a clergyman

gyman there. You will find the young man (if you can rely on the partial testimony of a father) sensible, modest, and well-bred, and though no great scholar, he has seen much; having returned from India, where he served last war, by Bassora, Bagdat, Mousel, and Aleppo. He is now a Captain in the twenty-third regiment. If you have a friend at Yverdun, be so good as to recommend him. It will do him credit to have your countenance. I have desired him to pay his respects to you at Lausanne. Farewell, my dear Sir. I ever am yours most faithfully,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CC.

Dr. ADAM SMITH *to Mr.* GIBBON.

MY DEAR FRIEND, EDINBURGH, December 10th, 1788.

I HAVE ten thousand apologies to make, for not having long ago returned you my best thanks for the very agreeable present you made me of the three last volumes of your History. I cannot express to you the pleasure it gives me to find, that by the universal assent of every man of taste and learning, whom I either know or correspond with, it sets you at the very head of the whole literary tribe at present existing in Europe. I ever am, my dear friend, most affectionately yours,

ADAM SMITH.

N° CCI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* CADDELL, *Bookseller*, London.

LAUSANNE, February 11th, 1789.

I SHOULD be much more ashamed of my silence, were I not satisfied that you have received a recent and favourable account of me from some of our friends who have visited this place since my return. But I should be inexcusable, did I not thank you for your kind and seasonable

ſeaſonable wiſhes, which I can return with equal ſincerity. I do not propoſe making any improvements or corrections in the octavo edition which you meditate: ſome ſlight alterations would give me more trouble than pleaſure. A thorough reviſion of the whole work would be the labour of many months; it may be the amuſement of my old age, and will be a valuable legacy, to renew your copy-right at the expiration of the laſt fourteen years. In the mean while, ſome expedition may be uſeful to guard your property from the unexpected invaſion of *foreign* pirates. Eight volumes in octavo are already printed at Baſil, and the remainder is expected every day. I am both glad and ſorry to inform you, that the type is neat, the paper tolerable, and the text *wonderfully* correct. I hear of another Engliſh edition in Saxony, and of two French tranſlations advancing with ſpeed and emulation at Paris. Of the ſucceſs of the work at home you are beſt qualified, and moſt intereſted, to judge; and I am happy to find, that you expreſs yourſelf, with ſome reſerve, ſatisfied with the ſale. From ſome reports of angry criticiſms, and from the uſe and abuſe of my name in the papers, I perceive that I am not forgotten. Before a year has elapſed from the time of publication, my Hiſtory will have been peruſed by ſome thouſand readers of various characters and underſtandings. Each will probably find ſomething to blame, and I hope ſomething to commend; and the balance of their private judgments will fix the public eſtimate of its merit and reputation. Since my return I have been, as I promiſe in the preface, very buſy and very idle in my library: ſeveral ideal works have been embraced and thrown aſide; but if the warm weather ſhould ripen any project to form and maturity, you may depend on the earlieſt intelligence. I have received a very friendly and flattering letter from Dr. Robertſon, and have had the pleaſure of ſhewing ſome civilities to his ſon during his reſidence in this place. If you can, ſend me a good account of Adam Smith; there is no man more ſincerely

intereſted

interested in his welfare than myself. I beg you will present my compliments to all our friends, particularly to Mr. Strahan and Dr. Gillies. Tell Elmsley, that I have received with due contrition, his *third* letter: unless you are speedy, my answer *will* anticipate your information. I am most faithfully yours.

N° CCII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Lady* PORTEN, Kensington-palace.

DEAR MADAM, LAUSANNE, June 27th, 1789.

I RECEIVED with more concern than surprize, your kind notification of my poor uncle's departure. My own knowledge of his many valuable qualities teaches me to sympathize in your loss; but his long infirmities and gradual decay must have prepared you for the melancholy event, and your own reason will suggest the best and strongest motives of consolation; among these is your regard for the amiable children whom he has left behind. Your labours for their future happiness will be assisted by all your friends, who are attached to his memory; and for my own part, I beg leave to assure you, that on every occasion I shall consider them as my near and dear relations. When I had last the pleasure of seeing Charlotte at Kensington, I was delighted with her innocent cheerfulness, with her assiduous care of her poor father, and with an appearance of sense and discretion far beyond her years. How happy should I think myself, if I had a daughter of her age and disposition, who in a short time would be qualified to govern my family, and to be my companion and comfort in the decline of life!

You will, I am sure, be pleased to hear that my situation at Lausanne continues, almost in every respect, as agreeable as I could wish. The only circumstance which embitters my happiness, is the declining health of my friend Mons. Deyverdun. I cannot long flatter myself with the hope of possessing him. I am, dear Madam, &c.

N° CCIII.

Mr. Gibbon *to Mr.* Cadell.

Lausanne, November 17th, 1790.

I SHOULD indeed be inexcuſable for my long neglect of your laſt obliging letter, had it not reached me in a moment of pain and weakneſs, in a fit of the gout, the longeſt and moſt ſevere that I have ever known. A letter with me is no trifling enterprize; and before I could find ſtrength, and time, and reſolution, the occaſion on which you ſo handſomely conſulted me was already paſt. I ſuppoſe that the abridgment of my Hiſtory is now freely circulated, either with or without your name; nor can I foreſee any poſſible miſchief, either for *my* reputation or *your* intereſt. A tranſlation, an abridgment, or even a criticiſm, always proves the ſucceſs, and conſequently extends the ſale, of any popular work.

As I am inclined to flatter myſelf that you have no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with your purchaſe, I now wiſh to aſk you whether you feel yourſelf diſpoſed to add a ſeventh, or ſupplemental volume to my Hiſtory? The materials of which it will be compoſed will naturally be claſſed under the three following heads: 1. A ſeries of fragments, diſquiſitions, digreſſions, &c. more or leſs connected with the principal ſubject. 2. Several tables of geography, chronology, coins, weights and meaſures, &c.; nor ſhould I deſpair of obtaining from a gentleman at Paris ſome accurate and well-adapted maps. 3. A critical review of all the authors whom I have uſed and quoted *. I am convinced ſuch a ſupplement might be rendered entertaining, as well as uſeful; and that few purchaſers would refuſe to *complete* their

Decline

* Mr. Gibbon ſoon became tired of this plan, and expreſſed a wiſh it had not been mentioned. He ſaid his Hiſtory was a critical review of the authors he had uſed. S.

Decline and Fall. But as the writer could not derive either fame or amusement from these obscure labours, he must be encouraged by other motives; and, in plain English, I should expect the same reward for the seventh, as for any of the preceding volumes. You think and act with too much liberality, to confound such a large original supplement with the occasional improvements of a new edition, which are already your property by the terms of our former covenant. But as I am jealous of standing clear, not only in law and equity, but in your esteem and my own, I shall instantly renounce the undertaking, if it appears by your answer that you have the shadow of an objection. Should you tempt me to proceed, this supplement will be only the employment of my leisure hours; and I foresee that full two years will elapse before I can deliver it into the hands of the printer.

Our friend Elmsley, who possibly thinks me dead and buried, will be, or will not be, surprised when you inform him that I have now a letter of two pages in my bureau addressed to him, dated the twenty-sixth of May, and not yet finished. Hunger, literary hunger, will soon, however, compel me to write; as I have many questions to ask, and many commissions to give. In the mean while I thirst for Mr. Burke's Reflections on the Revolutions of France. Intreat Elmsley, in my name, to dispatch it to Lausanne with care and speed, by *any* mode of conveyance less expensive than the post. He may add to the parcel the new edition of Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments. I heard of his death with more concern than surprize. What a loss to letters, philosophy, and mankind!

I beg you would remember me to Mr. Strahan and all our friends. In my happy exile, my public and private affections remind me that I am an Englishman. Pray thank Dr. Moore, in my name, for the pleasure which I have received from Zeluco, the best philosophical romance of the age. If he cultivates his talents by any similar publications, I only wish that he would place the scene at home;

home; we may deſcribe the characters, but we can never paint the *manners* of foreigners; and the quarrel of the two Scotchmen is doubtleſs the beſt chapter in the book. I am, dear Sir, moſt faithfully yours.

N° CCIV.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* CADELL.

DEAR SIR, LAUSANNE, April 27th, 1791.

TOO many poſts have ſlipped away ſince my receipt of your laſt letter, without my aſſuring you that every ſhadow of miſapprehenſion has vaniſhed from my mind, and that I am perfectly ſatisfied with the liberality of your ſentiments and conduct. But I am every day more inclined to believe that on the preſent occaſion they will not be put to the trial. On a cloſer inſpection, I diſcover more difficulty and leſs advantage than I had at firſt imagined in the plan of a ſupplement; and I feel the objection, which you ſo handſomely decline, againſt encreaſing the weight and price of ſo voluminous a work. Perhaps it would have been better if my crude idea had not been ſo haſtily announced to the public; but even this venial indiſcretion is a proof of your zeal and regard. The intelligence of any new deſigns ſhall be delayed till they are ripe for execution; but you may be aſſured that I am now awake.

I am very happy to hear that our reſpectable friend Dr. Robertſon is not aſleep; and much do I expect from the ſubject and the pen. I had once a deſign not totally unconnected with his own, but it is now in far abler hands. Boſwell's book will be curious, or at leaſt whimſical: his hero, who can ſo long detain the public curioſity, muſt be no common animal. I ſee you now adverti ſe an octavo edition of Dr. Henry's Hiſtory of England. Is not the author dead? His plan is excellent, and I wiſh you could engage ſome diligent and ſenſible man to undertake the con-

continuation. Alas! if Dr. Campbell were ſtill alive! I have deſired Elmſley to aſk you for three octavo copies of my own work. Whenever he ſends me a box of books, I ſhould be glad if you would enrich it with any of your own valuable publications. Your name is a recommendation; but the chaſtity of that name cannot be too religiouſly preſerved. My health and ſpirits are now remarkably good, and it will give me great pleaſure to receive as favourable an account of yourſelf. I am moſt faithfully yours.

N° CCV.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Belvidere, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, LAUSANNE, May 18th, 1791.

AS much as I am accuſtomed to my own ſins, I am ſhocked, really ſhocked, when I think of my long and moſt inexcuſable ſilence; nor do I dare to compute how many months I have ſuffered to elapſe without ſending a ſingle line (Oh ſhame! ſhame!) to the beſt and deareſt of my friends, who indeed has been very ſeldom out of my thoughts. I have ſometimes imagined that if the opportunities of writing occurred leſs frequently, they would be ſeized with more diligence; but the unfortunate departure of the poſt twice every week encourages procraſtination, and each ſhort ſucceſſive delay is indulged without ſcruple, till the whole has ſwelled to a tremendous account. I will try, alas! to reform; and although I am afraid that writing grows painful to you, I have the confidence to ſolicit a *ſpeedy line*, to ſay that you love and forgive me. After a long experience of the unfeeling doubts and delays of the law, you will probably ſoon hear from Lord Sheffield that the Beriton tranſaction is at laſt concluded, and I hope you will be ſatisfied with the full and firm ſecurity of your annuity. That you may long continue to enjoy it is the firſt and moſt ſincere wiſh of my heart.

In

In the placid courſe of our lives, at Lauſanne and Bath, we have few events to relate, and fewer changes to deſcribe; but I indulge myſelf in the pleaſing belief that we are both as well and as happy as the common order of nature will allow us to expect. I ſhould be ſatisfied, had I received from time to time ſome indirect, but agreeable information of your health. For myſelf, I have no complaint, except the gout; and though the viſits of my old enemy are ſomewhat longer, and more enfeebling, they are confined to my feet and knees; the pain is moderate, and my impriſonment to my chamber, or my chair, is much alleviated by the daily kindneſs of my friends. I wiſh it were in my power to give you an adequate idea of the conveniency of my houſe, and the beauty of my garden: both of which I have improved at a conſiderable expence ſince the death of poor Deyverdun. But the loſs of a friend is indeed irreparable. Were I ten years younger, I might poſſibly think of a female companion; but the choice is difficult, the ſucceſs doubtful, the engagement perpetual, and at fifty-four a man ſhould never think of altering the whole ſyſtem of his life and habits. The diſpoſal of Beriton, and the death of my aunt Heſter, who has left me her eſtate in Suſſex, makes me very eaſy in my worldly affairs: my income is equal to my expence, and my expence is adequate to my wiſhes. You may poſſibly have heard of literary projects which are aſcribed to me by the public without my knowledge: but it is much more probable that I have cloſed the account; and though I ſhall never lay aſide the pleaſing occupations of ſtudy, you may be aſſured that I have no ſerious ſettled thoughts of a new work. Next year I ſhall meditate, and I truſt ſhall execute, a viſit to England, in which the Belvidere is one of my powerful loadſtones. I often reflect with a painful emotion on the imperious circumſtances which have thrown us at ſuch a diſtance from each other.

In the moving picture of the world, you cannot be indifferent to the ſtrange revolution which has humbled all that was high, and exalted all that was low, in France. The

The irregular and lively spirit of the nation has disgraced their liberty, and instead of building a free constitution, they have only exchanged despotism for anarchy. This town and country are crowded with noble exiles; and we sometimes count in an assembly a dozen Princesses and Duchesses. Burke, if I remember right, is no favourite of yours; but there is surely much eloquence and much sense in his book. The prosperity of England forms a proud contrast with the disorders of France; but I hope we shall avoid the folly of a Russian war. Pitt, in this instance, seems too like his father. Mr. Helrard, a sensible man, and his pupil have left us. They found, as your friends will always find, the weight of your recommendation with me. I am, dearest Madam, ever most affectionately yours.

N° CCVI.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, LENNEL-HOUSE, August, 25th, 1791.

SOME time before the publication of my Historical Disquisition concerning India, I desired our friend Mr. Cadell to send a copy of it to you in my name. I hope you received it long ago, and will allow it to remain in your library, as a memorial of my respect and friendship. No man had formed a more decided resolution of retreating early from public view, and of spending the eve of life in the tranquillity of professional and domestic occupations; but, directly in the face of that purpose, I step forth with a new work, when just on the brink of three score and ten. The preface of the book gives a fair and simple account how this happened. Hitherto I have no cause to repent of a step which I took with hesitation and anxiety. My book has met with a reception beyond what the *spe lentus, pavidusque futuri*, dared to expect. I find, however, like other parents, that I have a partial fondness for this

this child of my old age; and cannot ſet my heart quite at eaſe, until I know your opinion of it. I need not ſay with what perfect confidence I reſt upon your judgment, and how happy it will make me to find that this production meets with your approbation. Nothing will add ſo much to that pleaſure, as your communicating to me any remarks that occurred to you in peruſing it. While I was engaged in compoſing the Diſquiſition it often occurred to me, that I was more upon your ground than in any of my former works; and I often wiſhed that I had been ſo near to you as to profit by your advice and information. Next to that will be the benefit I may derive from your friendly ſtrictures. Be ſo kind then as to mention to me any error or omiſſion you have obſerved; every criticiſm of yours will be inſtructive.

Permit me to requeſt another favour. You allowed me to hope, that as ſoon as you fixed upon a new ſubject you would let me know, and give me the ſatisfaction of indulging the hopes of living until you finiſhed it. I truſt that you are not idle ſtill. I may now tell you with authority, that you are yet far from that period of life when you ſhould lay down your pen. I can ſay from experience, that the buſieſt ſeaſon of life is the moſt happy; and I have no doubt that you will concur with me in this ſentiment. Let me know then, my dear Sir, how you are, what you are doing, and what progreſs you make. As for my part, I enjoy good health; and, except ſome fits of deafneſs, am little troubled with the infirmities of old age. I write this at my ſon-in-law's, Mr. Brydone, who, if he had not a wife and family, loves Switzerland ſo well, and has ſo many friends in Lauſanne, that I believe he would gladly join you there. Believe me to be, with great reſpect, your moſt faithful and obedient ſervant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CCVII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Esquire to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

MY DEAREST MADAM, LAUSANNE, Auguſt 1ſt, 1792.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the arts of our great enemy, the dæmon of procraſtination, I ſhould not have poſtponed for ſo many months a pleaſing duty, which may at any time be performed in a ſingle hour, had I not for ſome time paſt entertained a lively and probable hope of viſiting you this autumn in perſon; had I not flattered myſelf, that the very next poſt I might be able to fix the day of my departure from Lauſanne, and almoſt of my arrival at the Belvidere. That hope is now vaniſhed, and my journey to England is unavoidably delayed till the ſpring or ſummer of next year. The extraordinary ſtate of public affairs in France oppoſes an inſuperable bar to my paſſage; and every prudent ſtranger will avoid that inhoſpitable land, in which a people of ſlaves is ſuddenly become a nation of tyrants and cannibals. The German road is indeed ſafe, but, independent of a great addition of fatigue and expence, the armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia now cover that frontier; and though the generals are polite, and the troops well diſciplined, I am not deſirous of paſſing through the clouds of huſſars and pandours that attend their motions. Theſe public reaſons are fortified by ſome private motives, and to this delay I reſign myſelf, with a ſigh for the preſent, and a hope for the future.

What a ſtrange wild world do we live in! You will allow me to be a tolerable hiſtorian, yet, on a fair review of ancient and modern times, I can find none that bear any affinity with the preſent. My knowledge of your diſcerning mind, and my recollection of your political principles, aſſure me, that you are no more a *democrat* than myſelf. Had the French improved their glorious opportunity to erect a free conſtitutional monarchy on the ruins of arbitrary power and the Baſtile, I ſhould applaud their generous effort; but this total ſubverſion of all rank,

order, and government, could be productive only of a popular monſter, which, after devouring every thing elſe, muſt finally devour itſelf. I was once apprehenſive that this monſter would propagate ſome imps in our happy iſland, but they ſeem to be cruſhed in their cradle; and I acknowledge with pleaſure and pride the good ſenſe of the Engliſh nation, who ſeem truly conſcious of the bleſſings which they enjoy: and I am happy to find that the moſt reſpectable part of Oppoſition has cordially joined in the ſupport of "things as they are." Even this country has been ſomewhat tainted with the democratical infection; the vigilance of government has been exerted, the malecontents have been awed, the miſguided have been undeceived, the fever in the blood has gradually ſubſided, and I flatter myſelf that we have ſecured the tranquil enjoyment of obſcure felicity, which we had been almoſt tempted to deſpiſe.

You have heard, moſt probably, from Mrs. Holroyd, of the long-expected though tranſient ſatisfaction which I received from the viſit of Lord Sheffield's family. He appeared highly ſatisfied with my arrangements here, my houſe, garden, and ſituation, at once in town and country, which are indeed ſingular in their kind, and which have often made me regret the impoſſibility of ſhewing them to my deareſt friend of the Belvidere. Lord Sheffield is ſtill, and will ever continue, the ſame active being, always employed for himſelf, his friends, and the public, and always perſuading himſelf that he wiſhes for leiſure and repoſe. There are various roads to happineſs; but when I compare his ſituation with mine, I do not, upon the whole, repent that I have given the preference to a life of celibacy and retirement. Although I have long been a ſpectator of the great world, my unambitious temper has been content with the occupations and rewards of ſtudy; and although my library be ſtill my favourite room, I am now no longer ſtimulated by the proſecution of any literary work. The ſociety of Lauſanne is adapted to my taſte; my houſe is open to many agreeable acquaintance,

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and ſome real friends; the uniformity of the natives is enlivened by travellers of all nations; and this ſummer I am happy in a familiar intercourſe with Lady Spencer, the Ducheſs of Devonſhire, Lady Elizabeth Foſter, and Lady Duncannon, who ſeems to be gradually recovering from her ſevere complaints. My health is remarkably good. I have now enjoyed a long interval from the gout; and I endeavour to uſe with moderation Dr. Cadogan's beſt remedies, temperance, exerciſe, and cheerfulneſs. Adieu, dear Madam; may every bleſſing that nature can allow be attendant on your latter ſeaſon. Your age and my habits will not permit a very cloſe correſpondence; but I wiſh to hear, and I *preſume* to aſk, a ſpeedy *direct* account of your own ſituation. May it be ſuch as I ſhall hear with pleaſure! Once more adieu; I live in hopes of embracing you next ſummer at the Belvidere, but you may be aſſured that I bring over nothing for the preſs.

N° CCVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lady* * * * * * * * * at Florence.

LAUSANNE, November 8th, 1792.

I REMEMBER it has been obſerved of Auguſtus and Cromwell, that they ſhould never have been born, or never have died; and I am ſometimes tempted to apply the ſame remark to certain beings of a ſofter nature, who, after a ſhort reſidence on the banks of the Leman Lake, are now flown far away over the Alps and the Appenines, and have abandoned their votaries to the inſipidity of common life. The remark, however, would be unreaſonable, and the ſentiment ungrateful. The pleaſures of the ſummer, the lighter and the graver moments of the ſociety of *petit Ouchy* *, are indeed paſt, perhaps never to return; but

* A beautiful villa near the lake, about a mile from Lauſanne.

the remembrance of that delightful period is itſelf a pleaſure, and I enjoy, I cheriſh the flattering perſuaſion that it is remembered with ſome ſatisfaction in the gallery of Florence, as well as in *the library* of Lauſanne. Long before we were reduced to ſeek a refuge from the ſavages of Gaul, I had ſecretly indulged the thought, or at leaſt the wiſh, of aſking leave to attend *mes bonnes amies* over Mount Cenis, of baſking once more in an Italian ſun, and of paying once more my devotions to the Apollo of the Vatican. But my aged and gouty limbs would have failed me in the bold attempt of ſcaling St. Bernard, and I wanted patience to undertake the tedious circumitineration of the Tirol. Your return to the Pays de Vaud next ſummer I hold to be extremely doubtful; but my anxiety on that head is ſomewhat diminiſhed by the ſure and certain hope of our all meeting in England the enſuing winter. I flatter myſelf that the Porter of Devonſhire-houſe will not be inexorable; yet I am afraid of loſing you amidſt the ſmoke and tumult of faſhionable London, in which the night is devoted to pleaſure and the morning to ſleep. My ambition may perhaps aſpire to paſs ſome hours in the palladian Chiſwick, or even ſome days at Chatſworth; but theſe princely manſions will not recal the freedom, the eaſe, the *primitive* ſolitude of dear little Ouchy. Indeed! indeed! your fair friend was made for ſomething better than a Ducheſs.

Although you moſt magnanimouſly abandoned us in the criſis of our fate, yet as you ſeem to intereſt yourſelf in the hopes and fears of this little country, it is my duty to inform you, that we ſtill hang in a ſtate of ſuſpence; inclining, however, to the ſide of hope, rather than of deſpair. The garriſon, and even the bourgeoiſie, of Geneva, ſhewed a vigorous reſolution of defending the city; and our frontiers have been gradually covered with fifteen thouſand intrepid Swiſs. But the threats of a bombardment, the weight of expence, and, above all, the victorious aſcendant of the French republic, have abated much of the firſt heroic ardour. Monſieur de Monteſquiou

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diſplayed a pacific, and even yielding, temper; and a treaty was ſigned, diſmiſſing the Swiſs garriſon from Geneva, and removing the French troops to the diſtance of ten leagues. But this laſt condition, which is indeed objectionable, diſpleaſed the convention, who refuſed to ratify the agreement. New conferences were held, new meſſengers have been diſpatched; but unleſs they are determined to find or to make a ſubject of quarrel, it is probable that we ſhall purchaſe peace by ſubmiſſion. As Geneva has a very dangerous democratical party within her walls, and as the national guards are already allowed to enter the city, and to tamper with the inhabitants and the garriſon, I will not inſure that poor little republic from one week to another. For ourſelves, the approaches of danger muſt be more gradual. I think we are now ſafe for this winter, and I no longer run to the window to ſee whether the French are coming. But with ſo many enemies without, and ſo many within, the government of Bern, and the tranquillity of this happy country, will be ſuſpended by a very ſlender twig; and I begin to fear that Satan will drive me out of the poſſeſſion of Paradiſe. My only comfort will be, that I ſhall have been expelled by the power, and not ſeduced by the arts, of the blackeſt dæmon in hell, the dæmon of democracy. Where indeed will this tremendous inundation, this conſpiracy of numbers againſt rank and property, be finally ſtopped. Europe ſeems to be univerſally tainted, and wherever the French can light a match, they may blow up a mine. Our only hope is now in their devouring one another; they are furious and hungry monſters, and war is almoſt declared between the convention and the city of Paris, between the moderate republicans and the abſolute levellers. A majority of the convention wiſhes to ſpare the royal victims, but they muſt yield to the rage of the people and the thirſt of popularity, and a few hours may produce a trial, a ſentence, and a guillotine. Mr. Necker is publiſhing a pamphlet in defence of the auguſt ſufferers; but his feeble and tardy efforts will rather do credit to himſelf,

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than ſervice to his clients. You kindly aſk after the ſituation of poor Severy. Alas! it is now hopeleſs; all his complaints are increaſed, all his reſources are exhauſted; where nature cannot work, the effect of art is vain, and his beſt friends begin to wiſh him a quiet releaſe. His wife, I had almoſt ſaid his widow, is truly an object of compaſſion. The dragoon is returned for a few days; and if his domeſtic ſorrows gave him leave, he would almoſt regret the want of an occaſion to deſerve his feather and cockade. Your note has been communicated to Madame de Montelieu; but as ſhe is engaged with a dying aunt, I have not yet ſeen her. Madame Dagaiſſeau has haſtily left us; the laſt decrees ſeemed to give the *emigrés* only the option of ſtarving abroad or hanging at home; yet ſhe has ventured into France, on ſome faint glimpſe of clemency for the women and children. Madame de Bouillon does not appear to move. Madame de Stael, whom I ſaw laſt week at Rolle, is ſtill uncertain where ſhe ſhall drop her burthen; but ſhe muſt ſoon reſolve, for the young lady or gentleman is at the door;

———Demanding life, impatient for the ſkies.

By this time you have joined the Ladies Spencer and Duncannon, whom I beg leave to ſalute with the proper ſhades of reſpect and tenderneſs. You may, if you pleaſe *be, belle comme un ange*; but I do not like your compariſon of the archangel. Thoſe of Milton, with whom I am better acquainted at preſent than with Guido, are all maſculine manly figures, with a great ſword by their ſide, and ſix wings folding round them. The heathen goddeſſes would pleaſe me as little. Your friend is leſs ſevere than Minerva, more decent than Venus, leſs cold than Diana, and not quite ſo great a vixen as the ox-eyed Juno. To expreſs that infallible mixture of grace, ſweetneſs, and dignity, a new race of beings muſt be invented, and I am a mere proſe narrator of matter of fact. Beſs is much nearer the level of a mortal, but a mortal for whom the wiſeſt man, hiſ-

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toric or medical, would throw away two or three worlds, if he had them in his poſſeſſion. From the aforeſaid Beſs I have received three marks of kind remembrance, from the foot of St. Bernard, with an exquiſite monument of art and friendſhip, from Turin, and finally from Milan, with a moſt valuable inſertion from the Ducheſs. At birds in the air it is difficult to take aim, and I fear or hope that I ſhall ſuſtain ſome reproaches on your not finding this long epiſtle at Florence. I will mark it N° 1.; and why ſhould I deſpair of my future ſince I can ſay with truth, that ſince your departure I have not ſpent ſo agreeable a morning. To each of the dear little Caro's pray deliver nine kiſſes for me, which ſhall be repaid on demand. My beſt compliments to Mr. Pelham, if he is with you.

N° CCIX.

EDWARD GIBBON *Eſquire to the Right Honourable Lady* * * * * * * * * * * * *at* Florence.

LAUSANNE, April 4th, 1793.

HAD I not given previous notice of my own unworthineſs, the plea of being an old incorrigible offender would ſerve only to aggravate my guilt; it is ſtill ſufficiently black, and I can patiently hear every reproach, except the cruel and unjuſt imputation of having forgotten my fair friends of the Arno and the Tiber. They would indeed have been leſs preſent to my thoughts, had I maintained a regular *weekly* correſpondence; ſince, by the effect of my negligence, not a *day* has elapſed without a ſerious, though fruitleſs, reſolution of writing by the very next poſt. What may have ſomewhat contributed, beſides original ſin, to this vile procraſtination, is the courſe of events that has filled this abominable winter. As long as the poor King's fate was in ſuſpenſe, one waited from poſt to poſt, between hope and fear, and when the blow was ſtruck,

ſtruck, even Shakeſpeare's language was inadequate to expreſs our grief and indignation. I have never approved the execution of Charles the Firſt; yet Charles had invaded, in many reſpects, the ancient conſtitution of England, and the queſtion had been judged in the field of Naſeby before it was tried in Weſtminſter-hall. But Louis had given and ſuffered every thing. The cruelty of the French was aggravated by ingratitude, and a life of innocence was crowned by the death of a ſaint, or, what is far better, of a virtuous prince, who deſerves our pity and eſteem. He might have lived and reigned, had he poſſeſſed as much active courage as he was endowed with patient fortitude. When I read the accounts from home, of the univerſal grief and indignation which that fatal event excited, I indeed gloried in the character of an Engliſhman. Our national fame is now pure and ſplendid; we have nobly ſtood forth in the common cauſe of mankind; and although our armaments are ſomewhat ſlow, I ſtill perſuade myſelf that we ſhall give the laſt deadly wound to the Gallic hydra. The King of Pruſſia is likewiſe ſlow, and your poor friend, the Duke of Brunſwick, is now not cenſured but forgotten. We turn our eyes to the Prince of Cobourg and his Auſtrians, and it muſt be confeſſed, that the deliverance of Holland and Brabant from ſuch a dragon as Dumourier is a very tolerable employment for the month of March. Theſe bloſſoms of the ſpring will be followed, it may be fairly hoped, by the fruits of the ſummer; and in the meanwhile the troubles of Paris, and the revolt of the provinces, may promote, by the increaſe of anarchy, the reſtoration of order. I ſee that reſtoration through a dark cloud; but if France be loſt, the reſt of Europe, I believe and truſt, will be ſaved. But amidſt the hurricane, I dare not fix my eyes on the *Temple*. So much for politics, which now engroſs the waking and ſleeping thoughts of every feeling and thinking animal. In this country we are tranquil, and I believe ſafe, at leaſt for this ſummer; though peace has been purchaſed

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at ſome expence of national honour, of the old reputation of Swiſs courage, we have crouched before the tiger, and ſtroked him till he has ſheathed his claws, and ceaſed for a moment to roar. My journey to England this year muſt depend upon the events of the campaign; as I am fully reſolved rather to remain quiet another autumn and winter in my ſweet habitation, than to encounter the dangers of the ſea and land. I envy the pleaſures which you and your companions have enjoyed at Florence and Rome; nor can I decide which have taſted the moſt perfect delight, thoſe to whom ſuch beauties were new, or thoſe to whom they were familiar. A fine eye, correct judgment, and elegant ſenſibility, are requiſite to qualify the ſtudious traveller; and theſe gifts have been liberally diſpenſed among the Ouchy caravan But when you have been gratified, though not ſatiated, with the Heſperian proſpect, to what fortunate clime will you direct your footſteps? Have we any hopes of meeting (for my journey, at all events, would be late) in the ſhades, or rather in the ſunſhine, of Ouchy? Should Mount Cenis be ſtill imperious, you have trampled on St. Bernard in a more rigorous ſeaſon; and whatſoever may be the ſtate of the world, the Pays de Vaud will afford you a ſecure aſylum, or a pleaſant ſtation. I rejoice to hear of Lady Beſborough's improvement. Will that new title make any difference in the plan? Is the Ducheſs very impatient to reviſit England? Except ſome trifling conſiderations of children, &c. all countries may be indifferent to her; as ſhe is ſure of being loved and admired in all. I am anxious and impatient to learn the reſult of your counſels; but I feel myſelf unworthy of a regular correſpondence, and am not deſirous of heaping freſh coals of fire on my head.

I am happy to find that you forgive and pity my friend Necker, againſt whom you all entertained ſome Verſailles prejudices. As his heart has been always pure, he cannot feel remorſe; but as his conduct has been unſucceſsful, he

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is penetrated with grief and regret. Madame de Stael has written to me from England; she likes the country, but means to fly over again in May.

N° CCX.

Mr. GIBBON *to Lord* * * * * * * *.

MY LORD, * ROLLE, February 23d, 1793.

I DO not merely congratulate your Lordship's promotion to an office which your abilities have long deserved. My satisfaction does not arise from an assurance of the wisdom and vigour which administration will derive from the support of so respectable an ally. But as a friend to government in general, I most sincerely rejoice that you are now armed in the common cause against the most dangerous fanatics that have ever invaded the peace of Europe; against the new barbarians, who labour to confound the order and happiness of society; and who, in the opinion of thinking men, are not less the enemies of subjects than of kings. The hopes of the wise and good are now fixed on the success of England; and I am persuaded that my personal attachment to your Lordship will be amply gratified by the important share which your counsels will assume in that success. I could wish that some of your former associates possessed sufficient strength of mind to extricate themselves from the toils of prejudice and party. But I grieve that a man, whom it is impossible for me not to love and admire, should refuse to obey the voice of his country; and I begin to fear that the powerful genius of Mr. * * *, instead of being useful, will be adverse to the public service. At this momentous crisis we should inlist our whole force of

* A town between Lausanne and Geneva, where M. Necker then resided.

of virtue, ability, and ſpirit; and without any view to his private advantage, I could wiſh that * * * * * * might be properly ſtationed in ſome part of the line.

Mr. Necker, in whoſe houſe I am now reſiding on a viſit of ſome days, wiſhes me to expreſs the ſentiments of eſteem and conſideration which he entertains for your Lordſhip's character. As a friend to the intereſt of mankind, he is warmly attached to the welfare of Great Britain, which he has long revered as the firſt, and perhaps as the laſt aſylum of genuine liberty. His late eloquent work, *Du pouvoir executif*, which your Lordſhip has aſſuredly read, is a valuable teſtimony of his eſteem for our conſtitution; and the teſtimony of a ſagacious and impartial ſtranger may have taught ſome of our countrymen to value the political bleſſings which they have been tempted to deſpiſe.

I cheriſh a lively hope of being in England, and of paying my reſpects to your Lordſhip before the end of the ſummer: but the events of the year are ſo uncertain, and the ſea and land are encompaſſed with ſo many difficulties and dangers, that I am doubtful whether it will be practicable for me to execute my purpoſe.

I am, my Lord, moſt reſpectfully, and your Lordſhip will permit me to add moſt affectionately, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

THE following Pieces have already been noticed in the Introduction to this Work. Many of them were juvenile performances; and under the perſuaſion that they would be candidly received as ſuch, they are now delivered to the Preſs. They certainly are entitled to greater indulgence than could be claimed for Compoſitions more finiſhed and elaborate, and written at the time of mature age.

The minute account of Mr. Gibbon's ſtudies each day, extracted from the Journal of his actions and opinions, and his obſervations on the ſeveral Works he had peruſed, evince a ſingular and unremitting induſtry.

In that view they may afford an uſeful leſſon and example to ſuch young readers as ſhall not already be convinced of the neceſſity of aſſiduous application in the acquiſition of every kind of learning.

My firſt intention was, to have given only a ſhort ſpecimen of the obſervations made by Mr. Gibbon, in the courſe of his reading; but I found them ſo intereſting, that I could not deſiſt, ſo ſoon as I intended, from making Extracts; and, upon the whole, I thought that the part to be publiſhed would

would be more curious, if given exactly as it ſtands in the Journal.

I hope I ſhall not be thought to have publiſhed too much: in truth, there ſtill remain in my poſſeſſion many Papers which I think equally worth attention.

Mr. Gibbon's manuſcript Obſervations were much detailed, from the year 1754 to 1764; and he afterwards continued to write remarks and hints on all ſubjects, in various common-place books, on detached papers, and even on cards, till a ſhort time before his death, although not ſo copiouſly, nor ſo regularly and methodically, after his return from Italy, in the year 1765. His common-place books are voluminous. One of the largeſt has for title, "Common-place "Book; in which I propoſe to write what I find "moſt remarkable in my Hiſtorical Readings; "begun at Lauſanne the 19th of March, 1755." In this he introduces a great variety of Obſervations on almoſt every ſubject, particularly on Hiſtory.

In another Book, dated the 19th of January 1756, he ſays, "J'ai pris la réſolution de lire de "ſuite tous les Claſſiques Latins, les partageant "ſuivant les matières qu'ils ont traité. 1. Les "Hiſtoriens. 2. Les Poëtes. 3. Les Orateurs; "dans laquelle claſſe je renfermerai tous les au-"tres auteurs qui ont écrit en proſe, ſans être ni "Philoſophes ni Hiſtoriens. 4. Les Philoſophes."

He

He begins with Obſervations on Salluſt; then proceeds to the Commentaries of Cæſar, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, always mentioning the edition which he uſed.

There are other Books, containing various Diſſertations on ancient and modern Weights, Meaſures, Monies, Coins, Finance, Number of the People, Chronology, ancient Geography, and on ſeveral States of the ancient and modern World. ——" Mémoire ſur la Monarchie des Medes, pour " ſervir de Supplement aux Diſſertations de Mon- " ſieur Freret et de Bougainville."——" Du Gou- " vernement Feodal, ſurtout en France."—— " Remarks on, and an Abridgment of, Black- " ſtone's Commentaries."——" Remarques Cri- " tiques ſur le Nombre des Inhabitans dans la Cité " des Sybarites."——" Remarques Critiques ſur " le Nouveau Syſtême de la Chronologie de New- " ton."——" Remarques ſur quelques Prodiges." " ——Remarques Critiques ſur les Dignités Sa- " cerdotales de Jules Céſar."——" Remarques " ſur quelques Paſſages de Virgil."——" Sur un " Paſſage de Plaute."——" Examen de la Mort " du Poëte Catulle."——" Réfléxions ſur l'Etude " des Belles Lettres, (*i e.*) des Anciens, et de " l'Antiquité Grecque et Latine."——" Re- " marques ſur les Memoires de l'Academie des " Belles Lettres."——A very conſiderable Work on Ancient Italy, intitled, " Nomina Genteſque " Antiquæ Italiæ," with many curious Diſſertations on ſeveral Parts of that intereſting Country. ——" Obſer-

——" Obſervations on the Churches, Palaces, Pic-" tures, Artiſts, Antiquities, &c. of Italy."—— " Index Expurgatorius."——" Chronological Ta-" bles."——Many looſe Sheets on Geography *, the Greek and Arabian Coſmography, the Navigation of the Portugueſe, &c.——" Digreſſion on the Character of Brutus."——" Introduction á " l'HiſtoireGenerale de la République des Suiſſes." Detached ſheets on the ſubject of the Antiquities of Brunſwick, and many fragments on ſeparate papers.

His well-known and acknowledged learning may have made this diſplay of the proofs of his induſtry unneceſſary; but it may be acceptable to many to have a ſhort ſketch of the very various ſubjects on which he had occupied himſelf.

To protect the copy-right, the Bookſellers thought it neceſſary to procure a Tranſlation of the French part of the Journal, and alſo of ſome of the Letters. But that theſe volumes might not be too much ſwelled, a Tranſlation of " l'Eſſai " ſur l'Etude de la Litterature," has not been given, a Tranſlation having been already publiſhed.

* His attention to Geography had always been very great, and few were better informed in that ſcience. His friend Major Rennell was of that opinion, and I cannot cite a higher authority.

EXTRAITS RAISONNÉS

DE MES

LECTURES.

A Douvres, le 14 Mars 1761.

" LA lecture eſt à l'eſprit ce que vos perdrix ſont à mes joues ;" [illegible]iſoit le Duc de Vivonne à Louis XIV. En effet, la lectu[illegible]re eſt la nourriture de l'eſprit ; c'eſt par elle que nous co[illegible]nnoiſſons notre Créateur, ſes ouvrages, et ſurtout nous [illegible]mêmes et nos ſemblables. Mais cette nourriture ſe change [illegible]facilement en poiſon. Saumaiſe avoit lu autant que Gr[illegible]otius, peut-être davantage. C'étoit la manière de lire qu[illegible]i avoit fait, de l'un, un philoſophe éclairé, et de l'autre, [illegible]tranchons le mot, un pédant bouffi d'une érudition inutile.

Liſons avec ordre, propoſons nous un b[illegible]ut, et rapportons y nos études. Pour ne pas obſerver [illegible]cette règle, il y a tant d'ignorans qui ont beaucoup [illegible]lu ; mais voltigeant d'un ſujet à l'autre, ils n'ont jamais [illegible]pu lier leurs idées. Tant de particules détachées ne p[illegible]euvent [illegible]mer

foi

[TRANSLATION.]

ABSTRACT OF MY READINGS;

WITH REFLECTIONS.

Dover, 14th March 1761

" READING is to the mind," ſaid the Duke of Vivonne to Lewis XIV. " what your partridges are to my chops." It is, in fact, the nouriſhment of the mind; for by reading, we know our Creator, his works, ourſelves chiefly, and our fellow-creatures. But this nouriſhment is eaſily converted into poiſon. Salmaſius had read as much as Grotius, perhaps more. But their different modes of reading made the one, an enlightened philoſopher; and the other, to ſpeak plainly, a pedant, puffed up with an uſeleſs erudition.

Let us read with method, and propoſe to ourſelves an end to which all our ſtudies may point. Through neglect of this rule, groſs ignorance often diſgraces great readers; who, by ſkipping haſtily and irregularly from one ſubject to another, render themſelves incapable of combining their ideas. So many detached parcels of knowledge cannot form a

1761. former un tout. Cette inconſtance affoiblit même les forces de l'eſprit, le dégoûte de l'application, et ne lui laiſſe pas même les avantages d'un bon ſens naturel.

N'outrons cependant rien; liſons avec ordre, ſans nous en rendre eſclaves. Propoſons nous un but, mais que ce but ne ſoit pas trop éloigné; et quand nous l'avons atteint, permettons nous de paſſer à un ſujet différent. Trop d'inconſtance énerve l'eſprit; une trop longue application au même objet le roidit. Nos idées ſe retréciſſent, et le genre auquel nous nous ſommes ſi long tems attachés, devient le ſeul auquel nous puiſſions nous attacher.

D'ailleurs, gardons nous de ſacrifier l'ordre de nos penſées à celui de nos ſujets; ce ſeroit ſacrifier le principal à l'acceſſoire. Nous ne devons lire que pour nous aider à penſer. En liſant quelque ouvrage, la lecture me fait naître des idées, mais des idées un peu différentes du ſujet de cet ouvrage; je veux les pouſſer, je m'écarte de mon plan, et je me jette dans une autre lecture qui m'eſt néceſſaire; de-là, peut-être, à une ſeconde, et une troiſième. Enfin je vois où mes penſées me mènent; c'eſt peut-être à quelque choſe qui en vaut la peine, mais toujours faut-il eſſayer. Si j'avois ſuivi mon grand chemin, au bout de ma longue carrière, j'aurois à peine pu retrouver les traces de mes idées.

Cette

whole it a . This inconſtancy weakens the energies of the mind, creates in g diſlike to application, and even robs it of the advantages of natural good ſenſe.

Yet, let us avoid the contrary extreme; and reſpect method, without rendering ourſelves its ſlaves. While we propoſe an end in our reading, let not this end be too remote; and when once we have attained it, let our attention be directed to a different ſubject. Inconſtancy weakens the underſtanding: a long and excluſive application to a ſingle object, hardens and contracts it. Our ideas no longer change eaſily into a different channel, and the courſe of reading to which we have too long accuſtomed ourſelves, is the only one that we can purſue with pleaſure.

We ought beſides, to be careful, not to make the order of our thoughts ſubſervient to that of our ſubjects; this would be to ſacrifice the principal to the acceſſory. The uſe of our reading is to aid us in thinking. The peruſal of a particular work gives birth, perhaps, to ideas unconnected with the ſubject of which it treats. I wiſh to purſue theſe ideas; they withdraw me from my propoſed plan of reading, and throw me into a new track, and from thence, perhaps into a ſecond, and a third. At length I begin to perceive whither my reſearches tend. Their reſult, perhaps, may be profitable; it is worth while to try: whereas had I followed the high road, I ſhould not have been able, at the end of my long journey, to retrace the progreſs of my thoughts.

This

Cette diſpenſation ne regarde point les premières 1761.
études. La methode la plus ſevère ſuffit à peine pour faire comprendre des objets tout nouveaux. Elle ne regarde pas non plus ceux qui liſent pour écrire. Ils doivent tout approfondir dans leurs ſujets, et ils n'en doivent pas ſortir. Au reſte, je fais ces réflexions ſans les garantir. Supposé même qu'elles ſoient juſtes, elles ne le ſont peut-être que pour moi. Les eſprits different en tempérament comme les corps. La même methode ne peut convenir à tous. C'eſt à chacun à s'étudier là-deſſus.

Lire avec attention, ſe faire des définitions des expreſſions de ſon auteur, ne paſſer jamais à la concluſion ſans avoir bien compris le principe, s'arrêter ſouvent, s'interroger, refléchir ſur ce qu'on vient de lire, ce ſont là autant de conſeils qu'il eſt bien aisé de donner, et très difficile de ſuivre. Il en eſt de même de ce conſeil preſque évangélique, d'oublier amis, patrie, religion, et de louer la vérité où qu'elle ſe trouve.

Mais que faut-il lire? C'eſt à chacun à ſe répondre là-deſſus ſelon l'objet de ſes études. Le ſeul précepte général que j'oſe donner, eſt celui de Pline *, " qu'on doit plûtot lire beaucoup, que beaucoup de choſes;" ſe faire un choix de bons ouvrages, et ſe les rendre propres par des lectures réfléchies et réitérées. Sans m'étendre ſur

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This plan of reading is not applicable to our early ſtudies, ſince the ſevereſt method is ſcarcely ſufficient to make us conceive objects altogether new. Neither can it be adopted by thoſe who read in order to write; and who ought to dwell on their ſubject, till they have ſounded its depths. Theſe reflections, however, I do not abſolutely warrant. On the ſuppoſition that they are juſt, they may be ſo, perhaps, for myſelf only. The conſtitution of minds differs like that of bodies. The ſame regimen will not ſuit all. Each individual ought to ſtudy his own.

To read with attention, exactly to define the expreſſions of our author, never to admit a concluſion without comprehending its reaſon, often to pauſe, reflect, and interrogate ourſelves; theſe are ſo many advices which it is eaſy to give, but difficult to follow. The ſame may be ſaid of that almoſt evangelical maxim of forgetting friends, country, religion, of giving merit its due praiſe, and embracing truth whereever it is to be found.

But what ought we to read? Each individual muſt anſwer this queſtion for himſelf, agreeably to the object of his ſtudies. The only general precept that I would venture to give, is that of Pliny*, " to read much, rather than many things;' to make a careful ſelection of the beſt works, and to render them familiar to us, by attentive and repeated peruſals. Without expatiating on the authors ſo generally

* Plinii Secundi Epiſt. lib. vii. epiſt. ix.

1761. fur ces bons ouvrages ſi connus, je dirai ſimplement, qu'en fait de raiſonnemens, ce ſont ceux qui ont augmenté le nombre des vérités utiles; ceux qui ont découvert des vérités quelles qu'elles ſoient; et enfin ces eſprits hardis qui, s'écartant du ſentier battu, aiment mieux ſe tromper ſeuls, que d'avoir raiſon avec le peuple. Ceux-ci ajoutent au nombre de nos idées, et ſont ſouvent utiles à leurs ſucceſſeurs. Avec tout le reſpect qu'on doit à M. Locke, je voudrois ajouter encore ces académiciens qui détruiſent les erreurs, mais qui n'eſpèrent pas de nous donner des vérités à leur place. Dans les ouvrages d'imagination, c'eſt l'invention qui doit enlever nos ſuffrages; d'abord l'invention qui crée un nouveau genre; enſuite celle qui trouve un ſujet, un caractère, une ſituation, un tableau, une penſée, un ſentiment nouveau. Mais cette invention eſt peu de choſe, ſi elle n'eſt pas accompagnée d'un génie qui s'aſſortiſſant au ton de ſon ſujet, ſoit tour à tour ſublime, pathétique, fleuri, gracieux, badin; d'un jugement qui ne faſſe rien dire qui ne convienne, et d'un ſtyle qui le faſſe toujours bien dire. Dans les compilations qui ne conſervent que ce qu'on a déjà dit, je demande ſi on lui a donné de la clarté, ſi l'on a retranché l'inutile, ſi l'on a raſſemblé ce qui étoit diſperſé? et c'eſt ſuivant les réponſes que je me fais, que j'apprécie le prix de l'ouvrage.

Quand

known and approved, I would ſimply obſerve, that in matters of reaſoning, the beſt are thoſe who have augmented the number of uſeful truths; who have diſcovered truths, of whatever nature they may be: in one word, thoſe bold ſpirits, who quitting the beaten tract, prefer being in the wrong alone, to being in the right with the multitude. Such authors encreaſe the number of our ideas, and even their miſtakes are uſeful to their ſucceſſors. With all the reſpect due to Mr. Locke, I would not, however, neglect the works of thoſe academicians, who deſtroy errors without hoping to ſubſtitute truth in their ſtead. In works of fancy, invention ought to bear away the palm; chiefly that invention which creates a new kind of writing; and next, that which diſplays the charms of novelty, in its ſubject, characters, ſituation, pictures, thoughts, and ſentiments. Yet this invention will miſs its effect, unleſs it be accompanied with a genius, capable of adapting itſelf to every variety of the ſubject; ſucceſſively ſublime, pathetic, flowery, majeſtic, and playful; and with a judgment which admits nothing indecorous, and a ſtyle which expreſſes well, whatever *ought* to be ſaid. As to compilations, which are intended merely to treaſure up the thoughts of others, I aſk whether they are written with perſpicuity, whether ſuperfluities are lopped off, and diſperſed obſervations ſkilfully collected; and agreeably to my anſwers to thoſe queſtions, I eſtimate the merit of ſuch performances.

When

Quand on à bien lu, rien de plus utile pour en graver l'idée que des extraits. Je ne parle pas de ces recueils, de ces adverſaria qui ont leur uſage, mais d'extraits raiſonnés, tels que ceux de Photius, ou de nos journaux modernes. Je me propoſe de me rendre compte ainſi à moi-même de mes lectures. Mais ma methode ne sera pas toujours la même. S'agit-il d'un livre de raiſonnement, j'en expoſerai le plan général, les principes qu'on établit, et les conſéquences qu'on en tire. Le philoſophe mérite peu ce nom, dont l'ouvrage ne gagne pas à être vu dans l'enſemble. La ſeule liberté que je me permettrai, ce ſera qu'après avoir bien médité mon ſujet, je le rendrai peut-être dans un ordre différent de celui de mon auteur. Les ouvrages d'imagination ont leurs beautés d'ordonnance et celles de détail; je m'attacherai aux uns et aux autres. L'hiſtoire, ſi elle eſt peu connue, mérite un abrégé; ſi elle n'eſt pas nouvelle, j'en détacherai les circonſtances qui le ſont. Partout, je dirai mon ſentiment avec la modeſtie qui me convient, mais avec le courage d'un homme qui ne veut pas trahir les droits de la raiſon. Je raſſemblerai ici toutes mes penſées détachées, réflexions de toute eſpèce qui ſe préſenteront à moi dans ma recherche de la vérité. Car je rechercherai toujours la vérité, quoique je n'aye guères trouvé juſqu'ici que la vraiſemblance. 1761.

When we read with attention, there is nothing more uſeful to the memory than extracts. I ſpeak not of thoſe collections, or adverſaria, which may be ſerviceable in their own way, but of extracts made with reflection, ſuch as thoſe of Photius, and of ſeveral of our modern journaliſts. I purpoſe in this manner to give an account to myſelf of my reading. My method will vary with the ſubject. In works of reaſoning, I will trace their general plan, explain the principles eſtabliſhed, and examine the conſequences deduced from them. A philoſopher is unworthy of the name whoſe work is not moſt advantageouſly viewed as a whole. After carefully meditating my ſubject, the only liberty I ſhall take, is that of exhibiting it under an arrangement different perhaps from that of my author. Works of fancy contain beauties, both of plan and of execution: I ſhall be attentive to both. Hiſtory, if little known, deſerves an abridgment. I ſhall extract ſuch particulars as are new. Throughout, I ſhall give my opinion with becoming modeſty, but with the courage of a man unwilling to betray the rights of reaſon. In this compilement, I ſhall collect my ſcattered thoughts, with the reflections of every ſort that occur in my ſearch for truth. For I ſhall continue to ſearch for the truth, though hitherto I have found nothing but probability.

A Beriton, le 14 Avril 1761.

RECHERCHES CRITIQUES
Sur le Titre qu'avoit CHARLES VIII. à la Couronne de NAPLES*.

Incertitude des droits de ſucceſſion.

LE droit naturel a ſon reſſort, le droit civil a le ſien. Mais par quelles loix doit-on regler les ſucceſſions des états? Les regles ne peuvent être les mêmes que pour les ſucceſſions privées; l'objet eſt trop différent. Les conventions publiques ſont rarement aſſez déterminées; on chicane ſur les traités. Les exemples nous manquent, et puis chaque parti rejette ceux qui ne lui ſont pas favorables.

Diſputes des maiſons d'Anjou et d'Arragon.

Le Royaume de Naples, et ſouvent l'Europe, ſe vit déchiré par les querelles des maiſons d'Anjou et d'Arragon. Les ſuccès furent balancés. Je vais rechercher qui les méritoit.

* Je médite une hiſtoire de l'expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie; évènement qui changea la face de l'Europe. Si je l'écris jamais,, ces recherches doivent y entrer, mais plus travailleés et moins longues. Pour à preſent, les livres et le loiſir me manquent egalement. C'eſt pourquoi, ne pouvant alléguer les hiſtoriens originaux, j'aime mieux m'en rapporter à la notorieté de faits que de renvoyer aux compilations.

Beriton, 14th April 1761.

CRITICAL RESEARCHES
Concerning the Title of CHARLES VIII. to the Crown of NAPLES†.

Uncertainty of the rights of ſucceſſion.

NATURAL and civil law has each of them, its principle; but by what maxim ſhall we regulate the ſucceſſion to ſtates? The rules of private ſucceſſion cannot apply to them, their object being ſo different. Publick agreements are rarely ſufficiently determinate; treaties are liable to chicane; examples are wanting; and each party rejects thoſe examples which are not favourable to his cauſe.

Quarrels of the houſes of Anjou and Arragon.

The kingdom of Naples, and Europe itſelf, were often diſtracted by the quarrels between the houſes of Anjou and Arragon. Victory remained long doubtful. I am going to examine by which of the contending parties

† I meditate a hiſtory of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy; an event which changed the face of Europe. Should I ever undertake ſuch a work, theſe reſearches will find their place in it, but written with more care and preciſion. At preſent, both leiſure and books are wanting; for which reaſon, being unable to cite the original hiſtorians, I think it better to truſt to the notoriety of the tranſactions, than to refer the reader to compilations.

méritoit. Les disputes sont passées. La maison de France renonça solemnellement à ses prétensions, dans les traités de Madrid et de Cambray, et le Père Daniel* lui-même n'etoit point obligé de les soutenir. 1761.

Trouvons d'abord une proposition reconnue des deux partis. Avant le concile de Lyon, l'empereur Frederic II. étoit roi légitime de Naples ; reconnu par le pape son seigneur suzerain, par ses sujets, et par tous les princes de l'Europe. Il avoit recueilli par sa mére tous les droits de la maison Normande. Les empereurs Grecs, ses seuls compétiteurs, ne subsistoient plus.

L'empereur Frederic II. étoit roi légitime de Naples.

Ferdinand dont Charles VIII. disputoit le titre, étoit sorti de la maison d'Arragon. Il s'appuyoit sur le droit héréditaire. Pierre I. d'Arragon, son ancêtre, avoit épousé Constance, fille de Mainfroy, petite fille de l'empereur Frederic II. et l'unique héritiere de la maison de Suabe. Titre inconteſtable, s'il étoit net ; mais la pureté du sang avoit été souillée par deux descentes bâtardes, Mainfroy, et Ferdinand lui-même.

La maison d'Arragon en descendoit. Leurs droits.

L'institution du marriage est néceſſaire dans les états policés. La propriété des terres entraîne celle des femmes. Le moyen le plus aisé pour faire passer les biens d'une main à l'autre, c'est la proximité du sang, mais pour cela il la faut connoître : il faut qu'un homme s'engageant à une femme par un contrat public, les enfans de cette femme soient censés lui appartenir. Qu iconque viole cet ordre

Raisons pourquoi les bâtards sont privés par les loix du droit de succession.

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parties it was merited. The conteſt is at an end. In the treaties of Madrid and of Cambray, the houſe of France ſolemnly renounced its pretenſions ; and even Father Daniel* was not obliged to maintain them.

Let us firſt diſcover ſome propoſition acknowledged by both parties. Before the council of Lyons, the emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples ; regarded as ſuch by the pope his liege lord or ſuperior, by his own ſubjects, and by all the princes of Europe. Through his mother he inherited all the rights of the Norman family. The Greek emperors, who would have been his only competitors, were no more.

The emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples.

Ferdinand, whoſe title was called in queſtion by Charles VIII. deſcended from the houſe of Arragon. He aſſerted the right of inheritance. Peter I. of Arragon, his anceſtor, had married Conſtance, the daughter of Mainfroy, the grandchild of the emperor Frederic II. and the ſole heireſs of the houſe of Swabia : a title incontrovertible, had it been pure ; but Ferdinand's blood was defiled by two baſtardies, that of Mainfroy, and his own.

The family of Arragon deſcended from him. Their rights.

The inſtitution of marriage is neceſſary in civiliſed countries. Hereditary property in land implies the appropriation of women ; ſince the beſt means of tranſmitting property is by proximity of blood ; which muſt therefore be aſcertained by marriage, the public engagement of one man with one woman, whoſe children are regarded as his ſucceſſors. Whoever

Reaſons why baſtards are deprived of the right of ſucceſſion.

* V. la Grande Hiſtoire du P. Daniel, tome v. p. 196. et p. 259.

1761. ordre de la société, en doit être puni dans son enfant, et cet enfant dont la naissance est un outrage fait aux loix, n'est point enfant de la société, et ne doit pas participer aux biens dont elle garantit la succession. Telles sont les loix que la raison a dictées à tous les peuples. Les mœurs, souvent plus fortes que les loix, sont ici d'accord avec elles. Elles flétrissent à jamais cet enfant malheureux, dont le père ne peut qu'être incertain, et qui ne connoît sa mère que par son crime. Mépris cruel et salutaire! La vertu des femmes, l'éducation de la jeunesse, et la paix de la communauté, en dépendent. Or si les loix et les mœurs de tous les pays déclarent les bâtards incapables des successions privées, comment pourront ils posséder des états? Le titre d'un souverain ne peut être trop net, ni sa naissance trop respectée.

Flétris par l'opinion publique.

Ils ne peuvent être souverains par droit de succession.

Les loix sont sourdes. Elles ne songent qu'à la justice, et au bien général. C'est aux princes à juger suivant les circonstances, s'il les faut adoucir ou les exécuter à la rigueur. Lorsque le malheur de la mère, ou le mérite du fils, ont plaidé pour lui, la clémence du souverain le rend à la société en effaçant la tache de sa naissance et lui rendant ses droits.

Difficultés sur la légitimation. 1°. A quoi l'on la reconnoit.

Mais en appliquant ces principes à la maison d'Arragon, il se présente une foule de difficultes que je ne puis que sentir. 1^rement. Comment reconnoître la légitimation d'un enfant par le prince? Ferdinand fut légitimé par

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Whoever violates this law ought to be punished in his descendant, whose birth being an outrage to society, he cannot be considered as its child, nor participate in the property of which it secures the succession. Such are the laws which reason has dictated to all nations. Manners, often more powerful than laws, here corroborate and confirm them; condemning to perpetual ignominy the unhappy bastard, whose father must ever be uncertain, and who knows his mother only by her crime: a cruel, but salutary punishment, since on it depend the chastity of women, the education of children, and the peace of the community. If then both laws and manners declare bastards incapable of inheriting private estates, on what principle ought they to succeed to kingdoms? The title of a sovereign cannot be too clear, nor his birth too much respected.

Their disgrace in the public opinion.

They cannot succeed to kingdoms.

Laws are deaf to every voice but that of justice and the public good. But it belongs to princes to judge, according to circumstances, whether they ought to soften, or rigorously to enforce the laws. When the repentance of his mother, or his own merit, have efficaciously pleaded for an illegitimate son, the clemency of a prince may remove the stain from his birth, and thus restore him to society and his rights.

Difficulties concerning the right of legitimation.

But in applying this maxim to the house of Arragon, a multitude of difficulties occur, of which it is impossible not to feel the force. 1. By what means is legitimation by a prince to be ascertained

Ferdinand

par un acte solemnel; mais je ne sache pas que Mainfroy l'ait été jamais. Son père à la vérité lui légua la principauté de Salerne, et même la succession du royaume. Il reste à savoir, si lorsqu'un prince maître de faire une certaine grace, accorde à quelqu'un une dignité dont il ne peut jouir sans cette grace préalable, il est censé la lui avoir accordée; c'est à diree, si la forme emporte le fonds, ou le fonds la forme*. 2. Si un prince peut légitimer ses propres enfans. Un prince est sujet aux loix, ainsi il est tenu d'en subir la peine lorsqu'il les viole. Mais le bien public veut que sa personne en soit exempte. Ici il les viole, et en peut être puni dans les personnes de ceux qui lui sont les pus chères. Or peut-on dire qu'il est obligé de subir cette punition dont cependant il peut se faire grace, s'il le veut? 3. Si cette légitimation peut s'étendre 1761.

2. Un prince peut il légitimer ses enfans?

* Voici un exemple où il s'agit du même raisonnement. Le chevalier Raleigh fut condamné à mort pour crime de haute trahison. Après plusieurs années de prison, le roi Jacques I. lui donna le commandement d'une escadre destinée à exploiter une mine d'or dans l' Amérique Meridionale. L'entreprise manqua; et à son retour Jacques I. fit couper la tête au chevalier Raleigh sur l'ancienne sentence. La nation en murmura hautement, et disoit que cette commission d'amiral valoit bien des lettres d'abolition; puis qu'on ne pouvoit donner cette autorité et cette confiance à un traître qu'on destinoit à la mort†.

Ferdinand was legitimated by a solemn act; but I know not whether that was the case with Mainfroy: his father indeed bequeathed to him the principality of Salerno, and even the inheritance of the kingdom. It remains to determine, whether a prince, entitled to perform an act of favour and mercy, actually does so by conferring an office of dignity, which cannot be enjoyed unless the act of mercy has previously been obtained; that is to say, whether the substance ought to prevail over the form, or the form over the substance*.—2. Can a prince legitimate his own children? Being subject to the laws, he cannot violate them without being amenable to justice; though the public good requires that his person should not be liable to punishment. But, in the supposed case, his violation of the laws may be punished in the persons of those who are most dear to him: it cannot surely be said, that he is obliged to submit to a punishment which his own pardon can forgive.—3. Does this legitimation

Can a prince legitimate his children.

* The following is an example where the same reasoning occurred. Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned to death for treason. After a confinement of many years in prison, he received from James I. the command of a fleet to be employed in discovering a gold mine in South America. The enterprise failed; and, at Sir Walter's return home, James ordered his head to be cut off, according to the sentence formerly passed against him. The nation murmured loudly, asserting that the commission of admiral was equivalent to a formal pardon, since it was impossible to bestow that authority and confidence on a traitor condemned to death†.

† V. Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, tome vii. p. 122.; et Hume, Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 74. Howell's Letters, vol. i. s. 1. lett. iv.

1761. s'étendre juſqu'au droit de ſucceſſion à la couronne*. 4. Si ces enfans légitimés rentrent parfaitement dans tous leus droits de fils du roi-regnant, et de plus proches héritiers de la couronne, ou bien s'ils n'en ſont que les derniers, après toutes les branches collatérales. Il ſemble qu'on ne peut faire grace qu'après avoir fait juſtice : Louis XIV. lui-même, s'il violoit les droits de la nation, reſpecta pourtant ceux de la maiſon royale.

3. et les appeller à la ſucceſſion, 4. avant ſes héritiers collateraux ?

Jean l'oncle de Ferdinand.

Cette dernière queſtion eſt très importante. Alphonſe, le père de Ferdinand, laiſſa un frère nommé Jean, qui lui ſuccéda dans le royaume d'Arragon. Il eſt vrai que Jean ne conteſta point la ſucceſſion de ſon neveu au royaume de Naples, mais pouvoit-il renoncer pour ſa poſtérité ? C'eſt une queſtion dont nous ne touchons point la déciſion après tant de diſputes†.

Un prince peut il renonçer pour ſa poſterité ?

Toutes ces réflexions donnent de grands ſoupçons à l'égard du titre de la maiſon d'Arragon, et ſurtout de Ferdinand. Mais dans les ſiècles de fer où cette diſpute s'éleva, les coutumes leur étoient plus favorables. Dans ces ſiècles auſſi vicieux qu'ils étoient ignorans, les princes s'abandonnoient

* Cette queſtion tient aux mêmes principes que celle de l'adoption que j'examinerai bientôt.

† Elle a fait un grand bruit il y à un demi ſiècle, à l'occaſion de la ſucceſſion d'Eſpagne, à laquelle Louis XIV. reconça dans le traité des Pyrénées, et que ſa famille revendiqua dans la ſuite.

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and call them to the ſucceſſion, before collateral heirs ?

timation extend to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown* ?—4. Do legitimated children recover completely the rights of lawful offspring, and of the neareſt heirs to the crown; or rather, ought they not to be the laſt in the order of ſucceſſion after all the collateral branches? It is not fit that we ſhould be bountiful, before we have been juſt. Even Lewis XIV. when he trampled on the rights of the nation, ſtill reſpected thoſe of the princes of the blood.

John the uncle of Ferdinand.

This laſt queſtion is extremely important. Alphonzo, the father of Ferdinand, left a brother named John, who ſucceeded to him in the kingdom of Arragon. John did not indeed diſpute his nephew's right of ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Naples, but could *his* renunciation bind his poſterity? This is a queſtion, with the deciſion of which we ſhall not now meddle, ſince it was formerly the occaſion of ſo many diſputes†.

Can a prince renounce for his poſterity ?

Theſe reflections create juſt ſuſpicions concerning the title of the houſe of Arragon, particularly of Ferdinand; but in the ages of iron, when this conteſt aroſe, the prevalent cuſtoms of the times were more favourable to their claim. In thoſe ages, as wicked as they were ignorant, princes diſgraced themſelves by a life of profligacy; and when they had not

* This queſtion depends on the ſame principles with that of adoption, which I ſhall ſhortly examine.

† This queſtion was much agitated half a century ago, in the buſineſs of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, which Lewis XIV. renounced by the treaty of the Pyrenees, but which his family afterwards claimed and vindicated.

s'abandonnoient à une vie déréglée, et s'ils n'avoient point d'enfans légitimes, leurs ſeigneurs reconnoiſſoient ſans peine les droits de leurs fils bâtards. Auroient-ils pu mépriſer un nom qu'ils ſe faiſoient quelquefois gloire de porter eux mêmes*, ou méconnoître un droit qui étoit ſi ſouvent le leur? Un partiſan de la maiſon d'Anjou ne pouvoit attaquer le titre de ſes rivaux, ſans révoquer en doute les droits des rois d'Angleterre, de Caſtille et de Portugal†. Je ne ſais ſi dans les choſes de convention les exemples n'ont pas plus de force que les raiſons. Dans la lumière du XVIII. ſiècle, les prétenſions des Arragonois peuvent être très mauvaiſes, ſans laiſſer d'être très ſoutenables dans l'ignorance du XV.

1761.

Dans le moyen age les bâtards ſuccédoient ſouvent aux couronnes; en Angleterre, en Caſtille, en Portugal.

Je ne crois pas avoir rien ſupprimé des prétenſions de la maiſon d'Arragon, ni des objections qu'on y pouvoit faire. Il eſt vrai que Mainfroy uſurpa la couronne ſur ſon neveu Conradin; mais comme Conradin mourut ſans enfans, le crime lui étoit perſonnel, et ne s'étendoit pas à la poſterité de Mainfroy.

Mainfroy uſurpateur, ſa poſterité ne l'étoit pas.

Les

* On lit quelquefois dans les vieilles chartres, Ego——baſtardus; il devenoit un ſurnom. Du tems de Philippe de Comines, on faiſoit très peu de différence en Italie entre les enfans légitimes et ceux qui ne l'étoient pas. Mem. de Philippe de Com. l. vii. c. 2.

† Guillaume le Conquérant, dans le XI. ſiècle; Henri de Traſtamare, et Jean Grand Maître de l'ordre d'Avis, tous les deux dans le XIV. ces trois monarques étoient tous bâtards.

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not any legitimate children, their barons were eaſily prevailed on to acknowledge the rights of their *baſtards*. How could the barons deſpiſe an appellation which they often prided themſelves in bearing*, or diſavow a right which was often their own? A partiſan of the houſe of Anjou could not attack the title of his rivals, without challenging the rights of the kings of England, Caſtile, and Portugal. In matters merely conventional, examples are more powerful than principles. Amidſt the light of the XVIIIth century, the pretenſions of the houſe of Arragon may appear extremely unjuſtifiable; but might have worn a very different aſpect during the ignorance of the XVth.

In the middle ages, baſtards often inherited crowns; in England Caſtile, and Portugal.

I am not ſenſible of omitting any of the arguments either for or againſt the title of that houſe. Mainfroy indeed uſurped the crown, to the prejudice of his nephew Conradin; but as Conradin died childleſs, Mainfroy's crime was merely perſonal, and extended not to his poſterity.

Mainfroy's poſterity not uſurpers, though he himſelf was one.

The

* We ſometimes read in old charters, Ego——baſtardus. The appellative became a ſurname. In the time of Philip Comines, there was little diſtinction made in Italy between natural and legitimate children.

† In the XIth century, William the conqueror; and in the XIVth, Henry of Traſtamare, and John Grand Maſter of the Order of Avis, were all baſtards.

1761. Droits de Charles VIII.

Les droits de Charles VIII. étoient beaucoup plus compliqués. La dépoſition de Frédéric II. par le pape, et l'inveſtiture de Naples qu'il donna à Charles I. établiſſoient les droits de la première maiſon d'Anjou. L'adoption de Louis d'Anjou par la reine Jeanne I. les fit paſſer à la ſeconde branche dont Charles VIII. les hérita par le teſtament de Charles, dernier comte de Provence, et roi titulaire de Naples. Ce ſont trois chainons, qu'il s'agit d'éprouver ſéparément.

La dépoſition de Frédéric II. par le pape, A.D. 1245.

La dépoſition de Frédéric II. par le pape Innocent IV. ſouleva l'Europe contre ce prince malheureux. Le grand nombre loua cette ſévérité ſalutaire qui n'épargnoit pas les ſouverains eux-mêmes, s'ils étoient ennemis de l'egliſe. A peine ſe trouva-t-il quelqu'un qui condamnât cette ſentence, non comme injuſte, mais comme trop cruelle : ils trouvoient que le pape ôtoit les couronnes trop légèrement, mais ils convenoient qu'il avoit droit de les ôter *.

Principes de la philoſophie.

La bonne philoſophie nous feroit rire de ce droit prétendu, s'il n'avoit pas été trop funeſte. La partie la plus nombreuſe de toute ſociété en fixe la religion dominante. Le

* Voyez la conduite équivoque de Louis IX. Il blamoit la ſeverité du pape, il tâchoit de faire la paix : mais le concile de Lyon étoit toujours pour lui un tribunal dont Frédéric ne pouvoit appeller.

The rights of Charles VIII.

The rights of Charles VIII. were far more complicated. The depoſition of Frederick II. by the pope, and the inveſtiture of Naples granted by him to Charles I. formed the title of the firſt houſe of Anjou. The adoption of Lewis of Anjou by queen Joan tranſmitted this title to the ſecond branch, from which Charles VIII. received it by the teſtament of Charles, the laſt count of Provence, and titular king of Naples. Theſe are the three links of the chain, which muſt be ſeparately examined.

The depoſition of Frederick II. by the pope, A. D. 1245.

The depoſition of Frederick II. by pope Innocent IV. ſtirred up Europe againſt that unhappy prince. The multitude commended a ſalutary ſeverity, which did not ſpare even ſovereigns themſelves, when they became the enemies of the church. A very few only condemned the pope's ſentence, not as unjuſt, but as too harſh : they thought that his holineſs took away crowns with too little ceremony, but they acknowledged that he had the right of taking them away *.

Principles of philoſophy.

Sound philoſophy would teach us to ſmile at this pretended right, had it not been productive of too melancholy conſequences. The moſt numerous portion of every community determines the prevailing religion : the

* Obſerve the equivocal conduct of Lewis IX. He blamed the pope's ſeverity ; he endeavoured to make peace ; but the council of Lyons he always conſidered as a tribunal from which Frederick was not entitled to appeal.

Le magiſtrat eſt chargé d'établir des miniſtres pour l'enſeigner au peuple, et en pratiquer le culte. Il en règle les fonctions, l'hierarchie, les gages; et l'ordre eccléſiaſtique ne lui eſt pas moins ſoumis que l'ordre des juges, ou celui des guerriers. Mais ſans recourir à ces principes qui ne ſeroient pas généralement admis, les maximes de l'égliſe Gallicane peuvent ſervir de réponſe à ces prétenſions ultramontaines. Chez elle l'égliſe, il eſt vrai, n'obéit pas à l'état, mais elle ne lui commande pas. Ce ſont deux puiſſances indépendantes, mais alliées, qui doivent s'entreaider ſans attenter à leurs droits réciproques. Le pape ne peut pas plus dépoſer l'empereur, que l'empereur ne peut faire des déciſions de foi. L'excommunication eſt toute ſpirituelle, et l'excommunié pour n'être plus Chretien, n'eſt pas moins père, maître, ou prince. L'empereur Frédéric II. n'étoit pas moins roi de Naples après le concile de Lyon, qu'auparavant; et tout ce qui ſe fit, le ſuppoſant lui et ſa famille déchus de la royauté, étoit nul de toute nullité.

1761.

L'égliſe ſoumiſe à l'état.

Maximes de l'égliſe Gallicane.

L'autorité du clergé toute ſpirituelle.

Le pape ne peut pas dépoſer un ſouverain.

Mais ſi le pape Innocent ne pouvoit dépoſer Frédéric comme ſouverain pontife, il étoit ſeigneur ſuzerain de Naples, et en cette qualité, ſi ſon vaſſal lui manquoit de fidelité, il pouvoit lui ôter ſon fief. Ce droit eſt beaucoup plus ſpécieux. Les conquérans Normans, par dévotion ou par politique, avoient reçu toutes leurs poſſeſſions

Le pape pouvoit dépoſer Frédéric comme ſon ſeigneur ſuzerain.

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the ſovereign eſtabliſhes miniſters to practiſe its rules, and to teach its precepts to the people: the ſovereign alſo regulates its functions, hierarchy, and appointments; eccleſiaſtics being not leſs ſubject to his authority than judges and ſoldiers. But without recurring to principles which would not be univerſally admitted, the maxims of the Gallican church afford a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe tranſalpine pretenſions. According to theſe maxims, the church, it is true, is not bound in obedience to the ſtate; but neither has the former any controul over the latter. They are two independent, but allied, powers; which ought always to contribute their mutual aſſiſtance, without ever infringing their reciprocal rights. The pope can no more depoſe the emperor, than the emperor can paſs deciſions of faith. Excommunication is of a nature entirely ſpiritual: and the perſon excommunicated, though no longer a Chriſtian, ceaſes not to be a father, a maſter, or a king. The emperor Frederick II. was not leſs king of Naples after the council of Lyons than before; and whatever was done on the ſuppoſition that he and his family were diveſted of the rights of ſovereignty, was completely null.

The church ſubject to the ſtate.

Maxims of the Gallican church.

The clergy's authority entirely ſpiritual.

The pope cannot depoſe a ſovereign.

But if Innocent could not, as ſovereign pontiff, depoſe Frederick; yet, as lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples, he could deprive a rebellious vaſſal of his fief. This right is far more ſpecious. The Norman conquerors, through devotion or policy, had conſented to hold their

The pope could depoſe Frederick, as his lord paramount.

1761. poſſeſſions en Italie du pape Nicolas II. à titre de fief du Saint Siège, qui leur en donna l'inveſtiture auſſi bien qu'aux empereurs Suabes, leurs ſucceſſeurs.

Réponſes d'un partiſan de Frédéric

Cependant, en faiſant valoir ce droit de ſouveraineté ſuivant les loix du ſyſtème féodal, je ne ſai ſi un partiſan de Frédéric auroit été réduit au ſilence. Il auroit pu dire. 1. C'eſt à la conduite du pape à nous faire voir s'il agiſſoit en cette qualité. Eſt-ce dans un concile général d'évêques, par une excommunication ſolemnelle, en déliant les ſujets de leur ſerment de fidelité, qu'un ſeigneur fait condamner ſon vaſſal? Y mêle-t-on au crime de félonie, des accuſations de perfidie, de ſacrilège, et d'héréſie? Une aſſemblée des pairs, de tous les grands vaſſaux du S. Siège, un roi d'Angleterre à leur tête, étoit le ſeul tribunal dont Frédéric étoit juſticiable; et le crime de félonie étoit le ſeul qu'on dût porter devant ce tribunal. Mais au concile de Lyon je ne vois dans Innocent IV. que le ſouverain pontife. 2. Jamais tribunal ne mérita moins ce nom; on n'entendit ni les accuſateurs ni l'accuſé; on refuſa à celui-ci le moindre délai, quoique ſes miniſtres chargés de pleins pouvoirs s'avanceſſent vers Lyon à grandes journées. On prononça la ſentence avant leur arrivée; et cette ſentence portoit, non ſur une notoriété de droit, des preuves juridiquement conſtatées, mais ſur un prétendue notoriété de fait, des oui-dire, des bruits publics.

1. Le pape n'agit que comme ſouverain pontife.

2. La ſentence n'étoit point dans les règles.

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their Italian poſſeſſions as fiefs of the Holy See; which conferred their inveſtiture on thoſe princes, and on the Swabian emperors, their ſucceſſors.

Anſwers of Frederick's partiſans.

Yet in examining this right of ſovereignty by the principles of the feudal law, I know not whether Frederick's partiſans needed to have given up the cauſe. They might have ſaid, 1. It belonged to the pope to ſhow by his conduct, whether he really acted as lord paramount, Is it by a ſolemn excommunication, in a general council of biſhops, and by abſolving ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity, that a ſuperior condemns his vaſſal? In ſuch condemnations is it uſual to join with the crime of felony, the accuſations of perfidy, ſacrilege, and hereſy? An aſſembly of peers, and of all the great vaſſals of the Holy See, with a king of England at their head, was the only tribunal to which Frederick was amenable; and felony was the only crime of which that tribunal could take cogniſance. But in the council of Lyons, Innocent IV. appears under no other character than that of ſovereign pontiff. 2. Never did any court of juſtice leſs deſerve the name. It heard neither the accuſation nor the defence; and refuſed to grant to the perſon accuſed the ſmalleſt delay, although his miniſters, entruſted with full powers, haſtened to Lyons. Sentence was pronounced before their arrival; a ſentence founded neither on acknowledged law, nor on judicial evidence, but on a pretended notoriety of facts, vague reports, and public rumours.

1. Innocent acted merely in his character of pope.

2. The ſentence was irregular.

3. The

publics. 3. Le fond n'étoit pas moins défectueux que la forme. Frédéric ne méritoit point d'être privé de son fief. Tout vassal qu'il étoit du Saint Siège, il n'en étoit point sujet. Un vassal d'un grand fief y regnoit en maitre souverain ; absolu dans son état, il n'en devoit à son seigneur que l'homage, le service par lequel il le tenoit, et l'obligation de ne pas porter les armes contre lui. Encore avoit il tant de latitude à remplir des obligations qu'il étoit difficile de le convaincre d'y avoir manqué. Si le seigneur *lui veoit sa cour* (c. a. d. lui refusoit justice) il pouvoit se la faire par force, et ses propres vassaux étoient tenus de le suivre contre ce prince dont ils étoient eux mêmes les arrières vassaux*. A plus forte raison, si le prince l'attaquoit il pouvoit se défendre par les armes. Or les papes étoient assurément les aggresseurs, si, excommunier Frédéric, offrir ses états à tous les princes de l'Europe, prêcher contre lui une croisade, solliciter ouvertement à la révolte ses sujets du Milanois, de Ravenne, et de la Marche Trevisane, peut justifier ce nom. 4. Si le pape pouvoit représenter à son gré le souverain pontife, ou le seigneur du royaume de Naples, Frédéric pouvoit aussi choisir entre ses titres. Roi des deux Siciles, il relevoit de la cour de Rome ; empereur des Romains, il ne relevoit que de Dieu seul ; et dans la querelle pour la Sardaigne, querelle de l'église et de l'empire,

1761.

3. Elle étoit injuste. Obligations d'un vassal.

Frédéric n'avoit fait que se défendre.

4. Frédéric comme empereur pouvoit faire la guerre au pape quoique son vassal d'ailleurs.

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3. The substance was not less defective than the form. Frederick had not deserved to be stripped of his fief. Though a vassal of the Holy See, he was not its subject. The vassal of a great fief reigned over it with absolute sovereignty ; owing nothing to his paramount but homage, military service, and the negative duty of not bearing arms against his liege lord. These duties, besides, were defined so loosely, that it was difficult to convict him of their violation. If his superior refused to do him justice, he might assert it by force of arms ; and his own immediate vassals were bound to follow him into the field against a prince, of whom they were themselves the rear-vassals.† By still stronger cogency of reason, the vassal, when attacked by his lord, was entitled to defend himself by arms. But the pope surely was the aggressor ; if this appellation could be merited by excommunicating Frederick, by offering his states to all the princes of Europe, and by openly exciting the revolt of his subjects in the Milanese, Ravenna, and the Trevisan march. 4. If the pope could at pleasure assume the character of sovereign pontiff, or of prince paramount of the kingdom of Naples, Frederick also was justified in using the same right of option between his titles. As king of the two Sicilies, he held of the court of Rome; but as emperor of the Romans, he was subject to God only ; and in a quarrel between the church and empire about Sardinia, he had not any account to give of the employment

3. and unjust. Duties of a vassal.

Frederick had only defended himself.

4. Frederick, though a vassal of the pope, could make war on him, as emperor.

† Hainault, Abrégé Chronol. de l'Hist. de France, p. 617.

1761. l'empire, il pouvoit tirer l'épée ſans en devoir compte à perſonne. Il pouvoit même, ſans manquer à ſon devoir, employer les forces du royaume de Naples, dès-que ce pays n'étoit pas l'objet de la diſpute. Ces diſtinctions paroiſſent ſubtiles, et même contradictoires. Elles peuvent l'être, mais auſſi je les tire de l'ouvrage de la barbarie et du hazard, de ce ſyſtème féodal où le ſouverain pouvoit être le vaſſal de ſon ſujet. Sans elles qu'on m'explique comment les rois d'Angleterre depuis Guillaume I. juſqu'à Edouard III. pouvoient faire la guèrre à la France. Comme ducs de Normandie ou d'Aquitaine, ils en étoient vaſſaux ; cependant ces guèrres étoient reconnues pour légitimes ; et dans les traités de paix il n'étoit jamais queſtion de pardon ou d'amniſtie.

Exemple des rois d'Angleterre ducs de Normandie.

De la dépoſition de Frédéric II. dépend l'inveſtiture de Charles d'Anjou. Le royaume de Naples étoit bien alors entre les mains d'un uſurpateur ; mais ſi le jeune Conradin n'avoit pas perdu ſes droits par le crime de ſon ayeul, l'autorité du pontife ne pouvoit s'étendre qu'à faire rendre ſon héritage à ce jeune prince. 2. Charles s'empara du royaume de Naples, et le laiſſa à ſa poſtérité. Il étoit triſayeul de Jeanne I. ſi connue par ſa débauche effrenée. Cette princeſſe prête à ſuccomber ſous les armes de ſon couſin Charles de la Paix, mécontente de ſes plus proches parens, appella à ſon ſecours Louis duc

L'inveſtiture de Charles d'Anjou tient à la dépoſition de Frédéric 1265.

Louis d'Anjou adopté par la reine Jeanne I. 1380.

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employment of his arms. He was even entitled, conſiſtently with his duty, to make uſe of the forces of Naples itſelf, when that kingdom was not the object of diſpute. Theſe diſtinctions appear to be too ſubtile, and even contradictory. They may really be ſo; but they are deducible from that work of barbariſm and chance, the feudal ſyſtem, which admitted that a ſovereign might be the vaſſal of his own ſubject. Without ſuppoſing this, let it be explained, how the kings of England ſince William I. to Edward III. could levy war againſt France. As dukes of Normandy or Aquitaine, they were vaſſals of that kingdom ; yet theſe wars were acknowledged as lawful, ſince in the treaties of peace which followed them, there is not any mention of pardon or amneſty.

Example of the kings of England dukes of Normandy.

On the juſtneſs of Frederick's depoſition depends that of the inveſtiture of Charles of Anjou. The kingdom of Naples was then indeed poſſeſſed by an uſurper ; but if Conradin could not loſe his title by the crime of his grandfather, the authority of the pontiff could not be lawfully exerted but in reſtoring his inheritance to that young prince. 2. Charles acquired the kingdom of Naples, and left it to his poſterity. He was anceſtor, the fourth in aſcent, to Joan, ſo well known by her infamous debaucheries. This princeſs, when ready to be overwhelmed by the arms of her couſin Charles de la Paix, and diſſatisfied with her neareſt relations, applied for aſſiſtance to Lewis duke of Anjou, brother to Charles

The inveſtiture of Charles of Anjou dependant on the depoſition of Frederick in 1265.

duc d'Anjou, frère de Charles V. roi de France, et par ſes lettres patentes datées du château d'Oeuf à Naples, le 29 Juin 1380, elle l'adopta pour ſon fils, et l'inſtitua ſon héritier univerſel †. 1761.

Si un prince peut donner ſes états?

Oſerai-je cependant demander ſi un prince Européen peut faire un ſi beau don; s'il peut ſe choiſir un fils et un ſucceſſeur? Le nom de roi eſt fort uſité partout; mais on y attache des idées bien différentes. Chez le peuple de l'Orient c'eſt un envoyé du Ciel, revêtu d'une puiſſance deſpotique, et diſpoſant à ſon gré de la vie et des biens de ſes ſujets. Sous un tel gouvernement, le ſouverain peut donner ſes états par la même raiſon qu'un berger peut donner ſon troupeau. Ils lui appartiennent. Mais il y a d'autres nations, plus dignes du nom d'homme, qui ne voyent dans le ſouverain que le premier magiſtrat, établi par le peuple pour le rendre heureux, et comptable à lui de ſa conduite. Un tel magiſtrat ne pouvoit transférer à un autre un pouvoir dont il n'étoit que l'uſufruitier. A ſa mort il étoit dévolu au peuple, ſi le gouvernement étoit électif; s'il étoit héréditaire, au plus proche héritier, ſuivant les loix que la nation avoit établies; et ſi la maiſon royale devenoit éteinte, le peuple rentroit

Un deſpote Aſiatique le peut. Pourquoi?

Un prince Européen ne le peut pas. Pourquoi?

† Dans mes compilations le conſentement des états à cette adoption ne paroiſſoit point. C'étoit cependant une circonſtance très eſſentielle. Mais j'ai vu depuis, que l'exact Giannone n'en dit rien non plus.

Charles V. king of France; and by letters patent, dated from the caſtle of Oeuf at Naples, the 29th June 1380, adopted him for her ſon, and appointed him for heir to all her poſſeſſions ‡.

Can a prince give away his dominions?

May I be permitted, however, to inquire, whether an European prince is entitled to make ſo fair a preſent; and whether he enjoys the right of chooſing for himſelf a ſon and a ſucceſſor? The name of king is univerſally uſed; but in different countries it is taken in very different acceptations. Among the natives of the Eaſt, a king is the vicegerent of Heaven, inveſted with deſpotic power over the lives and properties of his ſubjects. Under ſuch governments a king can diſpoſe of his people for the ſame reaſon that a ſhepherd can diſpoſe of his flock. They are his property. But there are other nations, more deſerving the name of men, who ſee in a ſovereign nothing more than the firſt magiſtrate, appointed by the people for the purpoſe of promoting public happineſs, and reſponſible to the people for his adminiſtration. Such a magiſtrate cannot transfer to another, a power with which he is entruſted only for his own life. At his demiſe, this power, if the government be elective, returns to the people; if the government be hereditary, the ſame power devolves on the neareſt heir, according to the

An Aſiatic deſpot may. Why?

An European prince cannot.

‡ In my compilation the conſent of the ſtates to this adoption is not mentioned. This, however, was a very eſſential circumſtance. But I have ſince found, that the accurate Giannone is alſo ſilent reſpecting it.

1761. rentroit dans tous ſes droits. Ces dernières maximes étoient aſſurément celles des peuples du nord, fondateurs de preſque tous les royaumes de l'Europe. Sentez la gradation par laquelle leurs princes rendirent héréditaire leur puiſſance toujours ſoumiſe aux loix. Leurs chefs n'étoient d'abord choiſis que pour l'occaſion; peu à peu ils devinrent perpetuels. La reconnoiſſance bornoit les élections à quelque famille diſtinguée; le fils ſuccédoit ordinairement au père, mais il falloit une élection ſolemnelle; le ſilence et l'obéiſſance étoient ſenſés exprimer le conſentement de la nation, mais elle ſe réſervoit toujours le droit de changer la ſucceſſion toutes les fois que le bien public le demandoit. Je vois même quelque lueur de cette liberté parmi les peuples qui croupiſſent dans le plus vil eſclavage. Les monarques Orientaux qui choiſiſſent leur ſucceſſeur, ſont obligés de le choiſir dans la maiſon royale, et les ſujets n'obéiroient point à un étranger, quoique revêtu de l'autorité de leur dernier ſouverain. Un ſentiment confus leur inſinue que la loi eſt encore au deſſus du prince.

Ils ne devinrent héréditaires que peu à peu.

Cette puiſſance bornée chez les princes les plus abſolus.

Cependant les peuples de l'Europe ſemblent le leur accorder quelquefois. Teſtament de Charles II. d'Eſpagne.

Cependant (car je ne cherche que la verité) l'on voit d'un autre côté, dans les monarchies Européennes, une certaine autorité reconnue, dans les diſpoſitions que les princes ont fait de leurs états. Charles II. d'Eſpagne ſe croyoit maître de nommer ſon ſucceſſeur, il nomma Philippe de Bourbon. La France accepta le teſtament, l'Eſpagne

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the law of the land: and ſhould the royal family be extinct, the people would reſume all their rights. Theſe maxims, ſurely, prevailed among the northern nations, who founded almoſt all the kingdoms of Europe. Obſerve the ſteps by which they rendered their kings, though always ſubject to the laws, hereditary. Theſe kings were originally only temporary and occaſional chiefs. By degrees they came to hold their offices for life. Gratitude confined the ſphere of election to ſome diſtinguiſhed family; the ſon commonly ſucceeded to the father, but the ſolemnity of an election was ſtill requiſite; ſilence and obedience were finally thought to imply the conſent of the nation; which always, however, reſumed to itſelf the right of changing the order of ſucceſſion, when the public good demanded an alteration.

These princes became hereditary by degrees. The power of transferring kingdoms bounded among the moſt ſlaviſh nations. Yet the nations of Europe ſeem to acknowledge this power.

I perceive a glimpſe of this liberty even among people languiſhing in the vileſt ſervitude. The monarchs of the Eaſt, who name their ſucceſſors, muſt chooſe him from the royal family; and their ſubjects would not obey a ſtranger, though inveſted with authority by their late king. They have a confuſed perception that the law ought to be above the prince. Yet (for I am in ſearch only of the truth) it may be obſerved on the other ſide, that the authority of European princes had been acknowledged to extend to the power of transferring their dominions. Charles II. of Spain, believing himſelf entitled to appoint his ſucceſſor, named Philip of Bourbon. France accepted the teſtament; Spain

The teſtament of Charles II. of Spain.

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l'Eſpagne s'y ſoumit, et les alliés ſe virent réduits à révoquer en doute ſon authenticité. Je ne vois pas même, ſans accorder aux ſouverains quelque droit de cette eſpèce, ſur quoi fonder la force des traités où ils cedent, non à un parent, à un ami, mais à un étranger, à un ennemi, l'obéiſſance d'une partie de leurs ſujets. Le droit public de l'Europe enviſage ces ſujets comme rebelles, s'ils refuſent de ſe ſoumettre à leur nouveau prince. La fameuſe diſtinction de domaine et de frontière bien approfondie, ne ſe trouvera que des mots en l'air. 1761. Authorité des traites de ceſſion

3. L'adoption de Jeanne I. ne valut aux princes de la ſeconde branche d'Anjou que la comté de Provence. Après avoir diſputé Naples quelque tems avec la première branche de leur maiſon, ils ne purent le défendre contre la maiſon d'Arragon. Ils ſe refugièrent en France, faiſant de tems en tems des entrepriſes malheureuſes. René le petit fils de Louis I. avoit à choiſir entre Charles le fils de ſon frère, et René de Vaudemont duc de Lorraine, le fils de ſa fille. Il choiſit le premier; et ce Charles, roi titulaire de Naples, et comte de Provence, ſe voyant ſans enfans, inſtitua pour ſon légataire univerſel Louis XI. roi de France, et père de Charles VIII. Teſtament de René et de Charles IV. d'Anjou. Charles VIII. leur héritier univerſel. 1481.

La lecture réflechie d'un chapitre de Philippe de Comines (Mem. L. viii c. 1.) m'a fourni quelques propoſitions, qui m'y paroiſſent clairement énoncées. 1. René d'Anjou avoit

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ſubmitted to it, and the allies felt the neceſſity of calling its authenticity in queſtion. Without acknowledging a power of this kind in princes, I know not how we can juſtify thoſe treaties, in which a king transfers, not to a kinſman or friend, but to a ſtranger or enemy, the obedience of a portion of his ſubjects. The public law of Europe conſiders thoſe ſubjects as rebels, when they refuſe to ſubmit to their new prince. The famous diſtinction between domain and frontier, when examined to the bottom, will be found to contain more ſound than ſenſe. The authority of treaties of ceſſion.

3. By the adoption of Joan I. the ſecond branch of the houſe of Anjou obtained only the county of Provence. After contending with the eldeſt branch of their family about the crown of Naples, they found themſelves unable to defend it againſt the houſe of Arragon. They fled into France, making from thence various expeditions that were unſucceſsful. René, the grandſon of Lewis I. had no other choice to make than that of Charles his brother's ſon, or that of René of Vaudemont duke of Lorraine, the ſon of his daughter. He preferred the former; and this Charles, titular king of Naples, and count of Provence, dying without children, bequeathed all his rights to Lewis XI. king of France, and father of Charles VIII. Teſtament of René and Charles IV. of Anjou. Charles VIII. their heir.

An attentive peruſal to a chapter of Philip Comines (Mem. L. viii. c. 1.) ſuggeſts the following propoſitions, which appear to me inconteſtible. 1. René of Anjou appointed his nephew Charles, and Charles

1761. avoit établi Charles ſon neveu, et Charles Louis XI, leurs héritiers univerſels. 2. Le roi de France convenoit que ces princes n'avoient pas le droit de violer l'ordre de la ſucceſſion par leur teſtament. 3. Louis XI. et Charles VIII. ne ſe mirent en poſſeſſion de la Provence, que parcequ'étant un fief qui ne deſcendoit qu'aux mâles dont la ligne étoit éteinte, René de Vaudemont n'y avoit aucun droit. 4. Bien loin de conteſter le droit du duc de Lorraine au royaume de Naples, où il n'y avoit point de loi Salique, la cour de France fit agir tous ſes ambaſſadeurs en ſa faveur, et lui permit de mener ſa compagnie de cent lances à l'expedition qu'elle y fit. 5. Quelques perſonnes déterrent d'anciens teſtamens de Charles I. et d'autres princes de la maiſon d'Anjou, par leſquels ils réuniſſoient irrévocablement le royaume de Naples et la comté de Provence, teſtamens dont l'authenticité ne fut jamais bien conſtatée. 6. Charles VIII. en concluoit, que puiſqu'il étoit comte de Provence par le teſtament de Charles IV. d'Anjou, au défaut d'héritiers mâles, il étoit auſſi roi légitime de Naples. Dès ce moment il ne fut plus queſtion des droits du duc de Lorraine. Cependant ce duc ſi mépriſé, ne pouvoit-il pas demander, puiſqu'on vouloit régler les deux états par la même loi de ſucceſſion, pourquoi la comté devoit faire la loi au royaume plutôt que de l'en recevoir ?

René duc de Lorraine, ſes prétenſions à la couronne de Naples.

La cour de France les reconnoît d'abord.

Les diſputes enſuite fondées ſur de vieux teſtamens.

Si la loi Salique devoit être rejettée en Provence ou avoir lieu à Naples.

René duke of Lorraine, his pretenſions to the crown of Naples.

The court of France at firſt acknowledges them.

The ſubſequent diſpute founded on old teſtaments.

Whether the Salique law ought to have

appointed Lewis XI. heirs to all their rights. 2. The king of France acknowledged that theſe princes were not entitled to alter the order of ſucceſſion by their teſtaments. 3. Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. took poſſeſſion of Provence only becauſe it was a male fief; and that the male line being extinct, René of Vaudemont could not have any legitimate claim. 4. Inſtead of diſputing the title of the duke of Lorraine to the kingdom of Naples, where the Salique law was unknown, the court of France ordered its ambaſſadors to eſpouſe his cauſe, and permitted him to lead his company of an hundred lances in the expedition againſt that country. 5. A diſcovery is made of ancient teſtaments of Charles I. and other princes of the houſe of Anjou, by which they irrevocably unite the kingdom of Naples and the county of Provence; but the authenticity of theſe teſtaments was never clearly aſcertained. 6. Charles VIII. concluded, that becauſe he was count of Provence by the teſtament of Charles IV. of Anjou, failing his male iſſue, he therefore alſo became lawful king of Naples. From this time, there was no longer any mention of the rights of the duke of Lorraine. Yet this duke, ſo much deſpiſed, might ſurely have aſked, ſince the two ſtates were to be ſubject to the ſame law of ſucceſſion, why the county ought to ſerve as a rule for the kingdom, rather than the kingdom for the county? Would it not have been more conſiſtent

recevoir? N'auroit il pas été plus équitable de rejetter la loi Salique en Provence, parcequ'elle l'étoit à Naples, que de l'admettre à Naples parcequ'elle étoit admise en Provence? 1761.

Mais il ne faut qu'adopter une maxime du P. Daniel pour terminer la controverse sur le champ. Le duc de Lorraine n'étoit pas en état de poursuivre son droit, le roi de France l'étoit. Sa puissance lui donnoit la préférence. Je ne sais cependant si on peut adopter une maxime, laquelle généralisée revient à celle-ci. " Si l'héritier " légitime ne peut faire valoir ses prétensions, elles sont " anéanties, et le plus proche héritier sans son consen- " tement prend sa place, et peut poursuivre et obtenir " l'héritage pour lui même et sa postérité." Maxime du P. Daniel, mise au jour.

Tels sont les droits principaux des maisons d'Anjou et d'Arragon à la couronne de Naples. C'est au lecteur à prononcer, mais avant qu'il le fasse qu'il jette les yeux sur quelques autres droits des uns et des autres, trop peu certains, ou trop mal fondés pour mériter d'être traités au long. 1. La maison de France pouvoit alléguer que par l'acte d'investiture de Charles I. ses droits lui étoient dévolus. Je n'en dirai rien. Le moine qui dressa cet acte avec une précision scholastique, l'a si bien embrouillé que je ne puis voir si ces droits étoient retournés au pape, s'ils avoient passé à la branche de Bourbon, où à celle de Valois. Autres droits des deux maisons. L'acte d'investiture de Charles I.

2. Le

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consistent with justice to reject the Salique law in ascertaining the succession to Provence, because that law was unknown in Naples, than to introduce a new law at Naples because it was admitted in Provence? been rejected in Provence, or introduced at Naples.

But we need only adopt a maxim of Father Daniel, to terminate the controversy at once. The duke of Lorraine had not force to maintain his right; the king of France had; and this force entitled him to a preference. Yet I know not whether we can justly adopt a maxim, which may be thus expressed in general terms. " If a lawful heir cannot main- " tain his pretensions, they become of course extinct; and the next per- " son in the order of succession may assume his place, assert and obtain " the inheritance for himself and his posterity." Maxim of Father Daniel explained.

Such are the principal titles of the houses of Anjou and Arragon to the crown of Naples. It belongs to the reader to pronounce sentence; after first casting his eye on some other rights of both parties, too weak or uncertain to merit a long discussion. 1. The house of France might assert that by the people's investiture of Charles I. the rights of that prince devolved to the family of Anjou. I pretend not to decide. The monk who prepared that act with scholastic formality, succeeded so well in perplexing it, that I cannot perceive whether those rights returned thereby to the pope, or descended to the family of Bourbon or to that of Valois. Other titles of both houses. The act of investiture of Charles I.

2. The

1761.

Droit de conquête.

2. Le droit de conquête ; droit odieux, qui n'eſt propre qu'à faire de grands ſcélérats, et qui ſe déclara pour chaque maiſon à ſon tour.

Droit d'adoption par Jeanne II.

3. Le droit d'adoption par la reine Jeanne II. Mais comme elle adopta ſucceſſivement Louis d'Anjou, et Alphonſe d'Arragon, l'une des quantités pour parler avec les Algébriſtes) détruit l'autre.

Droit de poſſeſſion.

4. Le droit de poſſeſſion. La maiſon d'Arragon l'avoit depuis ſoixante ans. Mais la maiſon d'Anjou n'avoit jamais laiſſé dormir ſes prétenſions : elle les avoit revendiquées dans toutes les occaſions.

Droit du conſentement des ſujets.

5. Le droit du conſentement des ſujets, le plus beau de tous les droits. Les Arragonois pouvoient alléguer l'obéiſſance générale ; mais ſelon le parti contraire, leurs cruautés et les murmures du peuple faiſoient voir combien cette obéiſſance étoit forcée.

Seul droit au-deſſus des objections.

Le droit de conquête n'eſt fait que pour les bêtes féroces. Le droit de ſucceſſion bien imaginé en lui même, n'a pas de principes fixes. Le ſeul droit au-deſſus de toutes les objections, eſt celui qui ſort de la voix d'un peuple libre.

Right of conqueſt.

2. The right of conqueſt ; an odious right, fit only to make illuſtrious criminals ; which alternately favoured both parties.

Right of adoption by queen Joan II.

3. The right of adoption by queen Joan II. But as ſhe ſucceſſively adopted Lewis of Anjou and Alphonzo of Arragon, the one of thoſe quantities, to ſpeak in the language of algebra, deſtroys the other.

Right of poſſeſſion.

4. The right of poſſeſſion. The houſe of Arragon enjoyed it ſixty years. Yet the houſe of Anjou had never relinquiſhed its pretenſions ; but, on the contrary, ſeized every opportunity of aſſerting them.

Title ariſing from the people's conſent.

5. The conſent of the ſubjects, the faireſt of all titles. The princes of the houſe of Arragon might alledge the univerſal obedience paid to their authority ; but, according to the oppoſite party, the cruelties exerciſed by that houſe, and the murmurs of the people, clearly proved their obedience to be involuntary.

The only title not liable to objection.

The right of conqueſt is only made for wild beaſts. The laws of ſucceſſion, though well contrived in themſelves, are deſtitute of fixed principles. The only title not liable to objection, is the conſenting voice of a free people.

IDÉE de quelques SUJETS pour une COMPOSITION HISTORIQUE.

Au camp auprès de Winchester, le 26 Juillet 1761.

JE mépriſerois tout écrivain indifférent à l'utilité de ſes lecteurs : J'admirerois celui qui uniquement touché de cette utilité comptât pour rien ſa propre gloire. Je ne ſuis ni l'un ni l'autre. Mon inclination, celle de mon ſiècle, me décident pour l'hiſtoire. Convaincu de ſon mérite, ma raiſon ne me fait point rougir de mon choix. Mais ce n'eſt pas tout ; ſuis-je propre à marcher dans une carrière que Tacite à cru digne de lui, et dont Pline a douté s'il étoit digne ? * Le rôle d'un hiſtorien eſt beau, mais celui d'un chroniqueur, ou d'un couſeur de gazettes eſt aſſez mépriſable. A cet égard je ne puis connoître mes forces qu'en les eſſayant, et pour les connoître bientôt je dois choiſir quelque ſujet d'hiſtoire qui me faſſe honneur, s'il eſt bien exécuté, et qui ne me laiſſe pas le regret, en cas d'un malheur, d'avoir trop employé de tems dans un genre qui n'étoit pas le mien. Je vais parcourir

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HINTS of ſome SUBJECTS fit for HISTORY.

Camp, near Winchester, 26 July 1761.

I WOULD deſpiſe an author regardleſs of the benefit of his readers : I would admire him who, ſolely attentive to this benefit, ſhould be totally indifferent to his own fame. I ſtand in neither of theſe predicaments. My own inclination, as well as the taſte of the preſent age, have made me decide in favour of hiſtory. Convinced of its merit, my reaſon cannot bluſh at the choice. But this is not all. Am I worthy of purſuing a walk of literature, which Tacitus thought worthy of him, and of which Pliny doubted whether he was himſelf worthy † ? The part of an hiſtorian is as honourable as that of a mere chronicler or compiler of gazettes is contemptible. For which taſk I am fit, it is impoſſible to know, until I have tried my ſtrength ; and to make the experiment, I ought ſoon to chooſe ſome ſubject of hiſtory, which may do me credit, if well treated ; and whoſe importance, even though my work ſhould be unſucceſsful, may conſole me for employing too much time in a ſpecies of compoſition for which I was not well qualified. I proceed therefore to review

† V. Plin. Secund. Epiſt. Lib. v. Ep. viij.

1761. parcourir quelques sujets d'histoire, marquer leurs avantages et leurs défauts, tels qu'ils m'ont paru, et montrer celui auquel je me suis arrêté.

L'histoire de la croisade de Richard I. d'Angleterre.

L'histoire de Richard premier d'Angleterre, et sa croisade contra les Sarrasins, plairoit du côté du merveilleux. Un roi d'Angleterre combattant à la tête des Anglois et des François réunis sous les murs d'Ascalon! Les matériaux suffisent au dessein. Sans parler des chroniques générales, l'on a deux historiens contemporains et exacts; et ce qui est d'un grand prix pour un ami de la verité, l'un Chrétien, et l'autre Mahometan; je veux parler de Guillaume de Tyr, et de l'Arabe dont M. Schultens à traduit l'histoire de Saladin. Deux auteurs au moins, nous ont laissé des déscriptions particulières de cette croisade, et deux autres moines l'ont célébrée par des poëmes historiques. Mais aussi que ce Richard étoit un digne héros pour des moines; la férocité d'un gladiateur, et la cruauté d'un tyran, employées sans succès dans une cause où la superstition imposoit silence à la religion, à la justice, et à la politique, et contre un prince des plus accomplis dans l'histoire! Que Richard nous intéresseroit peu! D'ailleurs cet évènement est trop loigné, trop enfoncé dans les ténèbres du moyen âge, pour s'attirer beaucoup d'attention aujourdhui.

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review some subjects for history; to indicate their advantages and defects; and to point out that subject which I may think fit to prefer.

The history of Richard I. of England's crusade against the Saracens.

The history of Richard I. of England, and his crusade against the Saracens, is alluring by the marvellous. A king of England fighting at the head of an allied army of English and French under the walls of Ascalon! There are good materials for executing such an undertaking. Without speaking of the general chronicles, we know two contemporary and accurate historians; and what is of great importance to a lover of the truth, the one a Christian, and the other a Mahomedan; I mean William of Tyre, and the Arabian whose history of Saladin is translated by Mr. Schultens. Two monkish authors, at least, have left particular descriptions of this crusade; and other two monks have celebrated it in historical poems. But, on the other hand, this Richard was a fit hero only for monks. With the ferocity of a gladiator, he united the cruelty of a tyrant; and both were unsuccessfully employed in a cause where superstition silenced religion, justice, and policy; and against one of the most accomplished princes in history. How little are we interested in the exploits of Richard! Besides, this transaction is too remote, and too deeply buried in the darkness of the middle ages, to attract much notice at present.

Aug. 24th, 1761.] I Read Mr. Bonamy's Reflections upon the Geographical Errors occaſioned by Alexander's Hiſtorians, Mem. xxv. p. 40—54; *very ſolid:* and M. de la Bleterie's Mem. upon the tribunitian power of the Emperors, Mem. xxv. p. 392—440; much inferior to his former diſſertations.

25th.]—I read M. de la Nauze's Diſſertation upon the ancient Roman Calendar, Mem. xxvi. p. 219—257; *moſt excellent:* I never underſtood the Roman Calendar before.

26th.]—I read M. de la Nauze a ſecond time, and meditated him thoroughly.

28th.]—I read M. de Guigner's Memoir upon the Deſtruction of the Greek Monarchy in Bactriana, Mem. xxv. p. 17—34; *ſingular:* and M. d'Anville's, upon the Nation and Religion of the Getæ, ib. p. 34—47; *judicious.*

Sept. 1ſt.]—I read the firſt Diſſertation of the Count de Caylus, upon antient Painting.

2d.]—I read the Count de Caylus's ſecond Diſſertation.

3d.]—I began M. de la Nauze's Memoir upon the Manner Pliny has treated of antient Painting.

4th.]—I finiſhed it.

5th.]—I read M. de Caylus's third Diſſertation. Though Caylus has a much higher reputation, I ſhould myſelf prefer de la Nauze; in French I ſhould ſay, Celui-ci a écrit en homme de lettres amateur, celui-là en amateur hommede lettres. De la Nauze is learned, methodical, full of taſte, perhaps ſometimes not preciſe enough. Caylus's obſervations are without any plan, too minute, and ſometimes, when ſtripped of their technical dreſs, injudicious. However, his compariſon of the antient and modern painters ſhews a knowledge of the beauties and maſters of the art. They are both contained in tom. xxv. Mem. p. 149—302. I read the firſt Memoir of M. de Caylus upon antient Sculpture.

6th.]

1761. 6th.]—I read the ſecond Memoir upon Sculpture, tom. xxv. p. 302—368. They are much ſuperior to thoſe upon painting; as the author probably never practiſed ſculpture, he attaches himſelf leſs to the manual exerciſe of the art.

7th.]—I read M. de Caylus upon the Mauſoleum, tom. xxvi. p. 321—335.

8th.]—I read four parts of the Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, from July 60, to July 61; a plain, ſenſible journal.

11th.]—I read M. Freret's Obſervations upon the Marble of Paros, tom. xxvi. p. 157—219: the general remarks, intereſting; the enquiry into the date of the death of Darius, ingenious and ſatisfactory; the whole very profound: and M. de Belley's Explanation of a Camayeu in the D. of Orleans's cabinet; very probable: tom. xxvi. p. 475—486.

12th.]—I read Belley's Explanation of an Agate in the D. of Orleans's cabinet; *like the former:* tom. xxvi. p. 486—504: and M. d'Anville's Enquiry into the Source of the Nile; tom. xxvi. p. 34—46; leaves it as obſcure as ever.

Oct. 2d.]—I ran over M. le Beau's Memoir upon the Roman Legion, in tom. xxvi. of the Academy: one or two Epiſtles of Horace with Dacier and Sanadon; and Soame Jenyns's Enquiry into the Origin of Evil; and peruſed for the ſecond time, with infinite pleaſure, M. de la Nauze's fine Memoir upon antient Painting.

Feb. 8th, 1762.]—Having finiſhed Hurd's Horace, given a ſecond peruſal to two principal diſcourſes, and thoroughly meditated the whole ſubject, I began to make an *Extrait raiſonné* of it. At the ſame time I employed my leiſure moments in going through the famous *Argenis* of Barclay, with which I was much entertained; and, with a view to Homer, peruſed for the ſecond time a very conſiderable part of Mezeriac's Ovid.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPISTOLÆ, ad Piſones et Auguſtum; with an Engliſh Commentary and Notes. To which are added, two diſſertations; the one on the Provinces of the Drama; the other on Poetical Imitation; with a Letter to Mr. Maſon; in two volumes, 12mo. The ſecond edition. Cambridge, 1757. Devizes, Feb. 8th, 1762.

Mr. Hurd, the ſuppoſed author of this performance, is one of thoſe valuable authors who cannot be read without improvement. To a great fund of well-digeſted reaſoning, he adds a clearneſs of judgment, and a niceneſs of penetration capable of taking things from their firſt principles, and obſerving their moſt minute differences. I know few writers more deſerving of the great, though proſtituted name, of critic; but, like many critics, he is better qualified to inſtruct, than to execute. His manner appears to me harſh and affected, and his ſtyle clouded with obſcure metaphors, and needleſsly perplexed with expreſſions exotic, or technical. His exceſſive praiſes (not to give them a harſher name) of a certain living critic and divine, diſguſt the ſenſible reader, as much as the contempt affected for the ſame perſon, by many who are very unqualified to paſs a judgment upon him.

Horace's Art of Poetry, generally deemed an unconnected ſet of precepts, without unity of deſign or method, appears under Mr. Hurd's hands, an attempt to reform the Roman ſtage, conducted with an artful plan, and carried on through the moſt delicate tranſitions. This plan is unravelled in Mr. Hurd's Commentary. If ever thoſe tranſitions appear too finely ſpun, the concealed art of epiſtolary freedom will ſufficiently account for it. The leaſt Mr. Hurd muſt convince us of, is, that, if Horace had any plan, it was that which he has laid down. Every part of dramatic poetry is treated of, even to the ſatyrs and the atellanes; its metre, ſubject, characters, chorus, explained and diſtinguiſhed. The reſt of the epiſtle contains thoſe precepts of unity of deſign, accuracy of compoſition, &c. which, though not peculiar to the dramatic poet, are yet as neceſſary to him as to any other.

I ſhall ſay little more of the epiſtle to Auguſtus, than that the ſubject matter is much plainer than in the other, but

1762. but the connection of parts far more perplexed. In the two lines from 30 to 32, a critic muſt be very ſharp-ſighted, to diſcover ſo complicated an argument as Mr Hurd finds out there: however, his own Commentary is far ſuperior to that on the Art of Poetry; and riſes here into a very elegant paraphraſe. As my buſineſs lies more with Mr. Hurd than with Horace, I ſhall only ſelect one of the numerous beauties of this Epiſtle; it is that elegant encomium upon the modern poets, which extends from v. 113 to 139. Every one muſt obſerve that fine gradation, which, from deſcribing the poet as a happy, inoffenſive creature, exalts him at laſt into a kind of mediator between the gods and men. But an art more refined, and nicely attentive to its object, only employs thoſe praiſes, which belong equally to good and to bad poets. Every one complained of the multitude of bad poets; even theſe, replies Horace, are not to be deſpiſed; ſuch poetry is an employment, which makes its poſſeſſor good and happy, by abſtracting him from the cares of men; he may turn it to the uſeful purpoſes of a virtuous education; and the gods, who attend more to the piety, than the talents of the bard, will liſten with pleaſure to his hymns.

I ſhall now conſider ſome of Mr. Hurd's notes upon
Vol. i. theſe Epiſtles, and then paſs to his larger diſcourſes.
p. 68—77. Upon v. 94, he ſtarts a new train of thought upon the uſe of poetical expreſſions in tragedy. The herd of critics allow them to the hero in his calmer moments, and forbid them in his more paſſionate ones. On the contrary (ſays Mr. Hurd, and I think with reaſon) it is that very paſſion that calls them forth, by rouzing every faculty, and exciting images ſuitable to the grandeur of his ſituation. Anger indeed, which exalts the mind, inſpires more bold and daring images; thoſe of grief are more weak, humble, and broken: but when paſſion ſleeps, it is fancy alone that can create figures: and fancy is a very improper guide for the ſevere genius of dramatic poetry.

Perhaps the natural correſpondency between paſſion and the poetical figures, may be more exactly aſcertained, by defining what is properly meant by poetical figures. It is (if I am not miſtaken) a compariſon, either expreſſed or underſtood, between two objects, about one of which the mind is particularly engaged, and which it perceives, bears ſome affinity to another. The compari-

ſon,

fon, properly fo called, expreffes every feature of that resemblance at full length; the alluſion points it out in a more ſlight and general manner; and the metaphor, diſdaining that ſlow deduction of ideas, boldly ſubſtitutes to the object of the compariſon, that to which it is compared. In the inſtance Mr. Hurd has taken from Tacitus, "Ne veſtis ſerica viros *fœdaret*," we may note this difference between the three ſpecies of figures. In a compariſon he might have ſaid, "that a ſilken garment was "ſo diſgraceful to a man, that it was like a pollution "to his body." Had he ſaid, "that a ſilken garment, "like a pollution, was to be avoided by a man," it would have been an alluſion: but, dropping every intermediate idea, he reports the law by which no ſilken garment was to pollute a man. This is a metaphor, and of his own creation; but there are many where ſpiritual faculties, and operations, are expreſſed by material images, which, though figurative in their origin, are, by time and uſe, almoſt become literal. Theſe are the figures of poetry. I am ſenſible there are rhetorical ones alſo; but thoſe, I believe, relate rather to the expreſſion and diſtribution of the former. 1762.

Let us now, from theſe principles, inveſtigate the workings of paſſion. It has been often obſerved, that the higheſt agitation of the mind is ſuch as no language can deſcribe; ſince language can only paint ideas, and not that ſentimental, ſilent, almoſt ſtupid, exceſs of rage or grief, which the ſoul feels with ſuch energy, that it is not maſter of itſelf enough to have any diſtinct perceptions; ſuch paſſion baffles all deſcription: but when this ſtorm ſubſides, paſſion is as fertile in ideas, as it was at firſt barren: when ſome ſtriking intereſt collects all our attention to one object, we conſider it under every light it is ſuſceptible of; even that rebel attention, chained down with difficulty to any range of ideas, endeavours as much as poſſible to enlarge the ſphere of them; and as the agitation of our mind crouds them upon us, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, inſtead of preſenting them ſlowly and ſingly, we cannot avoid being ſtruck with many compariſons ſuitable to our ſituation. The paſt, the preſent, the future, our misfortunes, thoſe of other men, our friends, our enemies, our anceſtors, our poſterity, form within us numberleſs combinations of ideas, either to aſſuage or irritate the reigning

1762. reigning paſſion*. But thoſe of the firſt ſpecies, though they ſtrike us with force, we reject as much as in our power; and therefore the poet who expreſſes them in words, ought rarely to go farther than an alluſion, or a metaphor: thoſe indeed are in general the darling figures of paſſion, as it loves to paſs with rapidity from one idea to another. However, in thoſe conjunctions of ideas which feed and irritate the paſſion, ſhe will ſometimes dwell with complacency upon them, and purſue them to the minuteſt reſemblances of a ſimile. I appeal to the breaſt of every one for the evidence of theſe poſitions; and as to the laſt, I ſhall inſtance the noble ſpeech with which Juno opens the Æneid, and rouſing herſelf to vengeance, from the compariſon of her behaviour with that of Pallas, collects every circumſtance of it which could ſtimulate her more ſtrongly to the execution of it.

Vol. i. p. 81—87. To return to Mr. Hurd's Notes. He employs ſeveral paſſages to prove, what I fancy no one would have diſputed him; that though the words, pulchrum, beau, beautiful, are often uſed to expreſs the general conception of beauty, they are ſometimes made to ſignify that particular ſort of beauty which pleaſes the imagination, oppoſed to that which affects the heart.

Ariſtotle had blamed the Iphigenia of Euripides, as a character ill ſupported; ſo timid at firſt, afterwards ſo determined. The general opinion had extended the ſame reproach to his Electra. Mr. Hurd undertakes their vindication. If Electra feels ſo much remorſe after the murder of her mother, though the principal author of it, we muſt conſider that ſhe is no where deſcribed as devoid of natural tenderneſs; though the thirſt of revenge, ſupported by the maxims of her times, ſuch as the doctrine of remunerative juſtice, of fate, and of the heinouſneſs of adultery, had for a time ſubdued it. Beſides, her hatred was chiefly pointed at Ægiſtheus, and her remorſe is greatly exaggerated.

* When Marius, proſcribed by the party of Sylla, was obliged, after a thouſand dangers, to take refuge on the coaſt of Africa, the prætor of that province ſent him an order to leave it immediately; the lictor found him plunged in thought, and ſitting on ſome ſtones on the beach. When he aſked him what anſwer he ſhould carry back to the prætor, "Tell him (replied Marius,) that thou haſt ſeen Marius ſitting upon the ruins of Carthage." This implied compariſon between his fall, and that of a once powerful city, diſplayed on the ſame ſpot, is poetically bold. Yet paſſion and real misfortune, joined to the coincidency of place, could ſuggeſt it to Marius, a rough illiterate ſoldier. Is not this a ſtriking illuſtration of Mr. Hurd's theory?

exaggerated. As to Iphigenia, her timidity, when acquainted she was to be sacrificed, is easily accounted for; as she was surprised, and, at that time, ignorant of the reasons which required it. Even to the last, her constancy is yet mixed with some regret and repining. 1762.

Upon v. 148, Mr. Hurd attempts to account for, and establish one of the most important rules of Epic poetry. A poet may either tell his story in the natural historical order, or, rushing at once into the middle of his subject, he may afterwards introduce, by way of episode, the events previous to it. Which method should he observe? Homer, at least in one of his poems, has preferred the last†; and in that, as well as in most other things, has been followed by his successors; by Virgil, by Milton, by Voltaire, and (in this instance I may call him an epic poet) by Fenelon. But as many things that have stood the test of time, cannot endure that of reason, I shall venture to start some objections to this method, and to consider, in a few words, Mr. Hurd's defence of it. Vol. i. p. 110-112.

1st, Supposing the rule founded on reason, it is too vague to reduce to practice. Since the greatest part of the poem is to consist in a recital, where the poet himself speaks; when is that recital to begin? with the principal action? But in those great, though simple subjects, that alone are worthy of the epic muse; such, for example, as the establishment of Æneas in Italy; there are a great number of previous events, which either hasten or retard the catastrophe. Are *they* part of the subject? They are intimately connected with it, and no critic ever required unity of place in the epopœa. Are they not? How then can the loves of Æneas and Dido be justified? And if they can, why may not Æneas's meeting Andromache in Epirus, be as much a part of the principal subject, as his meeting Dido at Carthage? I might in this manner follow the thread of the episodical story, perhaps to the beginning of the second, but certainly to the beginning of the third book of the Æneid, (and were I to take the Odyssey, or any other epic poem, it would be the same,) and ask at every pause, why the bard might not begin his invocation from thence, like Horace himself:

Demo

† In the Odyssey. As to the Iliad, properly speaking, he has followed neither. The events previous to the subject, the anger of Achilles, he neither relates himself, nor throws into an episode; but as they were few and simple, he leaves the reader to collect them from occasional hints dispersed through the poem.

1762. ———Demo unum, demo et item unum,
Dum cadat, elusus ratione ruentis acervi.

But enough has been said on this head.

2dly, When, without any preparation, we are thrown at once into the midst of the subject, unacquainted with the characters or situation of the hero; such a conduct can be productive only of a surprize and perplexity to the reader, which, if they are any beauties, are at least beauties of an inferior species of poetry. Nor is this all; this very ignorance and perplexity of the reader diminishes the interest of that part of the poem; for how can we love beauties we are yet ignorant of, or tremble for misfortunes of which we have a very faint idea? Nor can it be said that the nature of an epic subject preserves it from this inconveniency; since it always is, or ought to be, some story already famous. It may be so; but we are not yet acquainted with the alterations it may have suffered under the hands of the poet: nor can the similar example of dramatic poetry be alleged. It is there an unavoidable defect; but we ought not therefore voluntarily to transfer it to another species of poetry.

3dly, When this objection begins to vanish, and the reader, interested in the present misfortunes of the hero, has little or no curiosity to inquire into his past ones, it is then the poet chooses to tell them. I suppose we have read the first book of the Æneid; it is impossible to read it as it deserves, without taking the greatest part in the important scene which begins to disclose itself; so romantic a meeting of a Trojan chief and a Tyrian princess, upon the shores of Africa, and the gods themselves employing every artifice to inspire them with a mutual passion, and prevent the establishment of the Roman empire. At the instant we are impatient to know the event, and expect the poet should hasten to it, we are entertained with a long recital of the sack of Troy, and the voyages of Æneas. After this is at last ended, and we return to Dido, we have almost forgot who she was. Is this consulting the pleasure of the reader? and that pleasure ought to be the aim of every writer. I do not know whether I may not have expressed myself too strongly in saying, we have little, or no curiosity, to learn the past fortunes of the hero; but, however, let it be considered, 1st, That before they are told us in a regular narration, a thousand hints of them must have been dropped, which betray

betray the ſecret; ſo that we only come to it with that languid curioſity, of learning the particulars of what we have already a general idea. 2dly, That we are not to conſider our poſitive degree of curioſity, to know the events previous to the beginning of the poem, but to compare it with the deſire we feel of purſuing the ſequel, which muſt be far more ardent; for in every operation of the mind there is a much higher delight in deſcending from the cauſe to the effect, than in aſcending from the effect to the cauſe. In the peruſal of a fable, it is the event we are anxious about, and our anxiety increaſes, or diminiſhes, as that event is known or unknown to us. It is eaſy to apply this to the preſent argument. 1762.

4thly, and laſtly, (for though I endeavour to be conciſe, I am frightened when I look back,) The ſtyle of the poet will ſuffer as much by this inverſion as his plan. Bold figures and poetical imagery are the eſſence of the epopœa; but with what propriety can they be introduced into that epiſode, where it is the hero, not the poet, that ſpeaks? There are two ſources of theſe figures; ſtrong paſſion, and a fine imagination. The firſt can operate, in any ſtrong degree, only during the actual influence of the misfortune which gave birth to it; and though the recollection of the latter may call forth ſome ſparks of the former, yet it will be a faint, reflected heat, very unequal to that great effect, of tranſporting both the ſpeaker and the hearer. On the other hand, a fine imagination is no eſſential part of a hero. Homer and Achilles are very different characters; nay, ſhould the chief perſonage, like Ulyſſes, be a celebrated orator, even that will not authorize his employing the beauties of poetical language, ſince his recital, to be properly introduced, muſt be unpremeditated, and occaſional: not like the poet, who, beſides the fire of natural genius, is indulged with every advantage of time, labour, and a particular inſpiration of the gods†. The epiſodical ſtory muſt,

† When Antenor, in the third Iliad, points out to Priam, Ulyſſes among the Grecian chiefs, he deſcribes the nature of his eloquence:

Αλλ' ὁτε δὴ πολυμηλις αναΐξειεν Οδυσσευς
Στασκεν, υπαι δε ιδεσκε καλα χθονος ομμασα πηξας,
Σκηπτρον δε ουΐ' οπισω, ουδε προπρηνες, ενωμα,
Αλλ' ασεμφες εχεσκεν, αϊδρει φωτι εοικως·
Φαιης κεν ζακοδον τινα εμμεναι, αφρονα θ' αυλως
Αλλ' ὁτε ῥ' οπα τε μεγαλην εκ στηθεος ἱει,
Και επεα, νιφαδεσσιν ἐοικοτα χειμεριησιν,
Οὐκ αν επιτ' Οδυσῆϊ γ' ερισσειε βροτος αλλος. Iliad iii. v. 216—223.

1762. muſt, therefore, be ſimple, unadorned, and far inferior, as to ſtyle, to the reſt of the poem. I am ſenſible the Æneas of Virgil is as great a poet as Virgil himſelf; but either the principles I have laid down are falſe, or this example is a ſtrong proof of the inconveniences of the method: ſince it obliged ſo correct a writer, to offend either the judgment, or the imagination of his readers.

I cannot paſs to Mr. Hurd's arguments, without mentioning a difficulty which ſeems to affect my ſecond objection, viz. this ignorance and perplexity is an objection only to the firſt peruſal. It is true; but, if precepts are to direct the compoſition of the writer, it is certainly that firſt peruſal, and the effects it may produce, that he ſhould principally conſider; eſpecially as to what relates to the clearneſs of his plot: and ſhould it be ſaid, that in my third objection our curioſity to know the event can be likewiſe only baulked on the firſt peruſal, to the preceding anſwer I muſt add, that whoever conſiders the power of imagination, will find that reply by no means exact. Although, when we can coolly reflect, we are acquainted with the event, yet the true poet, by intereſting our paſſions, chains us down to the preſent moment, and prevents our ſeeing any thing beyond it. When I read the tragedy of Iphigenia for the twentieth time, I know Iphigenia will not be ſacrificed; but the ſtruggles of Agamemnon, the rage of Achilles, the deſpair of Clytemneſtra, make me ignorant, and tremblingly anxious for the event.

Let us now hear Mr. Hurd, who, employing the particular example of the Æneid, juſtifies this common method from two reaſons. 1. The nature of an epic poem; and, 2. The ſtate and expectation of the reader.

1. The nature of an epic poem obliges the poet to relate, at full length, every event he himſelf relates. Now, the deſtruction of Troy, related in this manner, muſt have taken up ſeveral books. By that time it would have taken ſuch hold of the imagination of the reader, that the remainder of the poem would have appeared little more than an appendix to it. The concluſion is certain; but on

Out of the ſeveral teſtimonies to the eloquence of Ulyſſes, collected by Dr. Clarke, I ſhall only ſubjoin that of Quintilian: "Sed ſummam adgreſſus, *(Homerus)* ut in Ulyſſe facundiam, "magnitudinem illi junxit; "cui orationem nivibus hybernis, et copia verborum, atque impetu "parem tribuit. Cum hoc igitur nemo mortalium contendet." Quintil. xii. C. 10.

on what is the principle founded? upon an assertion advanced without the least proof. I should rather think, that, as an epic poem must preserve an unity of hero, and of action, every event, instead of being related at full length, need only occupy a space proportionate with its importance and degree of connection with the principal subject. This is at least the rule of history; and if poetry should only deviate from it, for the sake of making the fable one, connected, marvellous, heroic, and answering to our notions of justice†, I do not see how the poet is dispensed from it in this instance. If from reason we go to authority, does not Virgil himself dispatch in sixty lines, the state of Italy at the arrival of the Trojans, with the ancestors, history, and character of Latinus? 1762.

Æneid, L. vii. v. 45—105.

2. I do not see any material difference between this and the last argument. To find any, I must suppose Mr. Hurd means that, had Virgil begun the poem with the taking of Troy, that story, however concisely told, would have engrossed too much of the reader's attention. I believe it would; but no rule can be founded upon this particular instance, where the preliminaries of the poem happen to be incomparably more important than the subject matter of it. When a poet finds himself under such a difficulty, I think the common method may be very serviceable to him.

I flatter myself I have now proved this rule never essential to the epopœa, and in general hurtful to it. But has it no advantages? The only one I can discover is, that making the hero tell part of his own story, gives the poem a more varied, and dramatic air, brings the reader more familiarly acquainted with the chief personage, and furnishes the writer with unaffected strokes, rather indeed of manners and of character than of passion. To these ends it may be serviceable. Let it however be remembered, that the poet who has obtained them the most completely, has done it, in one of his poems, without the assistance of this method.

Mr. Hurd, though a very rational admirer of antiquity, looks upon the chorus as essentially necessary to tragedy, and blames the moderns for having rejected it. The subject is curious, and, I think, has never been well considered;

† Lord Bacon, and Mr. Hurd himself, agree that poetry is an imitation of history, deviating however from it, so as to answer the above-mentioned ends. Mr. Hurd, vol. ii. p. 160.—162.

1762. sidered; but, as such a discussion would lead me too far, I shall defer it till another opportunity, and only report here the substance of Mr. Hurd's commentary.

Vol. i. p. 116—119. The chorus, rejected by us notwithstanding the authority of Aristotle and Horace, joined to the example of the ancient tragedians, and of our own Milton and Racine, has many advantages to recommend it. The principal are, 1. The chorus interposing in the action, and bearing a part of it, gives it an air of probability, and real life, and fills up that vacuity which is so sensibly felt upon the modern stage. 2. The chorus is as useful to the ethics, as to the poetry of the stage. It is a perpetual moral commentary upon the drama, enforcing every virtuous sentiment, rectifying every vicious one; and pointing out the important lessons which may be drawn from the catastrophe. Nor can it be said that the audience do not want this assistance. A sharp-sighted Athenian audience, even with the help of the chorus, could not distinguish between the real sentiments of Euripides and those he was obliged to suit to his characters. These uses of the chorus naturally ascertain its laws. 1. Its songs must be animated with a spirit of virtue and morality; and 2. Their subject matter must be relative to and connected with the plot of the play and the actual situation of the personages. The Greek tragedians, who invented the chorus, have scarce ever deviated from the spirit of it. But Seneca, who seems to have endeavoured by his faults to illustrate the admonitions of Horace, has often mistaken it in the grossest manner. Mr. Hurd selects his Hippolitus, one of his best plays, and examines it act by act upon these principles. Every where his chorus bears a most idle and uninteresting part. The example of the third act, which contains the false accusation of Hippolitus, and the too easy deception of Theseus, may suffice. What had the chorus to do here? but to warn against the too great credulity, and to commiserate the case of the deluded father. Yet it declaims in general upon the unequal distribution of good and ill. Mr. Hurd traces the source of these blunders to an injudicious imitation of some passages of Euripides, without any attention to character or situation.

Vol. i. p. 120—127.

The second law of the chorus is without exception; but several things may be said to explain or modify the first. 1. The use of modern sentences is not only necessary, but peculiar to the chorus. That is their proper place;

place; if they were frequently put into the mouths of the ſpeakers, it would only give the drama an air of ſtiffneſs and pedantry, very oppoſite to real life. If the Greeks (eſpecially Euripides) have acted otherwiſe, they were only to be juſtified from the manners of their age. That age was peculiarly addicted to moral ſentences, from a ſingular mixture of ſimplicity and refinement. Their ſimplicity inſpired them, as it does always, with a ſpirit of moraliſing, expreſſed in ſhort proverbial ſentences: at the ſame time, moral philoſophy was never more univerſal, and even faſhionable. Both theſe cauſes operating upon the manners and converſation of the Greeks, could allow the poet, without offending againſt probability, to extend thoſe maxims to the perſonages of the drama which ſucceeding times ſhould confine to the chorus. Accius and Pacuvius indeed, and after them Seneca, injudiciouſly copied the Greeks in this inſtance; though writing to a nation whoſe manners were very different. 2. Though the chorus ſhould always take the ſide of morality, it muſt not be ſo much that of a pure, philoſophical morality, as of the popular ſyſtem of ethics of that age and country. This reſtriction will be a reply to many cavils. We are ſhocked in the Medea, when we ſee a virtuous chorus not only conceal, but even abet the cruel deſigns of that princeſs, againſt her huſband, her rival, and the tyrant Creon; deſigns moſt juſtly repugnant to the purer lights of modern religion and philoſophy: but we muſt conſider that, in the Pagan world, the ſevereſt revenge for ſuch injuries as the violation of the marriage bed, ſo far from being a crime, was almoſt an act of duty; and that ſince poſitive laws allowed it to the huſband, a chorus of women might very well think no natural law forbade it to the wife. 3. Great allowance muſt be made for bad politics, as well as bad ethics: a chorus of free citizens will be virtuous and independent; but ſhould they (as in the Antigone) be compoſed of the ſervile miniſters of a tyrant, their words, and even their thoughts, will be ſlaviſh, and the will of their maſters their only rule of right and wrong; their depravity will be the fault of the ſubject, not of the poet. Nay this depravity will convey a fine moral leſſon of the baleful influence of arbitrary power.

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Vol. i. p. 155—163.

Vol. i. p. 131—139.

Vol. i. p. 127—131.

Mr. Hurd thinks the verſes from 202—220, which are generally conſidered as a cenſure on the corruption of the modern muſic, are in fact an encomium on its improvement;

1762. ment; couched under an irony, by which he ſneers at the too great auſterity of thoſe who blamed it without a ſufficient attention to the alteration of manners, and the mixed company a public aſſembly is made up of.

The account our commentator gives of the Satyrs, Mimes, and Attellanes, is as curious as it is new. I ſhall only report the ſubſtance. 1. The attellanes were originally a Roman entertainment; ſo called from Attella, a town of the Oſci, in Campania; for which reaſon, both the language and characters were Oſcan; and the introduction of an old provincial dialect was a ſource of pleaſantry very appoſite to the unpoliſhed taſte of thoſe ages. 2. In the ſeventh century of Rome, Pomponius began to write Latin attellanes; preſerving however an antique caſt of expreſſion. This reformation, and a more moral turn which he gave his attellanes, procured him the name of inventor of them; and the honor of being imitated by the dictator Sylla. 3. Soon after, and before Horace wrote, the Oſcan characters, now become abſurd, had diſappeared, and made way for the Greek ſatyrs. 4. Horace finding this entertainment eſtabliſhed, and even neceſſary for the populace of Rome, undertook to regulate it, and to ſubſtitute to the groſs ribaldry of the attellanes, the poignant wit of the Greek ſatyrs. 5. If it is aſked, in what that wit conſiſted, it may be anſwered, principally in the double character of the ſatyrs themſelves, who, though ruſtic and groteſque perſonages, were ſuppoſed in antient mythology to be great maſters of civil and moral wiſdom: but ſhould Horace be cenſured, as he has been, for preferring theſe attellanes to the elegant mimes of Laberius, it may be replied, that we rate too high the merit of theſe mimes. Cicero deſpiſed them, and the beſt antients repreſent them as a confuſed medley of comic drollery, on a variety of ſubjects, without any order or deſign; delivered by one actor, and heightened with all the licence of obſcene geſticulation.

Vol. i. p. 165—184.

This inelegancy (to paſs to another remark of Mr. Hurd) was the general character of ancient wit, which conſiſted rather in a rude illiberal ſatire, than in a juſt and temperate ridicule, reſtrained within the bounds of decency and good manners; Cicero and Horace themſelves, though maſters of every other part of elegant compoſition, joke with a very ill grace. A favourite topic of antient raillery was corporal defects; a deciſive proof of the coarſeneſs of their humour; and this practice

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was recommended by rule, and enforced by the authority of their greateſt maſters. After this we muſt not be ſurprized if they preferred thoſe authors, whoſe wit was like their own, rough and coarſe: Plautus to Terence, Ariſtophanes to Menander. We muſt follow Mr. Hurd for a few moments into his enquiry into the cauſes of this defect. 1. The free and popular governments of antiquity. Theſe, by ſetting all the citizens on a level, took off thoſe reſtraints of civility which ariſe from a fear of diſpleaſing; and which can alone curb the licentiouſneſs of ridicule. The only court to be paid was from the orators to the people. Theſe were to be entertained with the coarſe banter proper to pleaſe them; and, deſign paſſing into habit, theſe orators, and after them the nation, accuſtomed themſelves to it at all times. The old comedy was therefore an excellent ſchool for an orator, and always recommended as ſuch: but when arbitrary power had moulded the Roman manners to more obſequiouſneſs and decency, Terence and Menander began to receive a deſerved applauſe; though even then, antient wit was never thoroughly refined; for, 2. The old feſtal entertainments ſtill ſubſiſted, the Panathenæa and Dionyſiæ of the Greeks, the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia of the Romans; and preſerved always an image, as well of the frank libertine wit of their old ſtage, as of the original equality and independency of their old times. Upon this ſubject I agree with Mr. Hurd; but I think this influence of government upon the manners and literature of a nation, might be the ſubject of a very original enquiry. I have a good many ideas myſelf, though, as the Abbé Trublet calls it, "*Je n'ai pas achevé de les penſer.*"

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Cic. de Orator. L. xi. C. 59 and 66.

Upon v. 404. Mr. Hurd explains his author differently from his predeceſſors. They extended that encomium to all poetry, which Horace meant only for the lyric. In fact it is only adequate to that ſpecies which is beſides ſo particularly pointed out by "*Muſa lyræ ſolers, et cantor Apollo.*" This is a delicate ſtroke of Horace, after his panegyric upon dramatic poetry, to ſhew the lyric had alſo its merit, and to prevent the Piſo's from deſpiſing the choice he had made.

Vol. i. p 234—237.

Theſe are the principal notes upon the Art of Poetry. On the Epiſtle to Auguſtus, I find but two worthy much notice.

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1762. The firſt is the explanation of a magnificent allegory, which opens the third Georgic. Virgil, after apologizing for the meanneſs of his ſubject, breaks away, with poetical enthuſiaſm, to foretel his ſucceſſes in the future great work of the Æneid. He ſhadows it under the idea of a triumph, in which he is to lead captive all the Grecian muſes: the monument of the triumph is to be the uſual one, a temple conſecrated by games and ſacrifices, and every ornament of which alluded to the tutelary divinity Auguſtus. Thus, under the popular authorized veil of the apotheoſis of that prince, he lets us at once into the whole ſecret of his plan. This explanation is exquiſitely fine; but if my memory is good, the P. Catrou had ſtarted it before Mr. Hurd.

Vol. ii. p. 30—50.

2dly, The other remark is to explode a practice, familiar to Ovid, and not unknown to more correct writers; that of coupling two ſubſtantives to a verb which does not ſtrictly govern both, or which at leaſt muſt be taken in two different ſignifications. He proves very copiouſly, againſt the profeſſor d'Orville, that ſuch a practice breaks the natural connexion of our ideas, and turns the attention of the reader from the ſubject, to a diſcovery and admiration of the art of the writer. He therefore pronounces it unworthy of ſerious poetry.

Vol. ii. p. 61—75.

As yet I have only ſpoken of Mr. Hurd's notes. His diſcourſe upon the ſeveral provinces of the drama is a truly critical performance; I may even ſay, a truly philoſophical one. From ſimple definitions of each ſpecies, he deduces a very extenſive theory. To touch the heart by an intereſting ſtory, is the end of tragedy; to pleaſe our curioſity, and perhaps our malignity, by a faithful repreſentation of manners, is the purpoſe of comedy. To excite laughter is the ſole, and contemptible aim of farce.

Vol. i. p. 247—308.

Theſe enquiries are delicate; ſometimes we think we are reaſoning upon things, when in fact we are only cavilling about words. It is more eſpecially ſo with regard to thoſe ideas which do not repreſent ſubſtances, but only modes of thinking, and moral combinations. There we can be only guided by practice and experience. They are out of the province of reaſon. If Plautus and Ariſtophanes have given the name of comedy to a ſpecies of entertainment of which the eſſence was ridicule, they had a right to do it. If their ſucceſſors Terence and Menander

Menander have given the ſame name to their more ſerious drama, we muſt either prove theſe definitions not incompatible, or give ſome other appellation to the object of the laſt. All that reaſon can do upon this head is, dropping names, to inveſtigate the ſources of our pleaſures, to claſs them, and to ſee how far they agree, or interfere, with each other. 1762.

It is very natural that the contemplation of human life ſhould be the favourite amuſement of man. It is his eaſieſt, and yet leaſt mortifying, method of ſtudying himſelf. This contemplation can be only conſidered in two different lights, manners and actions. We muſt allow, though we cannot explain it, that our humanity makes it hurt and yet pleaſed with the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures; and that the recital of a ſtory, terrible or pathetic, rouzes every faculty in the human heart. On the other hand, daily experience convinces us that our reflections and converſations never turn upon any ſubject ſo often, and with ſo much pleaſure, as the various characters of mankind. It is to give us theſe pleaſures, leſs ſtrongly perhaps, but, through the means of fiction, more completely, that two entertainments have been invented, to the firſt of which we may hypothetically give the name of tragedy; and to the ſecond, that of comedy. The laws of each ſpecies are to be deduced from their ends: but in following Mr. Hurd, I ſhall only mention thoſe particular to what we have juſt now called comedy.

The firſt law of comedy muſt relate to the choice of character. They muſt be mixed ones. Human nature never deals in manners perfectly good or completely bad: but the poet is not confined to thoſe characters only which excite contempt and ridicule; virtuous, amiable perſons, who inſpire us with ſentiments of love and approbation, may be properly introduced, ſince all probable domeſtic manners lie within the province of comedy. Theſe characters will not indeed occur ſo often as thoſe of another kind, not only becauſe they are leſs frequent in real life, but becauſe they admit of leſs variety. For reaſon and virtue purſue a ſteady uniform courſe, while the extravagant wanderings of vice and folly are infinite: however, when properly brought upon the ſtage, they will occaſion more pleaſing ſenſations there than in ſociety; whereas the ridicule of a ſcenical

1762. ſcenical character is much weaker than that of a real one: perhaps our malignity may furniſh a reaſon for this difference. 2dly, Another rule of comedy relates to the management of characters; they are to be diſplayed in a natural manner, and, as much as may be, the perſonages are to give their own characters; but that by undeſigned actions or expreſſions, by which they lay themſelves open without knowing it. Nor is that character always to appear, ſince it cannot always exiſt, but as the ruling paſſion is modified by others, or called forth by circumſtances. A contrary method, though too common, is turning a man into a ſingle paſſion; a man, ſuch as nature never made, ſince thoſe who are the moſt under the dominion of a ruling paſſion, act and talk, upon many occaſions, like the reſt of mankind. Actions are the province of tragedy, and manners that of comedy; this forms their diſtinctive difference. However, they cannot avoid running a good deal into each other. Without manners no action can be carried on, ſince we act according to our paſſions: nor could it affect us much, ſince our terror, or our pity, depends chiefly upon our love and hatred. On the other hand, how could manners be repreſented without a probable ſeries of events, contrived to call them forth in a natural manner. We can only ſay, therefore, that in tragedy the action is the principal, manners an acceſſory circumſtance; in comedy manners are the principal, action the acceſſory circumſtance. In both the poet muſt take care that the end be not loſt in the means. For this reaſon the complicated plots of the Spaniſh writers have been juſtly laid aſide as contrary to the true genius of comedy. It may be worthy of ſome notice, in ſpeaking of characters, that the moſt natural ones are comic; many highly ſo, are unfit for tragedy. Tragedy requires characters, good or bad, but of a power and energy equal to the greateſt effects: but many paſſions, (the paſſions of weak minds), ſuch as vanity, can never with truth be raiſed to that dramatic importance; the actions produced by ſuch paſſions will be always, like themſelves, puny and inſignificant: but the energy of the ſtronger paſſions may be ſoftened and reduced to the level of common life. Cruelty and ill-nature may diſturb either a family or a nation; beſides, there are other paſſions, the power of which, though great, is vilified by their object.

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The various ſpecies of avarice have produced the moſt tragic events; but the love of money is of ſo vile and groveling a nature, that it would degrade the moſt pathetic tragedy that turned upon it. 1762.

This difference of the two ſpecies cannot well be diſputed: but it has been aſked, whether they have not been diſtinguiſhed by the rank, as well as the character, of the perſonages; or in other words, whether tragedy is confined to the public and exalted characters of kings and generals, and comedy to the humbler ſtations of private life? Without any regard to authority, I ſhall examine this queſtion, mixing indifferently my own reaſons and Mr. Hurd's.

As to tragedy, it may indeed be ſaid, that we are the moſt affected by thoſe misfortunes which might happen to ourſelves; and that therefore the diſtreſſes of a private family muſt touch us more nearly than thoſe of a monarch: but to counteract that advantage we may remark, that the ſtory of thoſe whom we are accuſtomed to look upon with awe and veneration, attaches us in the ſtrongeſt manner, and awakes our terror and pity much more than the wretchedneſs of private men. Theſe indeed are popular notions; but the poet's buſineſs lies in complying with thoſe notions, not in reforming them. Beſides, the misfortunes of the great, though not ſuperior in themſelves to thoſe of the multitude, are yet far more important in their conſequences, which heighten the diſtreſs, by extending the influence of it to the whole community. To theſe general remarks I may add a particular one, that in the nobleſt ſubjects, thoſe founded upon ambition, love of our country, &c. the rank of the perſonages cannot be too exalted; ſince upon that depends the greatneſs of the prize for the one, and of the ſacrifices in the other; and conſequently great part of the importance of the action and ſtrength of paſſion.

But cannot comedy admit of monarchs? they have their private life, and may not the ridicules of it be diſplayed upon the ſtage? I think not; but I muſt give my reaſons.

1. The firſt will be taken from the ſpectators. We love comedy, becauſe it offers to us a faithful repreſentation of what we meet with in life. It muſt be therefore the life of the moſt conſiderable part of the audience, that the poet ſhould repreſent: but what is that part? The queſtion

1762. queſtion is eaſily reſolved, by looking through human ſociety, and obſerving that inſenſible gradation from the man of quality to that degree immediately above the mechanic and the labourer; every link, from the higheſt to the loweſt, enough connected with the others to have ſome acquaintance with their manners; and enough improved by education, to laugh at theirs, and their own follies. Theſe then are the manners a poet ſhould copy in their different appearances; ſhould he touch thoſe of the prince or peaſant, they muſt either be the ſame or different. If the ſame, why go out of the way for them? if different, who will be found to underſtand or reliſh them? This is particularly true of the manners of princely life. With thoſe of the loweſt we are better acquainted; and the poet may find ſome archetypes among the ſpectators; but the groſſneſs of them will diſguſt every one whom he can deſire to pleaſe.

2. But are the manners of princes different from thoſe of their ſubjects? are there any qualities peculiarly royal? I know but one; that is, the thinking that there are ſuch: in other words, I mean a fondneſs for flattery. That ridicule can, I confeſs, be no where ſo well repreſented as on the throne; ſince thoſe will always receive, and love, the moſt extravagant adulation, who have it moſt in their power to reward and puniſh: but ſtill I think it a better ſubject for ſatire than comedy. It would be difficult to put in action the follies of a monarch; the great theatrical reſource is, the oppoſition and contraſt of characters that diſplay each other. The ſeverity of Demea, and the eaſineſs of Micie, throw a light upon one another. Should we be half ſo well acquainted with the miſanthropy of Alceſte, were it not for the faſhionable, complaiſant character of Philinte? But the poet would be almoſt deſtitute of this reſource, if he laid his ſcene in courts, which offer one uniform ſet of manners moulded upon the example of the prince. What contraſt could be found to ſet off *his* character? None; ſince ſuch a contraſt ſuppoſes freedom and equality. This I take to be the true reaſon; not merely that politeneſs which in high life obliges even equals to conceal from each other their real characters. This is rather an advantage: we purſue with pleaſure the various arts of concealment which it inſpires, and when, as it muſt often happen, chance, familiarity, paſſion, intereſt, throw it off its guard, and diſplay the man in his true colours, the

the long conſtraint gives them a new vivacity, and the diſcovery gives a higher reliſh to our entertainment. 1762.

3. But the moſt important objection to theſe characters ſtill remains. They can have no private life. They have doubtleſs many things ridiculous and inſignificant in themſelves, hardly any thing that is ſo in its conſequences. Every action of theirs is important by the influence it has upon the community; and if we paint their follies, thoſe follies, rendered vices by their tragical effects, would in themſelves excite contempt, and indignation for their conſequences; and, as the firſt of theſe paſſions is as repugnant to tragedy, as the ſecond is improper for comedy, could produce only a very motley and diſagreeable compoſition. Therefore, when M. de Fontenelle aſks, whether Auguſtus, in his laſt ſickneſs, ſurrounded by aruſpices, who promiſe him a ſpeedy recovery; by Parthian ambaſſadors, who reſtore to him ſtandards about which he is totally indifferent; fawned upon by Livia, who is impatient for his death; whether all this would not make as good a comedy as the *malade imaginaire*; the anſwer will not be difficult: No. Becauſe the follies and weakneſſes of the laſt, as they are innocent, divert us; while the fawning of Livia, and her power over her huſband, fill us with horror and indignation; when we reflect that, by ſetting Tiberius on the throne, they made the world unhappy for three-and-twenty years, and finiſhed the ruin of the liberty and nobility of the republic.

The practice of M. de Fontenelle, though very happy, is rather a confirmation of this theory. In his comedies he endeavours to reconcile us to theſe great perſonages, but he is continually reduced to ſhifts of lowering our idea of their importance, and diveſting them of their power and majeſty, before he can make them real comic characters. His common expedients are, making them of mean extraction, though raiſed to the throne; not putting them in poſſeſſion of the crown till the end of the play; and laying his ſcene in Greece, in order to fill their court with ſimple citizens inſtead of with nobles.

I cannot help thinking that farce (the third ſpecies of Mr. Hurd's) is rather a corruption, than a diſtinct ſpecies of comedy. Is not his own definition a proof of this? That, as comedy is a faithful, ſo farce is an exaggerated picture of human life: if they are diſtinct, there is little occaſion to fear any encroachments into the province of comedy

1762. comedy from farce: There is another ſubject, which farce has preſerved from the old comedy. This is the painting perſonal, individual characters; but that practice, ſeldom followed, and never authorized upon the modern ſtage, rather deſerves the animadverſion of the magiſtrate than of the critic. As to follies, not confined to a man, but to an age or country, I think Mr. Hurd too ſevere in baniſhing them into farce: he ſeems ſenſible of it himſelf; and, in the inſtance of the Alchymiſt attempts to ſoften his ſentence by a diſtinction rather chimerical.

I have, though without deſign, already ſo much extended this extract, that I ſhall abridge the other diſcourſe of Mr. Hurd far more than its merit would otherwiſe juſtify. The ſubject of it is extremely curious; poetical imitation examined upon very original principles; a queſtion in which the reputation of all the great writers ſince Homer is vitally concerned. It is thus ſtated by Mr. Hurd: "Whe-
"ther that conformity of phraſe or ſentiment between
"two writers of different times which we call *imitation*
"may not, with probability enough, for the moſt part, be
Vol. ii. p. 105—207. "accounted for from general cauſes ariſing from our com-
"mon nature; this is, from the exerciſe of our natural fa-
"culties upon ſuch objects as lie common to all obſervers."

It has often been obſerved, with truth, that as our capacities are narrow, and the materials of obſervation the ſame to all men; it it impoſſible that in ſo great a number of thoſe who have thought, and publiſhed their thoughts, ſome ſhould not have coincided in the ſame opinions, without any knowlege of each other. I believe that I may appeal to every man of letters, whether ſometimes he has not met with things in books, which he had obſerved before he had ever ſeen thoſe books; and things too of an uncommon and particular nature. Even in thoſe ſublimer mathematics, ſo different by their evidence and univerſality from our other ſpeculations, the ſame diſcoveries have been made by different men, who ſeem rather to have coincided with, than to have followed each other. Is not that the deciſion of the moderate part of mankind upon the celebrated diſpute of Sir Iſaac Newton and Leibnitz, in the beginning of this century? If this is the caſe in thoſe general abſtracted branches, which contain ſuch amazing combinations of ideas, it is ſurely probable that in works of imagination, which contain much fewer, this ought oftener to happen. Beſides, the moſt original poetry is in fact imitation, imitation of nature; and in thoſe images

V. Fontenelle in the Eloge of Leibnitz, tom. v. p. 520—531.

which

which are confeſſedly natural, it ſeems difficult to ſay why two men of genius may not have ſeen them without any previous knowledge of each other. From theſe reaſons, the candid critic will readily allow that there may be ſimilitude without imitation. 1762.

But a ſlight glance on the hiſtory of the ſciences, and a few reflections on mankind, will reduce this candour within its due limits. Let us remember that, 1. Since the time of Homer, who perhaps was without models to imitate, that author has been introduced into the earlieſt part of our education; that ſucceeding times added to his leſſons thoſe of the other Greeks; that the Romans ſtudied them with care; and that, ſince the revival of letters, we are made acquainted, as ſoon as poſſible, with the Greeks and Latins. That thoſe impreſſions, engraved on our minds before we reflect, afterwards grow up with us; and when we look abroad into the moral and natural world, which theſe companions often prevent us from doing, we ſee it only with the eyes of the ancients. Authority, founded on reaſon, would oblige us to act in this way. The ancient compoſitions have ſtood the teſt of time and examination; and the veneration that is paid to them, is enough to engage a modern to endeavour to aſſociate himſelf to it, by transfuſing into his own writings the ſpirit, the thoughts, and even the expreſſions, of theſe admired models: and, 2. Inclination will direct him to the imitation of ſome particular model; of ſome writer whoſe ſoul is moſt congenial to his own, and whom he can read with the greateſt delight, and imitate with moſt eaſe. Theſe reaſons bring us back to our firſt ſuſpicion, that where there is a ſtriking ſimilitude, there is imitation; ſince where there are two ways of accompliſhing it, it is natural to prefer the eaſieſt, eſpecially when it is confeſſedly very common.

Mr. Hurd found it neceſſary to go further, if he intended to clear his authors from the charge of imitation; accordingly he endeavours to prove, by a very elaborate deduction, that both the ideas, and the methods, employed by the ancients, were not only *natural ones*, but the *ſole natural ones*; ſo that if ſucceeding poets, endued with judgment, look abroad into nature, they not only *might*, but *muſt* meet with them; while men of irregular fancies could avoid *them only* by avoiding truth and probability. This theory accounts for reſemblances of works, by reſemblances

1762. ſemblances of things; and forbids any ſuſpicion of imitation, unleſs we are guided to it by particular circumſtances. In a matter of ſuch vaſt extent, it is as difficult to refute as to prove. There would indeed be a very ſhort method of overthrowing at once Mr. Hurd's doctrine; could I write a work of imagination, full of beauties, formed on the model of nature, and yet different from thoſe of the ancients, I ſhould then demonſtrate that they have not exhauſted it: but ſuch a confutation is far beyond my power. Without aſpiring to genius, I ſhall think myſelf very happy, if I can frame my opinions according to the dictates of good ſenſe.

If we examine this queſtion *à poſteriori*, from practice and experience of what *has* been done, though we ſhall meet with nothing very deciſive, I think, however, that the advantage will not be on Mr. Hurd's ſide: he will, indeed, quote many ſtriking ſimilarities of this kind, from writers who could have had no knowledge of one another; but he will be anſwered, 1. That ſuch writers can hardly be found; that the ſacred writings ſhould not be mentioned, nor compared, with Homer; ſince we are talking of human, not divine compoſitions; and that Shakeſpeare, the modern who appears freeſt from exception, though ignorant himſelf, lived in a learned age. 2. That *their* example can only be quoted againſt thoſe who think every ſimilarity *muſt* be an imitation, without any regard to the circumſtances of the writers. That as ſuch a coincidence is poſſible, we muſt employ it to explain a phænomenon for which we could not otherwiſe account; but that when the more eaſy and probable one may be recurred to, we ought to employ it. On the other hand, an antagoniſt of Mr. Hurd's would have occaſion for no great compaſs of reading to diſcover, in the moſt modern writers, many original images and ſentiments. He would ſelect them, particularly, from thoſe very writers, who, from an apprehenſion that every thing had been already ſaid, had cramped their natural genius, by an open, perpetual imitation of the antients; and he would infer, with ſome plauſibility, that had they written from their own natural feelings and obſervations, they would have been ſtill more original. He would deſire Mr. Hurd to reconcile this with his principles, and even preſs him for a preciſe anſwer, at what period of the hiſtory of letters the ſcene had been cloſed, nature exhauſted, and ſucceeding writers

ters reduced to the hope of imitating ſucceſsfully. Wherever he choſe to fix it, the critic would bring againſt him ſo many later original images, that the reſource of diſputing their claim, and hunting for ſome diſtant alluſion, or general reſemblance, would be hardly ſufficient. 1762.

Without following minutely our author through his copious deductions *à priori*, in which he has certainly ſhewn great learning and ingenuity, I ſhall only make two or three general obſervations, which may give an idea, both of his method of reaſoning, and of my objections to it.

He enters upon a taſk, in my opinion, far above human abilities. To examine the origin of our ideas is the buſineſs of metaphyſics, and the greateſt philoſophers have failed in the attempt. But it is perhaps ſtill more difficult to embrace them all at one view, and to claſs them according to their different objects, in ſo accurate a manner as to aſſure ourſelves that we have ſuffered no material ſpecies to eſcape. This is, however, what Mr Hurd undertakes. He makes three diviſions of the world of ideas which can enter into poetry. 1. The vaſt compages of corporeal forms of which this univerſe is compounded. 2. The internal workings and movements of our own mind; under which the manners, ſentiments, and paſſions are comprehended. 3. The outward operations, which are made objective to ſenſe by the means of ſpeech, geſture, and action. Theſe are again by him ſubdivided with an exactneſs in which I ſhall not purſue him. I ſhall only remark, 1. That his ſmalleſt ſpecies are yet too general to prove any thing. That Milton, for inſtance, muſt, like Homer, have made uſe of moral, religious, and œconomical ſentiments, and could not invent any new ſpecies, I ſhall readily allow; nor is it upon ſuch general reſemblances that a charge of imitation is ever founded. It is upon more particular ſimilarities, where Mr. Hurd can never attain to ſhew that *thoſe* ideas were the *only ones*. The only method Mr. Hurd can there follow, is a ſort of vicious reaſoning, in a circle; to look for the images upon every ſubject he can meet with in the oldeſt authors, and then to conclude that they are the only ones exiſting.

2. Even ſuppoſing that he had exhauſted the whole ſtock of nature, and had ſhewn that every image, ſingly, had been ſo obvious as to be ſeen and employed by the firſt writers, a much larger field would ſtill remain; their different combinations, which are infinite. With regard only to human manners, the great ſources of character,

1762. passion, and situation, may be combined in such a variety of ways, as no algebra could reach. Let us, for a moment, abandon fiction, and enter into historic truth. Consult the annals of any nation; observe the various effects of the modifications of those three principles upon their history, and then say whether the operations of human nature are easily classed, or circumscribed.

3. This consideration of the shifting picture of mankind, as an illustration, leads us to consider it in itself. We shall find it a most extensive and infinite range of ideas, almost sufficient of itself to preserve genius from imitation; since to the writers of every age and country it appears in a different shape. It is the manners, the government, the religion, of that age and country he is to study; and whether the nature of his subject allows him to introduce them at full length; whether he can only adorn his works with distant allusions to them; whether he can only catch the general spirit of them, they will always make him an original. I shall quote one instance of what I mean, and that from an authority Mr. Hurd will hardly dispute. When Milton conceived the glorious plan of an English epic, he soon saw the most striking subjects had been taken from him; that Homer had taken all morality for his province, and Virgil exhausted the subject of politics. Religion remained; but as Paganism, though it furnished very agreeable scenes of machinery, took too slight a hold on men's minds to build the story of the epopœa upon it, he had recourse to Christianity; and, taking his story from an article of our faith, struck out a new species of epic poetry; but he could never have done it, had not the manners of that age, attached to religion in general, and to that tenet in particular, warmed his imagination, and given it a dignity and importance, which he could never have transfused into his poem, if he had not first felt it himself. Nor is this observation repugnant to another I have made elsewhere,—that the manners of the ancients were more favourable to poetry than ours. I think so still, of their manners, as well as their languages. Yet I would have our poets employ our own, not only for the sake of variety, but because we shall make the best use of those with which we are the most intimately acquainted.

Warburton's Divine Legation.

Essai sur l'Etude de la Litterature, p. 19.

From these observations I must decline subscribing to Mr. Hurd's theory, or circumscribing the poet's images within such narrow limits. It is, however, without running

ning into the other extreme, or condemning every reſemblance as a deſigned formal imitation. I take the exact difference between Mr. Hurd and myſelf to be this; I look upon imitation to be the moſt natural, and general, cauſe of any ſtriking reſemblance between two writers; and therefore aſſign it, without particular reaſons to the contrary. Mr. Hurd, on the other hand, thinks it may generally be accounted for by a reſemblance of mental operations; and therefore never ſuſpects an imitation, without particular circumſtances which lead to the detection of it. 1762.

He employs another diſcourſe with the review of theſe circumſtances; but as every one is accompanied with examples taken from the ancients and moderns, and criticiſed with great taſte, I can only reduce the great number he alleges to three, drawn from the different lights in which we may conſider every reſemblance, and fix the probability of its happening, by chance, or by deſign. 1. How cloſe is the reſemblance? Is the thought exactly the ſame? Is it introduced upon the ſame occaſion? Is it expreſſed in the ſame manner, the ſame words, or words nearly the ſame? Is it a ſhort paſſage, or one of a conſiderable length? 2. What degree of acquaintance can the ſecond poet be ſuppoſed to have had with the firſt? Did he live in a learned, or an ignorant age? Was he himſelf a man of letters, or without education? Did he affect the fame of originality, or did he modeſtly profeſs a deſire and habit of imitating the ancients? Was the firſt author an acknowledged favourite of his? 3. What appearance is there that the idea ſhould have naturally ſtruck the ſecond? Was it common, or particular; did it agree with the ſtyle and deſign of his work; with his own character; with the real appearance of nature; with the manners and opinions of his age, country, and profeſſion; or at leaſt with thoſe he deſcribes? Is it introduced in a general unaffected manner, or brought in without any occaſion, and clothed in uncommon, obſolete language? Mr. Hurd thinks theſe circumſtances, all or ſome, neceſſary to form a ſuſpicion. I allow they are very uſeful to confirm one. Vol. ii. p. 1—76.

I have at laſt finiſhed Mr. Hurd's performance, I reckoned upon ſix or ſeven pages; I am now writing the thirtieth. Another time I hope to confine my extracts within proper limits. Blandford, March 18th 1762.

1762. March 18th.] I Finiſhed at laſt my abſtract of Mr. Hurd, which conſiſts of thirty pages in folio: though it took me up much more time than I imagined, by running into ſo unexpected a length, yet I do not regret it, as it ſtarted a new train of ideas upon many curious points of criticiſm. To get a little nearer to Homer, of whom I have never loſt ſight, I read the *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*.

27.]—At laſt I returned to Homer, and beginning where I had left off, read L. v. V. 1—404.

28th.]—Read of the Iliad L. v. V. 405—606. At the ſame time I reſolved every day to learn, and write down, a certain number of the *Racines Grecques*; and to-day went through the four firſt.

March 29th]—Learnt and wrote the *Racines Grecques*, Stang. 4—8. Read of the Iliad, L. v. V. 606—909; and beginning, for the ſecond time, the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, read page 1—56.

30th.]—Went through the *Racines Grecques*, from 8—12; but read no Homer.

31ſt.]---I read the *Enquiry*, page 56---80: went through *Racines Grecques*, 12---16; and reviewed the firſt three hundred lines of the fifth book of the Iliad.

April 1ſt.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 16—20; and reviewed the remaining ſix hundred lines of the fifth Iliad. I likewiſe read v. 215—295, of the eleventh Æneid, in relation to Æneas and Diomed.

2d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 20—24. The method I purſue is this: after reading them attentively, I write them down from my memory, looking in the book as ſeldom as I can. I then repeat them twice; firſt mentioning the French word that anſwers to the Greek; then the Greek word that anſwers to the French. At laſt I repeat the French of every Greek root of the preſent, and two preceding days. I find this method, though dry, helps me very much.

3d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 24—28. Read the ſixth book of the Iliad, from v. 325—529, the end.

6th.]—I only went through *Racines Grecques*, 32—36; and read the ſeventh book of the Iliad, v. 123—199.

7th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 36—40; and read the ſeventh book of the Iliad, v. 199—482.

8th.]

8th.]---I went through *Racines Grecques*, 40---44; reviewed the whole ſeventh book of the Iliad, and read the eighth, v. 1---40. 1762.

9th]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 44—48; but read no Homer.

13th.]—I read the eighth book of the Iliad, v. 401—561, the end.

14th.]—In the morning I reviewed the whole eighth book of the Iliad; went through the *Racines Grecques*, 48—52, and finiſhed the Enquiry, p. 216—335.

26th.]—I read great part of the ſecond volume of *D'Alembert's Mélanges*; very ſenſible, and well written.

29th.]—Read the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des beaux Arts*, for *October*, *November*, and *December* 1761. I found in it an extract of my Eſſay: they ſpeak very highly of it, and promiſe great things of me, p. 368—380.

30th.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 1—306.

May 2d.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 306—542.

3d.]—I read of the Iliad, Lib. ix. v. 542—709, the end; and reviewed the firſt hundred lines of it.

5th.]—I read the tenth book of the Iliad, v. 70—879, and reviewed the whole book.

6th.]—I read the Æneid, L. ix. v. 126—502, in order to compare the ſtory of Niſus and Euryalus related in it, with the night adventure in the Iliad. They have both beauties, but of a different kind. By his ſtrong characters, and lively deſcriptions, Homer ſpeaks powerfully to the curioſity and imagination of the reader. The amiable manners, tender friendſhip, and unhappy fate of Virgil's heroes, are truly pathetic, and make the deepeſt impreſſion on the heart. I likewiſe read the eleventh book of the Iliad, v. 1—542. As I go on with Homer, he becomes much eaſier to me; I am maſter of a greater ſtock of words, the turn of his ſtyle, his dialects, and his poetical licences, are become more familiar to me.

8th.]—I reviewed the firſt four hundred and fifty lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad.

9th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad; and read the twelfth, v. 1—309. I likewiſe conſulted Mezeriac's Ovid, tom. i. p. 171—179, in relation to the omens from the flight of birds, in order to underſtand the ſpeech of Hector to Polydamus. From the materials which Mezeriac laid before me, I conceived a much clearer notion of the ſubject than he had himſelf.

10th.]

1762. 10th.]—I received a letter from Mr. Scott, in which, according to his promiſe, he lays down for me a courſe of ſtudies, both in the pure and mixed mathematics; pointing out the merit and defects of the principal writers in every branch of them. I can hardly put any of his directions in practice before next winter. I read, to-day, of the Iliad, L. xii. v. 309---471, the end, reviewing the whole twelfth book; and read L. xiii. v. 1—273.

11th.]—Read the Iliad, L. xiii. v. 273—837, the end, and reviewed the firſt five hundred lines of that book.

12th.—I reviewed the remaining three hundred and forty lines of the thirtieth book of the Iliad; and read the fourteenth, v. 1—108. My diligence to-day was much inferior to the preceding ones.

14th.]—I received from London two volumes of *Memoires Militaires ſur les Grecs et ſur les Romains par M. Guichardt.* The author, who was in the Dutch, and is now, I believe, in the Pruſſian ſervice, propoſes to correct the numerous miſtakes of the Chevalier de Folard, and to explain the principal military actions of the ancients according to their beſt hiſtorians, and the true principles of their tactics. This book drew me away for ſome time from Homer; I read, but in a curſory manner, the firſt volume.

May 15th.]— I read, but in the ſame curſory manner, the ſecond volume of *Guichardt's Memoires.*

16th.]—I began to read the *Memoires Militaires* a ſecond time; but with more attention. I read the preface, which is very judicious, and the four firſt chapters. The firſt is on the blockade of Agrigentum by the Romans in the firſt Punic war; and gives a clear idea of the ſuperior advantages of the Roman intrenchments above our modern lines. The ſecond is the battle of Tunis, between Regulus and Xantippus. Folard, explaining Polybius, blames Regulus for the only thing for which his author had commended him. The third is the battle of Macar, where the amazing manœuvres of Amilcar are diſplayed with great preciſion. The fourth, on the battle of the Adda, is a complete treatiſe on the Roman legion, very ſatisfactory as to the times of Polybius; very little as to thoſe of Cæſar.

17th]—I read the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth chapters of the Memoires. The fifth is the combat of the Ticinum: many good remarks on the ancient cavalry: the ſixth is the battle of Trebia; the author illuſtrates ſtill further

further the way of drawing up the legion, and explains the ſeveral manœuvres of the two armies very clearly: the ſeventh is a very inſignificant affair at Germinem; but the eighth is the battle of Cannæ, the maſter-piece of Hannibal, of Polybius, and, perhaps, of M. Guichardt. The columns of Folard, and the impracticable manœuvres of the Gauls diſappear, and the art of Hannibal appears refined, but rational. 1762.

18th.]—I read the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the Memoires. Ninth a very inſignificant affair at Caphyæ, between the weak Aratus and ſome Æolian freebooters. Tenth, the battle of Mantinea, between Machanidas and Philopœmen: ſmall numbers and refined art on both ſides. Eleventh, the battle between Scipio and Aſdrubal in Spain. M. Folard's columns, generally ideal, were really employed by Scipio in a ſuperior manner. Twelfth, the battle of Zama; the merit of the generals, though great, being equal, left the victory to the braveſt troops.

May 19th.]—I read the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth chapters of the Memoires. Thirteenth, the battle of Cynocephala. Philip had formed a good plan, but did not know how to alter it, though he might have gained the victory. Fourteenth, the battle of the Granicus: Alexander's impetuoſity ſeems directed by more military ſkill than is commonly thought. Fifteenth, the battle of Arbela, a complete practical lecture on the art of war; but are we indebted for that lecture to Alexander or to Arrian? the ſixteenth, the blockade of Aliſia: M. Guichardt does honour to Cæſar by diminiſhing the extent and number of his works: we can now both underſtand and believe them.

20th.]—I began the ſecond volume of the Memoires, and read the diſſertation upon the attack and defence of places by the ancients; very clear and accurate. Their real methods are well deſcribed, and M. Guichardt proves, againſt the Chevalier de Folard, that they knew nothing of the modern trenches.

21ſt.]—I read in the Memoirs the tranſlation of the military inſtitutions of Onozander, full of that common-place ſenſe which every one can write, and no one can deny.

22d.]—I read the Tactics of Arrian, tranſlated in the Memoires. They are very curious and exact, and give a very clear notion of the nature, arms, and diſcipline of the phalanx; but it is very odd Arrian ſhould rather compile

1762. pile theſe Tactics from Greek writers, than write from his own knowledge an account of the Roman legions, which he had himſelf ſeen and commanded.

23d.]—I read the Analyſis of Cæſar's Campaign in Africa. Every motion of that great General is laid open with a critical ſagacity. A complete military hiſtory of his campaigns would do almoſt as much honour to M. Guichardt as to Cæſar. This finiſhed the Memoires, which gave me a much clearer notion of antient tactics than I ever had before. Indeed, my own military knowledge was of ſome ſervice to me, as I am well acquainted with the modern diſcipline and exerciſe of a battalion. So that though much inferior to M. Folard and M. Guichardt, who had ſeen ſervice, I am a much better judge than Salmaſius, Caſaubon, or Lipſius; mere ſcholars, who perhaps had never ſeen a battalion under arms.

26.]—I read the Chevalier de Folard's Supplement to his Polybius, vide le Polybe de Folard, tom. vii. p. 1—42. It ſhews the man of genius in every line; it conſiſts chiefly of curious anecdotes, miſtaken quotations, and whimſically ingenious obſervations. I likewiſe read the third letter of *Les Sentimens d'un Homme de Guerre*, in the ſame volume, p. 208—235. This Homme de Guerre was M. de Savornin, major-general in the Dutch ſervice. He is certainly in the right in obſerving, that the Romans in general, and Cæſar at Pharſalia in particular, drew up their troops in three lines; but he has a moſt minute, heavy, and perplexed way of writing. I diſcovered a paſſage in Cæſar's Commentaries, L. i. c. 83, which is the key of the tactics of his age. Had M. Guichardt known of it, he might have avoided ſeveral miſtakes.

May 31ſt.]—Before I left Blandford I finiſhed the firſt ſix volumes of *Fontenelle*, which contain "*toute la force et toute la fleur de ſon eſprit.*" I read them at my leiſure hours with great pleaſure, particularly *Entretiens ſur la Pluralité des Mondes*, *Hiſtoire du Théâtre François*, &c. and the *Eloges des Academiciens*. The *Hiſtoire des Oracles*, though excellent, is ſomewhat ſuperficial. The Dialogues of the Dead are (if I may ſpeak French) *une débauche de raiſonnement*, as the Lettres du Chevalier d'Her .... *une débauche d'eſprit et de galanterie*. I acknowledge all the defects of the Eclogues, but ſome of them are charming. I reſolved to ſubſtitute for my leiſure hours the *Bibliothèque* of *le Clerc*, as an inexhauſtible ſource of amuſement and

and inſtruction, and accordingly began with the firſt volume of the *Bibliothèque univerſelle*. 1762.

June 6th.]—I formed a deſign, (but I doubt whether I ſhall find time to execute it), to give part of my day to Homer and part to Quintilian; that is, to unite the example with the precept. Accordingly I began with Quintilian, in Burman's edition, read his article in Bayle's Dictionary, the preface of Burman; Burman was a mere critic, without being (in my opinion) a good one, ſince a good critic muſt reaſon well; and Burman never could reaſon at all. I began likewiſe the *Annales Quintilianæi* of Dodwell, and read c. 1—3.

7th.]—I continued the Annals, and read c. 3—20.

8th.]—I read the Annals, c. 20—47, which (including the Synopſis Chronologica) finiſhed the Treatiſe. Dodwell's learning was immenſe; in this part of hiſtory eſpecially, (that of the Upper Empire,) the moſt minute fact or paſſage could not eſcape him; and his ſkill in employing them is equal to his learning. The worſt of this author is his method and ſtyle; the one perplexed beyond imagination, the other negligent to a degree of barbariſm.

9th.]—I read of the Iliad, L. xiv. v. 1—522, the end. It required all the *éclat* of Homer's poetry to reconcile us to Jupiter's being deceived and laid aſleep.

10th.]—I reviewed the fourteenth book of the Iliad, and read the fifteenth, v. 1—220. The ſcene of Jupiter and Neptune pleaſes me infinitely; beſides the natural greatneſs of the action and actors, heightened by a moſt ſpirited narration, it gives a clearer idea of the Greek polytheiſm than the laborious reſearches of half our modern critics and divines.

11th.—I read the fifteenth book of the Iliad, v. 220—746, the end. The remainder of this book is a continued and not very intereſting battle. What chiefly diſtinguiſhes it, are ſome of the fineſt ſimiles I have yet met with in the Iliad; and a variety of ſhort ſpeeches, of a truly ſpirited and military eloquence.

13th.]—I read the ſixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—113.

14th.—]—I wrote a note on page 30 of my *Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Littérature*, containing a paſſage of Florus, and another of Propertius; with obſervations on the latter.

17th.]—I finiſhed the firſt volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliothèque univerſelle*. I ſhall juſt mention the moſt curious books that are abſtracted in it. Hugonis Grotii Epiſtolæ, Amſterdam;

1762. ſterdam, 1686, p. 1—29, and 121—166, curious and inſtructive. Temporum Mythicorum Hiſtoria, p. 245—280. I believe Le Clerc himſelf is the author. It is an ingenious application of a common principle; viz. that the heroic fables are only the Phœnician hiſtory corrupted, and their language miſunderſtood. *Clementis Galani Hiſtoria Armena, Coloniæ*, 1686, a true miſſionary's account, full of curious facts and religious prejudices. *Lightfooti Opera omnia, Roterodami*, 1686. A claſſical author on a ſubject very little ſo. Lightfoot, by conſtant reading of the Rabbies, was almoſt become a Rabin himſelf.

19th.]---I read the ſixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 113---367, the end, and wrote a note on p. 79 of my Eſſai, containing ſome inſtances of the number, rarity, and variety of the animals produced in the amphitheatre of Rome; and taken from the writers of the Auguſtan hiſtory, with the remarks of Caſaubon and Salmaſius.

21ſt.]—I reviewed the firſt hundred lines of the ſixteenth book of the Iliad: the fierceneſs and anger of Achilles ſoftened by friendſhip. The mild, amiable, and yet ſpirited character of Patroclus, are admirably deſcribed and contraſted. Homer never ſhines more than in theſe moral pictures.

June 22d.]—I reviewed the remaining ſeven hundred and fifty lines of the ſixteenth book of the Iliad. The deſcription of the arms, leaders, &c. Achilles's ſpeech to them, and his prayer, are ſolemn, and fill the mind with great ideas and expectations. They are fulfilled. Of all the heroes that fall throughout the Iliad, I pity none ſo much as Sarpedon; he was as amiable a character as Patroclus, and a much greater one. I read the ſeventeenth book, v. 1—105. I likewiſe, to underſtand the ſixteenth, v. 234, conſulted *Strabo, L. vii. p.* 327, 328; a Memoire of M. de la Nauze, *Mem. de Littérature, tom. vii. p.* 154—157; and one of M. Hardion, *Mem. de Littérature, tom. iii. p.* 138—141. Strabo is far from intelligible; the two Frenchmen treat their ſubject only incidentally, and were miſled by their erroneous, confined notion of the *Pelaſgi*. However, from theſe and my own reflections, I formed a pretty clear idea of *Dodona* and the *Selli*.

23d.]—I read the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 105—505

24th.]---

24th.]—I finiſhed the ſecond volume of the *Bibliothèque Univerſelle*. This volume contains, p. 20—51, *P. Limborchi Theologia Chriſtiana, Amſtelad.* 1686. Moderate and judicious, the general character of the Arminian divines.—*Petri Petiti de Sybillâ, Libri tres, Lipſ.* 1686. A ſtrange mixture of learning and credulity.—P. 154—184, *Hiſtoria Genevrina, par Gregorio Leti.* Leti is a moſt agreeable hiſtorian; a little more regard to truth and exactneſs would have made him an inſtructive one.—*Life and Letters of Archbiſhop Uſher, London*, 1686, *p.* 220—262. Accurate, as written by his chaplain; but this chaplain is both too long and too ſhort.—*Méthode de dreſſer des Recueils, par M. Locke, p.* 315—340.—The exactneſs and perſpicuity of that great man are ſeen in that trifle.—*Déſcription d l'Afrique traduite du Flamand, par M. Dapper, p.* 340—386. Very curious.—*Contra Ariſteæ Hiſtoriam de LXX Interpretibus Diſſertatio, par Hum. Hody. Oxon* 1685; and *Iſaac Voſſii Obſervationum in Pomponium Melam Appendix, Lond.* 1686, *p.* 386—416. I think, after having read theſe two diſputants, that the queſtion is far more perplexed than before. 1762.

26th.]—I read the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 505—761, the end, and reviewed the firſt two hundred and fifty lines of it. The amiable character of Patroclus had made every reader his friend whilſt alive, and we intereſt ourſelves in the fate of his remains, which are ſo obſtinately diſputed.

June 28th.]—I finiſhed the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, for January, February, and March 1762. It contains *Oeuvres du Chancelier d'Agueſſeau, Paris*, 1761, p. 1—20. They breathe a noble ſpirit of eloquence and virtue.—*Eutropii Breviarium Hiſtoriæ Romanæ, cum Notis varior. par Henric. Verheyk. Lugd. Bat.* 1762, p. 88—100. Superior to all other editions, even to that of Havercamp.—*Zimmermanni Opera Theologica et Philoſophica, p.* 154—181. Moderate and ſenſible.

29th.]—I reviewed the remaining five hundred lines of the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad. It is a continued battle, but is yet very intereſting, from the unity and importance of the action, the various turns of fortune, and the equality of the two parties; the one depending on their natural courage, and the other on the protection of Jupiter. I am particularly pleaſed with the ſorrow of Achilles's horſes, and the reflection of Jupiter, v. 426, &c.

1762. &c. I likewiſe read the eighteenth book, v. 1—238, and conſulted ſome remarks of *M. Galland*, Hiſt. de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p. 104---108, on the trumpets of the antients in relation to v. 219 of this book.

30th.]---I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 238---478.

July 1ſt.]---I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 478---616, the end.

2d.]---I reviewed the whole eighteenth book of the Iliad. Homer is never more thoroughly awake: the firſt part of it ſhews him to be a perfect maſter of the tender paſſions. Achilles receives the news of the death of Patroclus, with a mixture of fury and tenderneſs ſuitable to his character. We begin to love him; and the very exceſs of his rage, though terrible, pleaſes us, becauſe it is directed only againſt the murderer of his friend. The ſecond part, or the deſcription of the ſhield, is a fine landſcape. I read the deſcription of the ſhield of Æneas in Virgil, l. viii. v. 369---454, and 597---731. Virgil's deſcription is the finer piece of poetry; Homer's, the juſter repreſentation of a work of art. I read, with the ſame view, ſome remarks of the Abbé Fraguier on the origin of painting. *Hiſt. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p.* 75---89. Elegant and inſtructive, but ſomewhat vague. I likewiſe read the whole nineteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1---424, the end, and conſulted *Potter's Archæologia Græca*, vol. 1. p. 246---261, in relation to the ceremonies obſerved by the antients in their oaths. I alſo finiſhed, to-day, *the Journal des Savans, and the Memoires de Trevoux for December* 1761. They contain little more than *de Inſcriptione quâdam Egyptiacâ Taurini inventâ, Décembre, p.* 334---345. Mr. Needham pretended that theſe Egyptian letters were the ſame as the old Chineſe characters. The ſimilitude is here conteſted.---*Obſervations ſur les Syſtèmes des P. P. Hardouin et Berruyer.* The object is to prove, the ſociety always diſapproved the viſions of theſe two writers. There is much artifice, and ſome curious anecdotes, in theſe obſervations. I believe that the Jeſuits were innocent in this reſpect.

July 7th.]---I finiſhed the *Memoires de Trevoux*, and the *Journal des Savans for January* 1762. The Journal contains *Tragédies de Sophocle traduites, par M. Dupuy de l'A. R. des I. et B. L.* p. 3---15. Elegant, exact, and a great addition to French literature.---*L'Antro Elauſino*, &c.

&c. par M. Bartoli, p. 49—58. Ingenious, but very doubtful.—The Memoirs *Annæi Senecæ de brevitate vitæ*, p. 149—163. One of the beſt extracts I ever read.—*Le Pitture Antiche d' Hercolano*, p. 216—225. Antient, and therefore curious. 1762.

8th.]—I reviewed the firſt hundred and fifty lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad. The generous character of Achilles raiſes him every moment higher in the eſteem of the reader; his care for the dead body, the ſpirited frankneſs of his reconciliation, and his impatience for the combat. I finiſhed the *Journal des Savans*, and *Memoires de Trevoux for February* 1762. The Journal contains *Thom. Hyde de Religione veterum Perſarum*, p. 289—301; a new edition, with long and trifling notes on an excellent book. *Idylles de Geſner traduites de l'Allemand*, p. 380—397. Un Allemand ne peut-il pas être bel eſprit? The Memoirs contain *Explication d'un Paſſage de Herodote*, 405—427. A happy ſolution of a difficult paſſage in l. ii. c. 142, only by explaining the word ΗΛΙΟΣ, an annual revolution of the ſun.

9th.]—I finiſhed the *Mem. de Trevoux for March*. They contain little more than *la Bibliomanie*, p. 167—176; ſevere and ſpirited; and *Diſſertation ſur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique*. Original. He pretends that there never were any; but I think his proofs too weak for ſuch a paradox.

11th.]—I reviewed the remaining two hundred and ſeventy lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad, and think the long debate between Achilles and Ulyſſes might have been ſhortened, though the ſpeeches of the firſt are highly characteriſtical; nothing can ſurpaſs the ſublime deſcription of his arming himſelf for battle. I likewiſe read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 1—258; and when I was at church, followed the ſecond leſſon with my Greek Teſtament in my hand; it was the 23d chapter of St. Luke. I find this method both uſeful and agreeable, and intend to keep it up whenever I go to church. I finiſhed the *Journal des Savans*, and *Memoires de Trevoux for April* 1762. The firſt contains *Ariſtophanis Comœdiæ à P. Burmanno*; good, but inferior to Kuſter's: and the *Grammaire Françoiſe Philoſophique de M. d'Acarq*, truly deſerving of that name; the ſecond *République de Platon*. The tranſlation appears good; I am ſure the extract is ſo.

July

1762. July 12th.]—I read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 258—503, the end.

13th.]—I reviewed the whole twentieth book of the Iliad. The battle of the gods is worthy of every thing Longinus says of it. It would be difficult to find another example which reunites so thoroughly every part of the sublime, both as to thoughts and language. The combat of Achilles and Æneas is very animated and picturesque; and the long speech of Æneas, though faulty, and even ridiculous upon the whole, does honour in its details both to the poet and the historian. I finished the *Journal des Savans, et Mem. de Trevoux for May* 1762, *part the first*. The Mem. contain nothing: in the Journal there is *Callimachi Hymni ab Ernesto. Lugd. Bat.* The text is exactly reviewed, and the version is a new one.—*Vie de M. Bossuet par M. de Burigny*. Exact and judicious.

14th.]—The twentieth book of Homer, and particularly the speech of Æneas, drew on a variety of discussions. In order to understand the genealogy of Dardanus, I read *Apollodori Biblioth.* l. iii. c. 11. p. 205—215, in Greek; I then consulted Strabo, l. xiii. p. 607—608; and some difficulties arising about the word ὑπωρεια, as Plato explained it, the lower part of the hills, which were inhabited after the deluge, before men dared venture down into the plain, I read a dissertation upon the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion, by the learned Freret, *Mem. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xxiii. p. 129—148, who, from a chain of authorities, shews, incontestibly, that a deluge was unknown to Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus; that the first who speak of it (Plato himself, Pindar, and Apollodorus) expressly confined it to Greece, and intimate that a great number were saved; that afterwards, the Greeks mixing their traditions with those of the Jews and the Chaldeans, swelled the deluge of Deucalion into an universal one; but that it never obtained general credit before the time of Plutarch and Lucian. Afterwards, to be well acquainted with Æneas, I read *Strabo, l. xiii. p.* 692—693; *Mezeriac's Ovid, vol. ii. p.* 142—146, *and* 153—168; and a Dissertation upon the Julian family, by the Abbé Vatry, *Mem. de l'Académie*, vol. xvi. p. 414—424. Mezeriac, as usual, compiles without a thought of reasoning; but from the sensible criticisms of the others, it appears that Æneas's posterity probably reigned in Phrygia in the time of Homer, and

and that his voyage to Italy is a fable invented by the Greeks about the time of Alexander. *N. B.* The Greek authors whom I conſulted, I read in Greek. I likewiſe read the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad, v. 1—135, and finiſhed the ſecond part of May, *Journal des Savans, and Mem. de Trevoux.* The firſt contains a better extract of the *Diſſertation ſur l'Ecriture Hiéroglyphique* than the Memoirs had given. I now ſee that the new ſyſtem is abſolutely indefenſible. The ſecond ſpeaks of *Hiſtoire du Siècle d'Alexandre, par M. Linguet:* I ſuſpect that they ſpeak too ſlightly of the book. However that may be, the author is certainly a man of genius, whom I ſhould like to know. 1762.

July 15.]—I read only that moſt contemptible performance the *Vie du Marechal Duc de Belleiſle, par M. de C.....*

16th.]—I read the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad, v. 136—611, the end.

18th.]—I did nothing but go to church. The leſſons were the 12th of 2 Samuel, and the 5th of St. John's Goſpel, both of which I read in Greek.

23d.]—I finiſhed the third volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliothèque univerſelle*, which concludes the year 1686. It contains *Explication Hiſtorique de la Fable d'Adonis.* He thinks that Adonis, or Oſiris, was the ſon of Hammon or Cham, and grandſon of Cinyras, or Noah; and that the inceſt of Myrrha with her father, was the diſcovery of Noah's nakedneſs by his children. But this interpretation is very far-fetched, and can only ſuit the followers of Ephemerus.—*Bibliothèque univerſelle des Auteurs Eccléſiaſtiques, par Dupin.* Curious and impartial.—Life of Hai Ebn Yokhdan. A fine, though irregular, production of Arabian genius and philoſophy.—*The Works of Dr. Barrow.* Barrow was as much of a philoſopher as a divine could well be.—*Commentaire Philoſophique.* The moſt uſeful work Bayle ever wrote, and the leaſt ſceptical.—*Puffendorfii Commentarius de rebus Suecicis.* Exact, heavy, and partial.

24th.]—In order to get a clear idea of thoſe oracles ſo often mentioned by Homer, and ſo eſſential a part of the Grecian religion, I read three diſſertations of M. Hardion, inſerted in the third volume of the Memoirs of the Academy upon the Oracle of Delphi, p. 137—191; and ſome obſervations of M. de Valois, tom. iii. hiſtorical

part,

1762. part, p. 73—79; and, drawn away by the affinity of the ſubject, I likewiſe read two diſſertations of the ſame M. de Valois, upon the Amphictyons, the guardians of this temple, tom. iii. p. 191—228, and tom. v. p. 405—415.

July 25th.]—I read the hiſtory which M. de Valois has given us of the two ſacred wars, which the Amphictyons decreed to avenge the ſacrileges committed at Delphi, tom. vii. p. 201—239; tom. ix. p. 97—113, and tom. xii. p. 177—204. Beſides the light that theſe pieces throw on the Greek religion, they are valuable for the knowledge they give us of that civil and religious bond of union in the Hellenic body, which for ſome ages rendered it invincible.

28th.]—I read the articles of Jupiter and Juno, in Bayle's Dictionary. That of Jupiter is very ſuperficial. Juno takes up ſeventeen pages; but great part of it, as uſual, very foreign to the purpoſe. A long enquiry when horns began to be an emblem of cuckoldom; numberleſs reflections, ſome original, and others very trivial; and a learning chiefly confined to the Latin writers. When he doubted if Juno was really worſhipped at Carthage, why did not he quote Minucius Felix? *V. octav. p.* 259, *edit. Gronov.* Upon the whole, I believe that Bayle had more of a certain multifarious reading, than real erudition. Le Clerc, his great antagoniſt, was as ſuperior to him in that reſpect, as inferior in every other. I reviewed the firſt two hundred lines of the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad. There is great dignity of ſentiment, and a calm ſternneſs, in the anſwer of Achilles to the moving prayers of the unfortunate Lycaon.

29th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines of the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad. The combat of Achilles and the Scamander is finely deſcribed. If Homer, when he ſpeaks of the Gods, does not riſe in his ſentiments, at leaſt he does in his language and poetry. I likewiſe read ſome very ſenſible and curious obſervations of the Abbé de Fonterne, *Sur le Culte des Divinités des Eaux; Hiſtoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. p. 27—49.

30th.]—I read the twenty-ſecond book of the Iliad, v. 1—515, the end.

Auguſt 1ſt.]—I read the leſſons at church in Greek, viz. the thirteenth chapter of the firſt book of Kings, and the twenty-firſt chapter of St. John's Goſpel. How very free

free a verſion the Septuagint is! for I imagine ours is a very literal one. 1762.

Auguſt 2d.]---I reviewed the whole twenty-ſecond book of the Iliad, in which the whole intereſt of the preceding books is wound up, in the lives of Hector and Achilles. Notwithſtanding the reaſons given by Mr. Pope, every reader of taſte muſt be diſguſted with Hector's flight. The true grounds of courage were not well underſtood, and poetry had not learnt the art of raiſing an hero without debaſing his enemies. The fears and lamentations of Hector's family, are beautifully pathetic; but I think that Andromache is rather too much the mother, and too little the wife. As I am now entering upon the twenty-third book, which contains the funeral of Patroclus, I read the eight firſt chapters of the fourth book of Archbiſhop Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 160---241, upon the Grecian Funerals. They contain a great fund of learning, without any uſeleſs digreſſions.

3d.]---I began M. de Burette's ſet of Diſſertations in the Memoirs of the Academy, on the Gymnaſtics of the Antients: they are learned and judicious, but too full of fruitleſs, and therefore frivolous, enquiries into the origin and etymology of every art. I read to-day only *Obſervations générales ſurl a Gymnaſtique*, Hiſt. tom. i. p. 89---104; and firſt *Memoire ſur la Danſe*, Mem. tom. i. p. 93---117.

4th.]---I read ſecond *Memoire ſur la Danſe*, tom. i. Mem. p. 117---136; *Memoire ſur la Sphœriſtique*, p. 137---153; and firſt *Memoire ſur les Athletes*, p. 211---237.

5th.]---I read ſecond and third *Memoires ſur les Athlètes*, p. 237---291; and *Memoire ſur la Lutte*, tom. iii. Mem. p. 228---255.

6th.]---I read the ſeveral Memoires of M. de Burette, *ſur le Pugilat, la Courſe, le Pentathle, et le Diſque*, tom. iii. Mem. p. 255---343. Having finiſhed theſe, I read three Diſſertations of the Abbé Gedoyn, *ſur les Courſes des Chevaux et des Chars, ſurtout aux Jeux Olympiques, tom. viii. p.* 314---330; and 330---341; and *tom. ix. Mem. p.* 360---376; and *a Memoire of M. de la Barre, on the ſame ſubject; tom. ix. Mem. p.* 376---397. Gedoyn is polite and curious, but ſomewhat pert and ſuperficial. De la Barre is difficult to be underſtood, but is worth ſtudying, for he is very ingenious, as well as learned. There is a great diſpute what was the length of the

1762. Olympic courſe for chariots. Burette makes it twenty-four ſtadia, or twelve revolutions of one ſtadium: Gedoyn, eight ſtadia, or one revolution of four ſtadia: De la Barre, forty-eight ſtadia, or ſix revolutions of four ſtadia: Mr. Weſt, (v. Weſt's Pindar, vol. ii. p. 135.) forty-eight ſtadia, or twelve revolutions of two ſtadia. I have not room for their reaſons; but I am of De la Barre's opinion. When one reads theſe Diſſertations, one admires the active ſpirit of the Greeks, ſenſible to every ſpecies of entertainment and glory; who could at the ſame time, and with the ſame application, bring to perfection, dancing and philoſophy, boxing and poetry.

Auguſt 7th.]---I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 1---257.

8th.]---I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 257---897; and the articles of *Lemnos*, *Hercules*, and the greateſt part of *Helena*, in Bayle. If Bayle wrote his dictionary to empty the various collections he had made, without any particular deſign, he could not have choſen a better plan. It permitted him every thing, and obliged him to nothing. By the double freedom of a dictionary and of notes, he could pitch on what articles he pleaſed, and ſay what he pleaſed on thoſe articles. When I conſider all that Homer ſays of the iſle of Lemnos, and the extenſive trade it carried on, both with Phœnicia, (Iliad xxiii. v. 743.) and with the Greek army before Troy (v. Iliad, l. vii. v. 467---475, and l. xxi. v. 40). I am amazed to ſee the more modern poets repreſent that habitation of the unfortunate Philoctetes, as an iſland totally deſolate and uninhabited.

10th.]---I reviewed only the firſt hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. The ſullen grief into which Achilles ſinks, is not leſs expreſſive of his character, than his violent rage in the preceding books. The apparition of Patroclus is the opening of a new world, of Homer's creation.

11th.]---I reviewed the next two hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. This day I finiſhed the *Memoires d'Anne d'Autriche, par Madame de Motteville*, one of her greateſt favourites. They are written in a natural, unaffected ſtyle; and it is a proof of the author's ſincerity, that though ſhe had a very high opinion of her miſtreſs, the candour with which ſhe relates facts, ſhews us Ann of Auſtria as ſhe really was; a proud and ſilly woman, who abandoned herſelf to a favourite out of indolence,

indolence, ſupported him through obſtinacy, and began at laſt to hate him, when he began to affect an independence. There is perhaps no period of hiſtory for which we have better materials, than for the minority of Lewis XIV. The faſhion of memoir-writing was very prevalent, and many of all ranks and all parties have left us accounts, both of thoſe troubles and of their ſecret ſprings. The character of the French nation, neither ſoured by religion, nor conſtrained by ſlavery, appears with freedom and boldneſs; brave and inconſtant; obſequious to the ladies; treating the greateſt events with a careleſs gaiety; running into civil wars without principle, and ſupporting them without rancour or cruelty. None of theſe wars ever were founded on any ſettled plan of liberty; the princes and the nobleſſe made it only in hopes of obtaining (as they commonly did) advantageous conditions in the treaty of peace. The honeſt part of the parliament were affected only by preſent evils, and thought only of temporary reliefs. They inveighed againſt a new tax, and demanded the removal of a diſagreeable miniſter. The only law of a durable kind which they ever planned, was in the nature of a Habeas Corpus bill; that every priſoner, in twenty-four hours after his confinement, ſhould be interrogated, by the parliament, as to the nature of his crime. But they ſupported this ſalutary propoſal very feebly; ſuffered the miniſtry to extend the term to ſix months, and at laſt neglected it ſo far, as not to have it ratified by the peace of *Ruel*. V. *Memoires*, tom. ii. p. 139. 337. 363. and tom. iii. p. 51, &c. Theſe Memoires are printed at Amſterdam, 1723, in five volumes 12mo. 1762.

Auguſt 12th.]—I reviewed the remaining ſix hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. It is a fine picture of the manners of the heroic ages: the games celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus contain a great variety of both their civil and religious cuſtoms, related with a clearneſs and a circumſtantialneſs very diſagreeable to the taſte of a true commentator. Indeed, the more I read the antients, the more I am perſuaded that the originals are our beſt commentators. In this article of antient gymnaſtics (for inſtance), when I have read with care Homer, Pauſanias, and ſome few more antients, M. Burette has little to teach me, excepting perhaps what he may have picked up from ſome obſcure paſſages of ſome obſcure lexicographer. What I ſay is not, however, to proſcribe the uſe, but to reſtrain the abuſe, of modern critics. As to the poetical beauties of

1762. the twenty-third book, they are great and various. I know of few better proofs of the fertility of Homer's invention, than the variety of natural incidents which he has introduced into the chariot-race. That of Menelaus and Antilochus is beautiful in the *manners*. I wiſh that I could ſay as much of the quarrel of Idomeneus and Ajax. I think, however, that the chariot-race bears no proportion to the reſt, which indeed appears to a diſadvantage, both by being placed after it and a little *étranglé*.

13th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 1—361. We returned to Beriton. I read the reign of King James I. in Hume's firſt volume of the Stuarts, with a view to Raleigh; and afterwards peruſed the ſixth book of Virgil, and the ſyſtem of Warburton upon it, in the firſt volume of his Divine Legation, and found many things to ſay, to explain the one, and deſtroy the other.

Auguſt 14th.]—I think it was pretty well to read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 361—467, conſidering I was out from ſeven in the morning to ten at night.

15th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 467—805, the end; and reviewed the firſt hundred and fifty lines of it. The ſaving Hector's body, and the appeaſing Achilles's wrath, ſeems to be the great object both of heaven and earth, excepting of the implacable Juno. Indeed, the great attention of the gods towards Achilles, ſeems rather a fear of offending, than a deſire of favouring him. The laſt ſentiment would exalt the hero, the firſt would debaſe the gods, and be highly ridiculous even in the Pagan mythology. I likewiſe read in Bayle the articles of *Achillea*, *Achilles*, *Ajax Telamon*, *Ajax Oileus*, *Alcinoüs*, *Andromache*, *Amphitryon*, and *Alcmena*; all, excepting Achilles, very ſhort ones. Bayle is as exactly circumſtantial in theſe important trifles, as Mezeriac himſelf. How could ſuch a genius employ three or four pages, and a great apparatus of learning, to examine whether Achilles was fed with marrow only; whether it was the marrow of lions and ſtags, or that of lions only, &c.? Bayle does not, in my opinion, ſufficiently eſteem Homer.

16th.]—I reviewed the remaining ſix hundred lines of the twenty-fourth and laſt book of the Iliad. The interview of Achilles and Priam is (in my opinion) ſuperior to any part of the Iliad. It is at once the *coup de théâtre* and the *tableau* of *Diderot*. Nothing can be a more ſtriking *coup de théâtre* than the unhappy monarch, who appears at once in the enemy's camp and at the feet of the murderer of his ſon.

ſon. At the ſame time the various paſſions, and the fine philoſophy that diſtinguiſhes the converſation between them, form a moſt beautiful *tableau*. 1762.

I have at laſt finiſhed the Iliad. As I undertook it to improve myſelf in the Greek language, which I had totally neglected for ſome years paſt, and to which I never applied myſelf with a proper attention, I muſt give a reaſon why I begun with Homer, and that contrary to Le Clerc's advice. I had two, 1ſt, As Homer is the moſt antient Greek author (excepting perhaps Heſiod) who is now exant; and as he was not only the poet, but the lawgiver, the theologian, the hiſtorian, and the philoſopher, of the antients, every ſucceeding writer is full of quotations from, or alluſions to, his writings, which it would be difficult to underſtand, without a previous knowledge of them. In this ſituation, was it not natural to follow the antients themſelves, who always begun their ſtudies by the peruſal of Homer? 2dly, No writer ever treated ſuch a variety of ſubjects. As every part of civil, military, or œconomical life is introduced into his poems, and as the ſimplicity of his age allowed him to call every thing by its proper name, almoſt the whole compaſs of the Greek tongue is compriſed in Homer. I have ſo far met with the ſucceſs I hoped for, that I have acquired a great facility in reading the language, and treaſured up a very great ſtock of words. What I have rather neglected is, the grammatical conſtruction of them, and eſpecially the many various inflexions of the verbs. In order to acquire that dry, but neceſſary branch of knowledge, I propoſe beſtowing ſome time every morning on the peruſal of the *Greek Grammar of Port Royal*, as one of the beſt extant. I believe that I read nearly one half of Homer like a mere ſchool-boy, not enough maſter of the words to elevate myſelf to the poetry. The remainder I read with a good deal of care and criticiſm, and made many obſervations on them. Some I have inſerted here, for the reſt I ſhall find a proper place. Upon the whole, I think that Homer's few faults (for ſome he certainly has) are loſt in the variety of his beauties. I expected to have finiſhed him long before. The delay was owing partly to the circumſtances of my way of life and avocations, and partly to my own fault; for while every one looks on me as a prodigy of application, I know myſelf how ſtrong a propenſity I have to indolence.

Auguſt 19th.]—As my books were not come, and Madame de Motteville had left my head full of Louis the XIVth and his court, I took in hand my friend Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

1762. *XIV.* It will employ ſome few leiſure hours, and will afford me great entertainment.

Once more in poſſeſſion of ſome neceſſary books, I returned to my preſent great object, the ſtudy of Homer; but before I proceed to the Odyſſey, I determined to read ſeveral things which might conduce to the better underſtanding him. I read this morning, *Sir John Marſham's Canon Chronicus, &c.* p. 433—446, edit. Franquer, 1696; where he treats of Homer and Heſiod; and in ſpeaking of the firſt, explains, in a few words, all that is to be found in the antients concerning his country, age, fate of his writings, and progreſs of his reputation. I cannot help wondering at the blind deference which he pays to the oracular authority of the Parian marble; "*De eâ re agitur* (the age of Homer) *non eſt amplius ambigendum.*" I reſpect that monument, as an uſeful, as an uncorrupt monument of antiquity; but why ſhould I prefer its authority to that of Herodotus, for inſtance? It is more modern, its author is uncertain. We know not from what ſources he drew his chronology, nor how far he was qualified to draw it properly. However, as to the age of Homer, I abide by his deciſion; becauſe I can (whatever diverſity appeared to Sir John) reconcile it with ſeveral of the moſt approved authors. That learned writer did not conſider, that in fixing the time when a great man flouriſhed, ſeveral hiſtorians may differ from one another, without differing from truth; becauſe they fixed it from different æras of his life. In that of Fontenelle, the fixing his date either from his birth (1657), or from his writing the worlds (1686); from his reception into the French Academy (1691); from his being made ſecretary to that of ſciences (1699); from his reſigning that poſt (1740); from his death (1757), would produce the difference of a century; ſo that we may eſtabliſh for a rule of criticiſm, that when theſe diverſities do not exceed the natural term of human life, we ought to think of reconciling, and not of oppoſing them. In this inſtance, five of the moſt reſpectable authorities may be confined within the ſmall period of ſixty-eight years. The eldeſt Apollodorus, who places Homer 250 years after the Trojan war, A. C. 934, muſt be naturally underſtood to ſpeak of his birth: Cornelius Nepos, the ſecond, whoſe date is 160 years before the foundation of Rome, A. C. 914, of the time when Homer, then twenty, was arrived at the years of manhood: the æra of the marbles (643 years before the archontat of Diognetus) A. C. 907, of the time when Homer, then twenty-ſeven, began to diſtinguiſh himſelf;

himself; perhaps when, according to the Colophonian tradition, he wrote the Margites, his first poetical work. When Herodotus places Homer 400 years before his own birth, A. C. 814, he may mean, that being then fifty, he was arrived at the highest pitch of his reputation, and perhaps wrote the Iliad. Lastly, if Socibius, the Laconian, brings him down to the last year before the first Olympiad, Homer might then die aged sixty-eight years A. C. 866. This calculation agrees very well with the vague reckoning of Pliny and Juvenal, and pretty nearly with the more precise one of Velleius Paterculus. There are, indeed, many writers, whom it is impossible to conciliate, since they take in so enormous a period as 416 years from the return of the Heraclides A. C. 1104, to the twenty-third Olympiad, A. C. 688. But besides that they are of inferior note, the great difference amongst them leaves the authority of each to stand singly by itself. 1762.

I likewise began to-day a Greek life of Homer, or rather a dissertation upon his writings, by an anonymous writer, inserted in the *Opuscula Mythologica, Physica, et Ethica, published at Amsterdam* 1688, *by Mr. Gale.* It takes up p. 283—404 of those Opuscula. As I intend to make an abstract of it, I shall only say here that I read *p.* 283—303.

August 20th.]---I read the *Life of Homer*, 304---314. The Greek is easy, though I met with many words of the only species (perhaps) not to be found in Homer. Grammatical and metaphysical terms, which are the more difficult at first, because, as they are all metaphorical, it is the literal meaning which presents itself to an unexperienced reader.

21st.]---In order to save some part of this day for study, I passed the evening in my lodging, and read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 314---341.

24th.]---I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 341---387.

27th.]---I read the *Life of Homer p.* 387---394.

28th.]---I finished the *Siecle of Louis XIV.* I believe that Voltaire had for this work an advantage which he has seldom enjoyed. When he treats of a distant period, he is not a man to turn over musty monkish writers to instruct himself. He follows some compilation, varnishes it over with the magic of his style, and produces a most agreeable, superficial, inaccurate performance. But there the information, both written and oral, lay within his reach, and he seems to have taken great pains to consult it. Without any thing of the majesty of the great historians, he has comprised

1762. compriſed, in two ſmall volumes, a variety of facts, told in an eaſy, clear, and lively ſtyle. To this merit, he has added that of throwing aſide all trivial circumſtances, and chooſing no events, but ſuch as are either uſeful or entertaining. His method (of treating every article in a diſtinct chapter) I think vicious: as they are all connected in human affairs, and as they are often the cauſe of each other, why ſeparate them in hiſtory? The firſt volume is much leſs intereſting than the ſecond; arts and manners were a ſubject almoſt untouched; but ſo many writers had exhauſted the battles and ſieges of Lewis the XIVth's reign, that it was impoſſible to add any thing new, eſpecially in ſo confined an abridgment. Beſides, thoſe detached particulars wanted leſs that art of narrating, which Voltaire never poſſeſſed, with all his other talents: I mean in proſe, for there are ſome very fine narrations in his tragedies. That of *Iſmène*, in the laſt act of Merope, is equal to the famous ones of *Racine*. As to his hero, I think that he performed great actions without being a great man. France, notwithſtanding his wars and perſecutions, ought never to forget him. But when Condé, Turenne, Vauban, Louvois, Colbert, &c. have claimed their ſhare of fame, little more will remain to the monarch, than the having choſen and employed thoſe great men: I can hardly add that of perſiſting in his choice. A prince, diffident or inconſtant, may claim great merit for having perſiſted in a good choice. A monarch, proud, vain, or obſtinate, is only to be praiſed if he renounces a bad one. And every one muſt know to what a degree Lewis carried thoſe laſt-mentioned qualities.

September 3d.]—I returned to the Life of Homer, and read p. 394—404, the end.

4th.]—I reviewed, but in a curſory manner, the Life of Homer, without having ſo exalted an idea of it as Mr. Gale, who, like a true editor, calls it *Liber Aureus*. I think it a valuable piece, written with art, and containing many ingenious, and ſome uſeful obſervations upon Homer. I then began to look into the Greek Grammar of Port Royal, that learned ſociety which contributed ſo much to eſtabliſh in France a taſte for juſt reaſoning, ſimplicity of ſtyle, and philoſophical method. I began, contrary to the general method, with the verbs, and read with attention the firſt chapter of the third book, which treats of the nature and proprieties of the verb. I think that method the moſt natural and philoſophical which begins with the operations

rations of the mind, or the action or passion of the body, and thence passes to foreign objects. 1762.

5th.]—I read the second chapter of the third book, which treats of the characteristic letter, and the termination of verbs; and to impress the several modifications of the active verb upon my memory, I copied them out. I finished to-day every thing in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, relative to Erasmus, viz. *tom. iv. p.* 379—397; *tom. v. p.* 145—283; *tom. vi. p.* 1—238; *tom. xii. p.* 1—57. The first and last are very good reflections, and exact judgments, upon Erasmus's works, but are too short: the others are long extracts of his epistles, which, translated in a very bad style, and unconnected method, have neither the *agrémens* of original letters, nor the merit of a complete life. When I had finished them, (according to a maxim I have laid down elsewhere,) I began *Vie d'Erasme, par M. de Burigny*; and so preferred the *suite* of my ideas to that of my books.

September 6th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 3. which treats of the augmentation, both syllabic and temporal.

7th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 4—14. I saw the various forms into which every verb changes itself, from the indicative to the participle, and from the present to the second perfect. Indeed, I think the chain has too many links, as well as groundless exceptions without number; but this last is the vice of all languages, none of which have been the work of reason.

8th.]—In the evening I found means to look over, in a cursory manner, the passive and middle moods of the barytone verbs in ω. They depend so much upon the active, that when one has a clear idea of it, the genealogy is very easy to follow. I now see clearly the advantage of paying little attention to the Grammar, till you have made some progress in the language. Instead of having both precepts and examples to learn, I need attend only to the general rules of what I have already seen in a variety of particular instances. It is examining the map of a country through which I have before travelled.

9th.]—I looked more closely into the passive and middle moods of the barytones in ω. If the *vox media* is not very useful and ingenious, it is highly ridiculous.

10th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, l. iii c. 21—27, containing a very clear account of the circumflex verbs in ω, and of the rules by which they contract themselves.

11th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, L. iv. c. 1—5, which treats of the regular verbs in μι. I approve extremely

1762. mely of the intention of M. M. de Port Royal, who, to simplify things as much as possible, have reduced the thirteen conjugations of the Greek grammar to two, or rather to three. But the variety of these conjugations is so great, and the differences so real, that the antient division was, perhaps, clearer, in having many rules with few exceptions, than the modern ones of few rules and many exceptions. For instance, in explaining the barytone conjugations in ω, there is hardly a tense without exceptions for the peculiar formation of the liquids. At least I would have a separate conjugation for them. Another defect I have observed is, the example they have fixed on for the barytone conjugation. 1. They pitch upon the verb τιω, and make use of it in their table; but when they come to the detail of the moods and tenses, they then employ τυπτω. This alteration destroys the unity of their plan, and must breed some confusion; especially in a young head. 2. They boast in their preface of having chosen (with Sanctius) τιω as a very simple verb; but I own I think the choice ill judged. The great object should have been to have chosen a verb perfectly regular, every one of whose different modifications should have been the example of the general rule, which they laid down for that mood or tense. Τιω does not answer that character. In the first future passive (for instance), according to the general rule* of changing the ω of the first future active, into ησωμαι, τισω would make τισθησομαι. However, by a common exception of the verbs in ω pure†, it drops the σ and makes only τιθησομαι.

To-day I began the small but valuable treatise of Longinus, περι ΥΨΟΥΣ *in the variorum edition of Tollius, printed at Utrecht*, 1694, *in 4to.* The edition appears to be a very complete one. It contains the Greek text of the author, with a Latin version by Tollius, and a French one by Boileau, with the notes of Robortellus, Petra, Portus, Langbænius, le Fevre, and Tollius himself; and the French ones of Boileau and Dacier. I read the dedication of Tollius to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia, and father of the present monarch; the prefaces of Tollius, de Petra, Langbænius, and Boileau, with the list of *Testimonia*, and the greatest part of the first chapter of Longinus himself. Tollius, though a commentator, was a man of taste and genius; though the style of his dedication is somewhat timid, yet there are pretty thoughts in it.

Dr. Langbaine.

He

* V. Nouvelle Methode, l. iii. c. 16. Reg. 52. p. 182.

† V. Nouvelle Methode, l. iii. c. 16. Except. 3. p. 183.

He quibbles a little about *Victoria Elata*, and *Fama Pinnigera*, when he speaks of the great Elector; but his compliment upon the battle of Ferbelin is just, and well expressed. When I reflect on the age in which Longinus lived, an age which produced scarcely any other writer worthy of the attention of posterity; when real learning was almost extinct, philosophy sunk down to the quibbles of grammarians and the tricks of mountebanks, and the empire desolated by every calamity, I am amazed that at such a period, in the heart of Syria, and at the court of an Eastern monarch, Longinus should produce a work worthy of the best and freest days of Athens. I read with the sincerest regret the titles of the other works which are now lost; but none more than his *Odenathus*. I should have seen, though probably with some partiality, the character and actions of that great man, and of the greater Zenobia, who both (contrary to the other tyrants,) proposed less making themselves Roman emperors, than detaching the East from the empire, and erecting a new monarchy upon quite different foundations.' 1762.

Sept. 12th.]—I finished the first chapter of Longinus, with Boileau's translation, and all the notes. The Greek is, from the figurative style, and bold metaphors, extremely difficult: I am afraid that it is rather too difficult for me; but now I have entered upon it, *jacta est alea*; and I have nothing to do but to redouble my application to understand him correctly. Is it vexation at those difficulties, or reason, which makes me wish, that in the room of those poetical figures, he had given us a definition of the sublime? Though this had been done by Cæcilius, yet it was still necessary, and would have taken him but a few lines. I then read a dissertation of M. le Clerc, inserted in the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, *tom. v. p.* 237—290, *sur les Verbes moyens des Grecs*. As it is (which I did not know at first) in opposition to another of M. Kuster, I can decide nothing about the dispute till I have seen that, which I will do as soon as possible, for this idea is a very ingenious one. He thinks that those verbs, as distinct from the active and passive ones, are made use of by the pure attic writers to signify, 1. An action which passes entirely within the agent, such as thinking, willing, &c. 2. An action which, though exterior, has the agent himself for the object; such as, I feed myself, I undress myself, &c. M. le Clerc, on the other hand, not only denies their use, but even disputes the existence of the *vox media*; which he treats as a corruption

1762. tion only of the active and passive. As to the pretended difference of sound and sense, he says, that the first are not greater than many occasioned by the dialects, or by poetical licences, for which the grammarians have never established new voices or moods: that by M. Kuster's own confession, the deponents in Latin, and many verbs in Greek, have an active signification, with a passive termination, without belonging to any *vox media*; that this mystery is unknown to the best Greeks, and that many of them express those actions by an active verb; nay, sometimes in the same period employ an active and middle verb. This he illustrates by a variety of examples.

I began to-day my *Extract of the Life of Homer, in French*, and wrote the first folio page, with a long note.

Sept. 14th.]---I read the *second chapter of Longinus*, with the versions and notes as usual. As yet I read my author more as a man of genius, than as a man of taste: I am pleased and astonished rather than instructed. I observed in this chapter a licence more than poetical, into which the fire of his imagination hurried him, that of leaving the reader to supply one part of a first comparison, whilst he hastens to a second. There was an *hiatus* at the end of the chapter, which Tollius supplied from a manuscript in the Vatican. It is amusing to peruse the conjectural supplements of the critics; how various, how ingenious, and how distant from the truth. They are probably often as much so, though we have it not in our power to confute them in the same manner.

15th.---I went through the whole series of irregular verbs in Greek. Some of them are defective by the want of some particular tenses or persons; and others are irregular, as forming their tenses not from their own natural theme, but from some other which bears some affinity with it, and is commonly either derived or contracted from it. These irregularities are necessary to be known; but we should be cautious of erecting them too hastily into general rules, the first sort especially; where the supposed defect may arise only from the Greek authors now extant not having had occasion to employ that particular modification of the verb.

27th.--I have not, almost this fortnight, set down any thing in the literary way. Indeed, I was very idle. In that time, I went through only the *Life of Erasmus*; which ought only to have been amusement, and not to have broken in upon Longinus. To-day I finished that Life of Erasmus. It is a work of great reading. As M. de Burigny proposed connecting with his history, a general account of the sciences and

and religion during his time, he has very deeply conſidered his ſubject. His ſtyle and reflections are ſuited to a man of ſenſe and modeſty, who neither pretends to, nor poſſeſſes the leaſt ſhare of genius. Upon the whole the book is a perfect contraſt to moſt faſhionable French ones, ſince it is uſeful without being brilliant. If we conſider the character of Eraſmus, we ſhall be immediately ſtruck with his extenſive erudition; and that heightened by two circumſtances: 1. That he was ſcarcely ever fixed ſix months in a place (excepting at Baſil); that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leiſure, muſt be added, a continued bad ſtate of health, and the conſtant avocation of a vaſt correſpondence. 2. That his learning was all real, and founded on the accurate peruſal of the antient authors. The numerous editions he publiſhed ſufficiently evince it; and beſides, thoſe convenient compilations of all ſorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound ſcholar at a ſmall expence, did not then exiſt; every thing was to be ſought for in the originals themſelves. But beſides this learning, which was common to many, Eraſmus poſſeſſed a genius without which no writer will ever deſcend to poſterity; a genius which could ſee through the vain ſubtleties of the ſchools, revive the laws of criticiſm, treat every ſubject with eloquence and delicacy, ſometimes emulate the antients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. Delicacy of ſentiment he had none. A paraſite of all the great men of his time, he was neither aſhamed to magnify their characters, by the loweſt adulation, nor to debaſe his own by the moſt impudent ſolicitation to obtain preſents which very often he did not want. The adventure of Eppendorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithſtanding theſe faults, never man enjoyed a greater perſonal conſideration. All the ſcholars, and all the princes of Europe, looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles V. and Francis I. agreed in this. If we enquire why this happened to him rather than to ſome other great men, of a merit equal, and perhaps ſuperior to Eraſmus, we muſt ſay that it was owing to the time when he lived; when the world, awaking from a ſleep of a thouſand years, all orders of men applied themſelves to letters with an enthuſiaſm which produced in them the higheſt eſteem and veneration for one of their principal reſtorers. Beſides, as the general attention, from piety, from curioſity, from vanity, and from intereſt, 1762.

was

1762. was directed towards the religious disputes, a great divine was the fashionable character; and all parties endeavoured to attract or to preserve him. But to which of those parties did Erasmus adhere? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal. The Catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiscreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the Protestants, though he blames him for not professing what he know to be the truth; and attributes his reserve solely to timidity and self-interest. Erasmus has certainly exposed all the grosser superstitions of the Romish worship to the ridicule of the public: and had his free opinion been taken, I believe that he was a Protestant upon most of the contested points. But many other motives might restrain him from a declaration. He was always persuaded, that any speculative truths were dearly purchased at the expence of practical virtue and public peace. Besides, many considerations might often make him balance as to those truths; prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to scepticism. Add to all this, that really disapproving many things in the Protestant communion, though more in the Romish, by remaining in the loose situation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his ancestors, he could blame many things in it with freedom; whereas had he deserted it, he must either have set up a standard himself, or else have enlisted blindly under that of Luther or Œcolampadius. It Is surprising that Erasmus, who could see through much more plausible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

Sep. 30th.]—I began the *Ciceronianus*, and read p. 1—80.

October 1st.]—I read *Ciceronianus*. p. 80—230, which finished it; and perused 47 pages of Extracts from Erasmus's Letters, which related to it; and which turn principally upon the great scandal which the comparison between *Ascensius Badius* and the great *Budæus* had given in France. The object of this dialogue is to attack some blind admirers and copiers of Tully's style; who, at the revival of letters, formed, especially in Italy, a very considerable sect, of which the principal leaders were, *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, and *Julius Scaliger*. In this attack he employed every arm both of argument and pleasantry. It may be divided into three parts; in the first, *Nosoponus* the Ciceronian is introduced; and with that exquisite species of humour, of which the *Lettres Provinciales* offer so fine a specimen, ridicules his own party by a bare exposition of those maxims which he himself venerated and practised. His exclusive devotion to Cicero,

Cicero, his three Indices, his never writing but in the dead silence of the night, his employing months upon a few lines, his religious caution about the words, and his total indifference about the ſenſe, are truly and highly comic. In the ſecond, Eraſmus himſelf appears under the name of *Boulephorus;* and entering into a great detail, eſtabliſhes, victoriouſly, that Cicero, though worthy of our attention and imitation, is not the only one worthy of it; that ſo ſervile an attachment to any author, deſtroys all freedom and originality of genius, and produces only a ſet of tame writers, who, perhaps, will copy only the faults, but who will ſurely never attain to the perfections of their great model; and that finally, we ſhould rather endeavour to ſpeak as Cicero would do if he lived at preſent, than as he did in his time; that ſince words are made for ideas, and not ideas for words, it is infinitely more reaſonable to coin new words to expreſs a variety of things unknown to Cicero, than, out of a vain ambition for purity, to call excommunication, *interdictio aquæ et ignis*, and to expreſs all the objects of Chriſtianity by the terms of the Pagan rituals. It muſt be confeſſed, that the Ciceronians laid themſelves very open to ridicule, were it only by their looking on Tully not only as the beſt but as the ſole model, and that of language as well as of eloquence. In a polite age, in which a language is thoroughly cultivated, every writer who is a man of education, of letters, and of taſte, ſpeaks nearly the ſame language; and very often, genius and eloquence inſtead of being companions to purity, are enemies to it, by diverting the attention to nobler aims. Bouhours is much purer than either Corneille or Bayle. Why therefore ſhould we exclude all other writers of the Auguſtan age, and confine our imitation to Tully alone; who was not a native of Rome, and who, from the fire of his imagination, the variety of his occupations, and the multiplicity of his writings, could not always attend nicely to his expreſſions. Why is not Cæſar (for example) as ſafe a model? A Ciceronian muſt believe Cicero's own account of him. *Cæſar autem rationem adhibens, conſuetudinem vitioſam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ conſuetudine emendat. Itaque . . ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum . . . . . adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi.* But the ſame Ciceronian, if he would condeſcend to admit the other Latin writers of that age into a partnerſhip with Tully, would be much more formidable than Noſoponus. He would obſerve, that in all languages, rules and analogies are very treacherous guides; that in modern tongues, we ſee them

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give

1762. give way every day to cuſtom. That in the dead ones, that cuſtom is to be met with only in the moſt correct writers; and that whenever we deviate from them, we riſk offending againſt the idiom of the language. That the boldeſt moderns did not carry their privilege of making new terms ſo far as they ought, to have made it really uſeful, ſince they expreſs many modern ones by very looſe periphraſes. That as they are themſelves ſtill fond of copying and alluding to the antients, the writings of Eraſmus himſelf are an incoherent mixture of Roman manners and expreſſions with Batavian ones; a mixture not leſs ridiculous than their ſcrupulous antique idiom. Perhaps the natural concluſion from theſe various difficulties, where either freedom or correctneſs muſt be ſacrificed, was, that inſtead of that ungrateful labour upon a dead language, it would be better to improve and cultivate the living ones. But this concluſion was too much for the age of Eraſmus. The third part of the Dialogue, which contains Eraſmus's opinion of the ſtyle of the principal Latin authors, both antient and modern, ſhews great learning; but his judgments are too ſuperficial, and not ſo much varied as the nature of the ſubject required. The ſtyle of the *Ciceronianus* itſelf is lively and eaſy; but the ſpirit of the Dialogue is but indifferently kept up. Noſoponus makes no defence, and Hypologus is quite a uſeleſs perſonage.

October 2d.]—After a long abſence, I returned at laſt to Longinus, and read the third and fourth chapters, περὶ ΥΨΟΥΣ. After Longinus had, in the two former chapters, opened his deſign, and ſhewn that though the true ſublime is a gift of nature, yet nature may, as in other things, be aſſiſted by art; he treats of two vices different from each other, but equally oppoſite to it; the one a turgid ſtyle and inflated figures, ſpringing from an exuberance of genius or a vain ambition: the other a frigid poor labour after puns and little affected beauties. I approve very much of this inverted method of ſhewing firſt what a thing is not, and then what it is. In theſe refined enquiries nothing contributes more to aſſiſt our imagination and diſpel prejudices. I likewiſe admire that noble freedom with which he diſcovers the faults of thoſe heroes themſelves*, Plato and Xenophon.

3d.]—I employed my morning very well, ſince I read the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Longinus. The two firſt are inconſiderable; the ſeventh, in which he points

* Οι πρωτοι εχειρουν. LONGIN. περὶ ὑψους, p. 32. Edit. Toll.

points out the way to discover the true sublime, is the work of a man of strong feelings rather than of a clear head; the eighth begins to enter more deeply into the subject, and points out five sources of the sublime. The ninth chapter, which treats of the first of these, (the elevation of the ideas,) is one of the finest monuments of antiquity. Till now, I was acquainted only with two ways of criticising a beautiful passage: the one, to shew, by an exact anatomy of it, the distinct beauties of it, and whence they sprung; the other, an idle exclamation, or a general encomium, which leaves nothing behind it. Longinus has shewn me that there is a third. He tells me his own feelings upon reading it; and tells them with such energy, that he communicates them. I almost doubt which is most sublime, Homer's Battle of the Gods, or *Longinus*'s Apostrophe to *Terentianus* upon it. The chapter concludes with some very ingenious observations upon the different character of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*. I am sorry to criticise such a chapter, but what would Longinus have said, had another made his observation upon that passage of Homer, where the celestial horses leap at one bound the extent of the visible horizon? One would think, says he, the world could not have afforded space for such another leap. To what faculty does the visible horizon appear above half the world? To the eyes it appears, the whole; to the understanding, and even to the imagination, a very small part. 1762.

October 4th.]—I read the *tenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 72—88. Its subject is but obscurely marked, and appears at first to run into the former. The distinction however appears to be the first traits of those great and simple ideas, which require only to be fully conceived and expressed; the second, of such ideas as, though not sublime in themselves, may be rendered so by the artful introduction of accessary circumstances. But I hardly think that the Ode of Sappho was a proper example. It may be beautiful, it may be passionate; but surely there is nothing in it which elevates the mind: Longinus's own characteristic of the sublime. This morning Mr. M.... returned my visit, and stayed nearly two hours with me. I have not yet seen any great proofs of his taste or genius, but he is certainly a scholar, and a very communicative one. Observing I had only *Hederici's Lexicon*, he offered me *Scapula* as much better, and sent it to me in the evening. It is in fact infinitely more copious; and I like much the disposition of it by roots. It gives you a much clearer idea of the language, by reducing it to a

1762. small number of primitives; which, by their various compositions, produce all the riches of that copious tongue.

5th.]—I read the *eleventh and twelfth chapters of Longinus*, p. 88—94. They treat of *Amplification*; of that art in poetry and rhetoric by which things are made to appear greater than they really are. Perhaps, had he known the magnifying glasses, he would have said that the merit of that art was, like those glasses, to increase the magnitude, but preserve the proportions. He then draws a comparison between Cicero (who excelled peculiarly in it) and Demosthenes; a comparison framed with his usual eloquence, and with a candour for the Roman's merit very uncommon in a Greek.

October 11th.]—I read the *thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters of Longinus*, p. 94—118. The two first, which treat of imitation, are true pictures of the impetuous genius of the author. He enters on his subject by a quotation from Plato, which is very remotely connected with it. Then, though he recommends as a road to the sublime, the imitation of the great antients; yet imitation is too lame a practice to be agreeable to him. He first extends it to an advice to us to consider how Homer or Demosthenes would have expressed such an idea, not how they would express any one: then to think how they would approve of the manner in which we ourselves are going to express it; that is, to make them not our models, but our judges; and at last, disclaiming all particular imitation, he advises us only to catch their fire, and to imitate the noble confidence with which they looked forward to the latest posterity. The fifteenth chapter contains some fine examples of poetical figures, distinguishes them from rhetorical ones, and observes, that the mistaken taste of his age makes them be often confounded.

12th.]—I read the *sixteenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 118—126. He speaks of the phrase and elocution. This is his third source of the sublime. The *pathos*, which was the second, he has almost totally forgotten. This chapter is taken up chiefly by the example of the famous oath of Demosthenes; by the heroes of Marathon and Plateæ. He examines it very nicely, discovers all the art and energy of it, and shews how much it differs from a similar expression of the comic Eupolis. If the ninth chapter shews Longinus the most as a man of genius, he no where appears a more excellent critic than in this.

14th.]—I began the *Colloquia* of *Erasmus*, and as far as I have gone, think them full of entertainment.

16th.]

16th.]—I read ſeveral chapters of *M. de Tillemont's Hiſtoire des Empereurs*, in relation to Longinus's Patrons Odenathus and Zenobia, tom. iii. p. 3; 947—952; 976—977; 983—988; 1039—1062; and 1078—1082. It is much better to read this part of the Auguſtan hiſtory in ſo learned and exact a compilation than in the originals, who have neither method, accuracy, eloquence, nor chronology. I think them below the worſt monkiſh chronicles we have extant. We may obſerve that Odenathus, who was an Arab, began to ſhew the ſuperiority of his brave barbarians over the corrupted Romans; a ſuperiority which Mahomet improved by the additional ſpur of religion, but which he did not create. 1762.

October 18th.]—I read the ſeventeenth, eighteenth, nineteeth, twentieth, twenty-firſt, twenty-ſecond, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-ſixth chapters of Longinus, p. 126—154. He continues to treat of the various kinds of figures, which, when properly employed, give force and beauty to the diſcourſe: the interrogation, the omiſſion of copulatives, the mixture of figures, the tranſpoſition of ideas, and the alterations of number and tenſe. This is perhaps the leaſt ſhining part of his book; as it is the more mechanical part of criticiſm. However, Longinus enlivens the dulneſs of it, by the magic of his ſtyle; and corrects the dryneſs by the clearneſs of his reaſons, and the accuracy of his diſtinctions. I ſhall give an inſtance of each. Speaking of that rhetorical figure by which a writer, addreſſing himſelf to his reader, employs the ſecond perſon, he himſelf makes uſe of it in a moſt beautiful manner, in animadverting to Terentianus upon a paſſage of Herodotus*. The ſecond is, where treating of the change of the ſingular into the plural he diſtinguiſhes, with great juſtneſs, between thoſe words which, ſingular by their termination, by their ſenſe may be conſidered as plural, without any effort of, or effect upon, the imagination; and thoſe which, in themſelves ſtrictly ſingular, are magnified and multiplied, when, upon certain occaſions, they are ſpoken of as plural†. I muſt juſt mention a miſtake of *Tollius*. Herodotus makes uſe of the words Δικλοις δρεπτῆσι. Tollius owns that it ſignifies *ſervis fugitivis*; but thinks it not elegant enough, and therefore renders it by the vague expreſſion of *ſervitutem acerbiſſimam*‡. However, the other

* Longin. C. xxvi. p. 152. † Longin. C. xxiii. p. 144.
‡ Longin. C. xxii. p. 142. notaſq. Toll. in loc.

1762. has certainly more elegance, as well as truth and propriety. The Ionians had revolted from the Perſians; if they were again ſubdued, they would not only be, as before, oppreſſed like ſlaves, but puniſhed as fugitives.

19th.]—I read Longinus, chapters twenty-ſeven, twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty, p. 154—168 He continues his enumerations of figurative expreſſions, and mentions that ſudden tranſition from one perſon to another, of which the poets and orators have left us ſome fine examples. It may, however, be remarked, that as this figure is infinitely violent and abrupt, it is ſuitable only to the ſtongeſt paſſions, and therefore commonly ſuits better the poet's heroes than himſelf. Longinus then proceeds to the periphraſis, and gives ſome very ſenſible rules about it. However he has forgotten to obſerve, that though, when well employed, this figure gives light and grace to a diſcourſe; yet in itſelf it is an enemy to the ſublime, of which a conciſe expreſſion is always the beſt vehicle. If we enquire into the reaſon of it, we muſt ſay, that it preſents the idea at once, gives as little as poſſible to tedioufneſs and deficiencies of language, and comes the neareſt to the operations of thought. In the thirtieth chapter, he enters upon the choice of words, which he has laid down as the fourth ſource of the ſublime. There appears to be here a conſiderable chaſm.

Oct. 20th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-one, thirty-two, and thirty-three, p. 168—186. The thirty-firſt ſeems to be very defective; however we ſee that he proves that the common expreſſions, when introduced properly, have often more ſtrength and meaning than more elaborate ones. I believe his poſition juſt, and his examples from Herodotus explain his meaning very well; but I think that from Demoſthenes ill choſen. The idea is indeed very *idiotic*, but it is expreſſed by a very uncommon and metaphorical word. The thirty-ſecond chapter treats of the multiplicity of metaphors, for which Longinus is a great advocate, and admires very much a laboured deſcription of the human body by Plato. I wiſh I could admire it too. However, as Plato has certainly faults, our critic examines in the twenty-third chapter, which is preferable, a ſublimity often faulty, or an unblamable mediocrity He treats his ſubject with an eloquent and becoming enthuſiaſm. His deciſion is that of a man of taſte. I likewiſe read a letter of Pliny on the ſame ſubject, L. ix. Ep. 26; which is full of very pretty thoughts and expreſſions. I am of the ſame opinion with both of theſe great writers; but think neither of them has gone deep enough

enough. I take the reaſon to be, not that we are more ſtrongly affected with beauties, but that we are longer ſo: the pleaſure we feel in the ſenſation prolongs it, by making us dwell upon it with ſatisfaction; whereas the diſguſt we conceive from faults ſhortens the ſenſation, by cauſing us to call off our attention immediately. There are, beſides, two other collateral reaſons, but I take this to be the principal, and I muſt not write diſſertations in my journal. 1762.

21ſt.]—Laſt night, when in bed, I was thinking of a diſſertation of M. de la Nauze, upon the Roman calendar; which I read laſt year*. This led me to conſider what was the Greek, and finding myſelf very ignorant of it, I determined to read a ſhort, but very excellent abſtract of Mr. Dodwell's book *de Cyclis*, by the famous Dr. Halley*. It is only twenty-five pages; but as I meditated it thoroughly, and verified all the calculations, it was a very good morning's work. The cycle of Meton had for its object, to reconcile the courſe of the ſun with that of the moon, which it accompliſhes in a cycle of 19 ſolar years, 235 lunar months, and 6940 days. The years ſhould be regularly twelve months, and the months thirty days; but as the firſt would not be enough, it is neceſſary to add ſeven *menſes embolimi* in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, ſixteenth, and nineteenth years of the cycle; and as the ſecond would be too much, 110 months are *cavi*, or of 29 days only, which is determined by leaving out every ſixty-fourth day. The firſt cycle begins with July 15th, Ant. Chr. 432†. To reduce them to the Julian account, you muſt obſerve the following rule. Collect the number of months elapſed ſince the beginning of the period; multiply them by 30; add the number of days elapſed in the current month; divide the whole number by 64; ſubtract the quotient from it; add as many times 6940 as there have been complete cycles, with the conſtant number 196, and you have the whole number of days elapſed ſince the 1ſt January, Ant. Chr. 434; which number you may eaſily reduce into Julian years, months, and days. This diſſertation gives me a very clear, and, I believe, a very true notion of Meton's Attic year. As to that of Calippus, it was only a reformation of that of Meton, who had reckoned the ſolar year too long by about one ſeventy-ſixth of a day; to obviate which, he added another *dies exemplilis*; but as it is at the end of his period of 76 years,

* V. Journal, Auguſt 25 and 26, 1761.

† At the end of the ſecond volume of the Life of Mr. Dodwell, *London*, 1715.

‡ It was the firſt after the *Biſſextile*.

1763. years, we need pay no attention to it in our calculations: otherwiſe it is the ſame months regular and embolimi, and the ſame *dies exemplilis*. We muſt only obſerve two differences in our reductions of it. 1. That inſtead of 196 days to be added, there are 552 always to be ſubtracted, being the number of days between the 1ſt July, Ant. Chr. 330, when the cycle begins, and January 1ſt, 328, being the firſt after Biſſextile. Indeed, to perform the reductions exactly, we ought to have all our dates in olympiads or archontats, compared with years of the cycles; but if we meet with any modern author who reckons by Julian years anticipated, we may venture (after ſubtracting his number from 432*) to look upon the laſt year of it as complete, if the date fall into the ſix firſt Attic months, or as commenced only in to one of the laſt ſix. Should we be miſtaken, which may happen, our calculation itſelf will diſcover our error. I ſay the ſame of the cycle of Calippus. 2. In the laſt mentioned cycle we need attend only to the current one, and pay no attention to thoſe that are complete, as every cycle anſwers exactly to 76 Julian years. I cannot ſay I received the ſame ſatisfaction as to the Macedonian calendar. Far from being ſupported by the neceſſary proofs, Mr. Dodwell's opinion is not even clearly laid down. Dr. Halley owns himſelf, that there are great diſputes about the order of their months, and the time when their year began. I know, beſides, that there is another very prevalent ſyſtem of Archbiſhop Uſher, who makes the Macedonian year not luni-ſolar, but ſolar. I muſt, therefore, ſuſpend my judgment till I have ſeen *Mr. Dodwell de Cyclis*, and *Uſher de Veteri anno Macedonum et Aſianorum ſolari*. As to the Roman year, M. de la Nauze is ſtill my maſter.

October 23d.]—Continuing my ſtudy and meditation of the Greek calendar, I reſolved to verify ſome remarkable date. I immediately recollected the battle of Arbela, which, according to Plutarch, was fought eleven days after a total eclipſe of the moon, that happened on the 14th of the month Bœdromion. This eclipſe anſwers to the 20th of September, Ant. Chr. 331. The battle was fought, therefore, the 1ſt of October. Now, according to Mr. Dodwell's ſyſtem, the 25th of Bœdromion anſwers exactly to that day. This is a ſtrong preſumption in its favour. The calculation, though ſure, is however ſo tedious, that I wiſh ſome way could be thought of to ſhorten it. I could conſtruct a table, in which, marking the olympiads, the archontats, the years of

* If he reckons by years before Chriſt the reduction would be very eaſy.

of the cycle, and the month and day of the Julian, the beginning of each anſwers to .... The *dies exemplilis* would be the moſt troubleſome, as being not fixed to any months or years, but running regularly through the cycle. However by ſome trials I made, I found I could manage them. 1762.

24th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-four, thirty-five, thirty-ſix, thirty-ſeven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, and forty-one, p. 186—222. Our author continues his compariſon of the ſublime often faulty, and the mediocrity always irreprehenſible, in the three firſt. His characters of Hyperides and Demoſthenes are finely marked. He expatiates with pleaſure on the various merits of Hyperides, and diſtinguiſhes them by epithets always juſt and always different, which diſplay both his own penetration, and the accurate fertility of the language in which he wrote; but all theſe encomiums are only garlands, which make him a victim worthier the object of his divinity, Demoſthenes; who, inferior in every other reſpect to Hyperides, ſurpaſſes him infinitely by thoſe ſublime and terrible beauties with which his writings abound. This chapter gives perhaps a clearer idea of the ſublime than any other in Longinus; ſince it is not only diſtinguiſhed from the faults which are contrary to, but likewiſe from the beauties which are different from it. But ſtill this is not enough. I wiſh that I had time to explain the fine poetical compariſon of the thirty-fifth chapter, and to give a better reaſon than Longinus does, why the rule, that greatneſs is preferable to exactneſs, does not hold good in ſculpture as well as in poetry. In the thirty-ſeventh I agree with Le Fevre and Dacier, that the common reading of Herodotus is highly abſurd; but if Longinus could praiſe that abſurdity, why might not Herodotus write it? In the thirty-eighth chapter he enters upon his fifth ſource of the ſublime, the arrangement of words. We ſee ſomething, though a ſmall part, of the attention which the Greeks paid to the harmony of their periods. That not ſatisfied with the judgment of the ear, they had eſtabliſhed for proſe a meaſure of dactyles and ſpondees, leſs exact, but more varied than in verſe; by which, without confining themſelves to the preciſe form of feet, they could render the whole period abrupt or flowing, ſlow or precipitate. In the fortieth and forty-firſt he blames the affectation of giving every period the ſame cadence; or of making the periods too ſhort, and disjointed from each other.

October 25th.]—I read *Cicero de Oratore. C* 63—66, in relation to the harmony of proſe. Although the Latin tongue

1762. tongue was not perhaps ſo ſuſceptible of it as the Greek, yet we may diſcover how attentive the Romans were to it. The end was to give to proſe an harmony equivalent, but not ſimilar to verſe. The means employed were, 1. To conſider ſyllables abſtracted from feet, and to make long or ſhort ones prevail in a period in the degree and manner they choſe. Thus, in the famous paſſage of Demoſthenes, we hear the ſound of dactyles, or of ſomething ſtill more rapid; ſince out of twenty-nine ſyllables, twenty-one are ſhort. 2. The antient metre has this advantage over ours, that in modern tongues the harmony conſiſts only in the compoſition of a verſe, or at leaſt of *a hemiſtiche*; whereas, if you take an antient verſe to pieces, the feet of which it is compoſed give you, by their peculiar and diſtinct harmony, *diſjecta membra poetæ*. The great variety of theſe feet furniſhed the orators with innumerable ways of harmonizing their periods, without ever deviating into verſe. I likewiſe read *Longinus*, chapters forty-two and forty-three, which finiſhed him. The forty-ſecond contains ſome examples of fine deſcriptions, degraded by one or two low words. In the laſt chapter of this ſmall, but valuable treatiſe, Longinus examines the reaſon why no ſublime writers were to be found in his age. He treats this queſtion (which, taken in the utmoſt latitude, is perhaps a Gordian knot) with more eloquence than accuracy. It is, however, worth remarking, that he ſtill continues to enforce his precept by his example. He appears pretty plainly to have been of opinion, that the true ſublime, eſpecially in eloquence, could never belong to ſlaves; and that it could be found only in geniuſes nurſed under a popular government, whoſe writings breathed the ſame liberty as their actions. Theſe ideas are noble, and perhaps true; but they were too harſh for the court of Palmyra. Longinus was forced to enervate them, not only by the term Δικαιοτατη, which he takes care to apply twice to the preſent deſpotiſm; but by employing the ſtale pretence of putting his own thoughts into the mouth of a nameleſs philoſopher. I read on the ſame queſtion Seneca, *Epiſt. cxiv. p.* 646---651; *Edit. Lipſ. apud Plantin.* He conſiders it in another, and, I think, a better light than Longinus. Both attribute the decay of taſte to luxury and its attendant vices; but the Greek conſidering them almoſt as paſſive, thinks that they only extinguiſh all emulation and application; while the Roman looks upon them as very active, by accuſtoming our taſte to reliſh only the tricks of novelty and affectation, and to deſpiſe genuine and ſimple eloquence.

The

The character of Mæcenas is a fine *caricature*. How different is he from the Mæcenas of Virgil and Horace. As to Longinus in general, after what I have obſerved upon almoſt every chapter, I have little left to ſay. It is certainly a fine performance; the ſtyle is faulty only by being rather too poetical for a didactic work. In general, I ſhould adopt moſt of his deciſions; only I think that for want of having a clear idea of the ſublime, he has ſometimes blamed paſſages for being deficient in that reſpect, or praiſed them for excelling in it, whoſe nature and deſign neither had, nor required, that kind of beauty. I could likewiſe have wiſhed that Longinus had not always confined himſelf to ſingle paſſages, but had pointed out that ſublime which reſults from the choice and general diſpoſition of a ſubject. I think that Longinus ſhews real taſte and genius, by his indulgence in the ſallies of a warm imagination, and by his ſeverity to the prettineſſes of the art; though, like moſt men of genius who poſſeſs more force and elevation than delicacy, he may ſometimes have confounded refinement and affection. As to his commentators, Langbænius is oſtentatiouſly pedantic, and learnedly abſurd; Le Fevre is, as uſual, vain, bold, and ingenious; the notes of Tollius are full of taſte, good criticiſm, and real erudition. There are a number of corrupted paſſages in Longinus, which, by the help of manuſcripts, or from his own conjectures, he has reſtored extremely well. 1762.

October 26th.]—I intended to have compoſed a long abſtract of that Greek Life of Homer, which I finiſhed September the fourth, and actually wrote a page of it; but other things intervening, I went no further. As it is now too late, I ſhall take this occaſion of giving a ſhort account of it. Its title is improper enough; after an hiſtory of Homer, compriſed in a few lines, and full of blunders, the author proceeds in his main deſign, which was to ſhew that there was no art or ſcience of which Homer was not the father and laid the foundations; a deſign which proves the exceſſive veneration of the Greeks ſtill better than the temples they erected to him. To ſupport ſo vain an argument, much ſophiſtry and falſe reaſoning was neceſſary. The following are ſome ſpecimens of them which ſtruck me. 1. It is almoſt impoſſible to follow him through his innumerable diviſions and ſubdiviſions, which, inſtead of eaſing our attention, and fixing our memory, perplex the one, and overburthen the other. This is a ſufficient inconvenience in this method, but another infinitely greater reſults from it.

Thoſe

1762. Thoſe diviſions, by treating every minute part of a ſubject ſeparately, often paſs over the moſt eſſential notions of it, becauſe they are common to the whole. Nay, as they are commonly the work of a trifling genius, they are ſometimes founded only upon ſome very trivial and acceſſory ideas, without ever reaching the fundamental principles. Thus, when our critic wants to prove Homer an hiſtorian, he accurately divides the requiſites of hiſtory into the mention of perſon, cauſe, place, time, inſtrument, paſſion, action, and manners; proves that in ſome part of his works the poet mentions each of theſe, and then very accurately concludes that he was an hiſtorian. What a minute diviſion of hiſtory, which forgets all the moſt important parts of it, accuracy, impartiality, and an hundred more *! 2. To prove Homer's knowledge univerſal, he is forced, in ſeveral ſciences, to inſtance things hardly above the rank of ſelf-evident ideas, with which no peaſant in a civilized country is unacquainted, Thus he is the father of arithmetic, becauſe by ſaying that fifty men guarded each of the thouſand Trojan fires, he does not compute himſelf, but furniſhes the occaſion of computing the Trojan army at fifty thouſand men †. 3. One would think it ſufficient for Homer's honour, to have been the father of all known truth; and that it was rather lowering, than raiſing his character, to make him acquainted with all the opinions of latter ages, however extravagant or contradictory to one another. The ſyſtem of Thales, who makes water the univerſal principle; that of Xenophanes, who to water adds earth; and the general opinion which acknowledges four elements, are all borrowed from Homer ‡; though to have aſſerted all theſe oppoſite principles, implies more learning than judgment. Indeed, when he ſpeaks of the Stoics and Peripatetics, he ſaves the contradiction very ingeniouſly. Homer was acquainted with both ſyſtems; but he looked upon the firſt as more exalted and conformable to reaſon; on the latter, as more practicable, and conformable to experience §. 4. When the plain text of Homer appears abſurd, or at leaſt furniſhes no proofs of ſcience, he had recourſe to the allegorical ſenſe, where he diſcovers a thouſand myſteries ‖. I cannot here explain my ſentiments on that head, nor illuſtrate and enforce a diſtinction which has not been enough attended to, viz. of what was allegory to Homer, and what was indeed allegory in its origin, but, through

* Vit. Homer, p. 315—318.
† Vit. Homer, p. 360.
‡ Vit. Homer, p. 324.
§ ——— p. 352—354.
‖ ——— p. 325—330.

through various mixtures and length of time, appeared then in a quite different shape. I have the less occasion to do it here, as my author is much soberer on this head, than many others of the antients; some of whom (Heraclides for instance) have written whole books upon Homer's allegories. 5. My author, like many of the antients, is very fond of drawing philosophical conclusions from a resemblance of words and fanciful etymologies; a method which, with reason, would give one a poor opinion of their logic. Thus our author, from the resemblance of Δεμας and Δεσμος, would infer that Homer looked upon the soul as shackled and imprisoned by the body *, without ever considering that such grammatical conjectures want proof themselves, instead of being able to furnish it to other positions. Indeed it is more excusable to employ such arguments for the existence, than for the truth of an opinion. 6. These two last faults are common to him with many; his reasonings about numbers are more peculiar to him. He runs, and carries Homer with him, into all the Pythagorean whimsies †, the perfections of the *monade* and odd numbers, and the imperfections of the *duade* and even ones. He quotes several passages of Homer where the *monade* is praised, such as the Εις κοιρανος εσω, without once inquiring whether it is praised for an absolute or for a relative merit. Notwithstanding these criticisms, I am far from despising this Life of Homer. The author was a man of much subtility and ingenuity; so that you are often pleased with the imagination, though you despise the reasoning. Nay, the reasoning is often more the vice of his subject than his own. When he treats of those arts of which Homer was really a master, language, rhetoric, and morality, he is very solid and instructive. You find many nice observations concerning Homer's style, his use of the various Greek dialects, his deviations from the common rules of grammar, and the different figures he employs. One that struck me relates to the genders. He often, for the sake either of metre, or energy, employs a masculine epithet to a feminine substantive; but it is only speaking of those qualities of the mind which are of no sex, or if of any, which appertain rather to the male, such as κλυτος Ιπποδαμεια ‡. In treating of Homer's rhetoric, he explains very well the artifice of the speeches of the second Iliad; the various eloquence of the ambassadors to Achilles, and the gradations by which he gave way to them §. So much

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* Vit. Homer, p. 342.
† Vit. Homer, p. 358—360.
‡ ——— p. 303.
§ ——— p. 371—377.

1762. much for the original. The editor was mighty negligent in not diſtinguiſhing properly Homer's verſes from the proſe, which is full of them, and not referring us to the places where they are to be found. The tranſlator, whom I can ſcarcely believe to be Dr. Gale, has committed numberleſs blunders. I ſhall mention a curious one. He tranſlates this verſe of Homer,

Ἀρνειὸν, ταῦρόν τε, συῶν τ' ἐπιβήορα κάπρον, Odyſſ. Λ. 130.

by *Arietem porcorum cuſtodem**. Beſides the nonſenſe of the expreſſion, and the abſurdity of making one animal only, where grammar and the ſenſe of his author required three; need I quote Conſtantine and Pollux to ſhew that Ἐπιβήορα ſignifies *aſcenſorem*, and is metaphorically applied to the copulation of animals†? Why not tranſlate it at once,

Agnum, et taurum, ſuiſque aſcenſorem aprum.

October 29th.]—I read Tollius's *Guſtus Animadverſionum Criticarum*, at the end of Longinus, p. 348—360. I cannot ſay that they any ways anſwered my expectation. Tollius was not equal to ſuch critical parallels as they are deſigned for, between ſome of the antient writers. The firſt is between a paſſage of Pindar and another of Horace. It reſults from his laborious inquiry, that the Greek tongue is more harmonious than the Latin. The ſecond, between Theocritus and Virgil, teaches me, 1. That among the antients, preſenting or throwing apples was cuſtomary between lovers. 2. That Virgil is far inferior to the Greek poet, ſince his Polyphemus boaſts of having milk only all the year, whereas the Cyclop of Theocritus boaſts that he has both milk and cheeſe. The third is between Apollonius and Ovid. As the Greeks are always to have the advantage, and Ovid is very open to criticiſm, Tollius talks rather more to the purpoſe.

30th.]—I read Tollius, p. 360—371. A compariſon between Virgil and a little poem of Petronius. Very bad indeed. However, I muſt now go through theſe compariſons.

31ſt.]—I went to church, heard a pretty good ſermon from Mr. L.... and read the ſecond leſſon, the fourth chapter of St. Luke, in Greek.

November 1ſt.]—I read Tollius, p. 371—381, the end. He compares Homer and Virgil as to the manner of Turnus' and Hector's deaths. He reaſons better than uſual, but

* Vit. Homer, p. 359.

† Conſtant. in Voc. Jul. Poll. Onomaſtic. l. v. c. 15. p. 92.

but did not conſider that Hector's not aſking for mercy like Turnus, is no proof of his ſuperior courage. Turnus was ſlightly wounded; Hector mortally. I began to-day, as a natural ſupplement to Longinus, a philoſophical inquiry into the nature of our ideas of the ſublime and beautiful, and read the Introduction upon Taſte, p. 1—40, which, like all other reſearches into our primary ideas, is rather looſe and unſatisfactory. The diviſion, however, of the paſſive impreſſion which is common to all men, and relates chiefly to poſitive beauty or faultineſs, and the active judgment which is founded on knowledge, and exerciſed moſtly on compariſon, pleaſed me; perhaps becauſe very like an idea of my own. 1762.

2d.]—I read the Enquiry, p. 40—95, which comprizes the firſt part. The author's object is to claſs our various paſſions and ſenſations, and to inveſtigate our affections, in order to diſcover how we are and ought to be affected. All thoſe of the mind he refers to two claſſes;—ſelf preſervation and ſociety. The former renders us ſenſible of pain and terror; the latter, in their various branches, (of ſympathy, imitation, and terror,) of pleaſure, love, and joy. Their nature is eternally diſtinct; and they never can run into one another. This naturally leads Mr. Burke to deny that the privation of pleaſure ever produces poſitive pain; and *vice verſâ*, the ſenſation produced by the abſence of pain he calls delight, a ſolemn, awful feeling, very different from poſitive pleaſure.

November 4th.]—I finiſhed the Enquiry, which contains in all 342 pages. The author writes with ingenuity, perſpicuity, and candour. His reigning principles are, that pain, when abſent, and moderated to terror, is productive of that ſolemn delight which forms the beauty of the ſublime; this idea he purſues through its various ſhapes of immenſity either of time or place, power, darkneſs, &c. It is ſurprizing how much Longinus and Mr. Burke differ as to their idea of the operations of the ſublime in our minds. The one conſiders it as exalting us with a conſcious pride and courage, and the other as aſtoniſhing every faculty, and depreſſing the ſoul itſelf with terror and amazement. If it ſhould be found that the ſublime produces this double, and ſeemingly contrary effect; we muſt look out for ſome more general principles which may account for it, though we may adopt ſtill many particular materials and obſervations of both writers in the inveſtigation of it. Such is Mr. Burke's ſyſtem of the ſublime: his notion of the beautiful

1762. beautiful is, that it is produced by whatever gives us pleasure. Perhaps his idea, confined as it is to the pleasures of sense, (heightened indeed by the imagination,) is yet too general. What connection can he discover between the pleasures of the taste and the idea of beautiful? However, he thinks, (and I believe with reason,) that any thing, to appear beautiful either to the sight or touch, must convey to the sense an idea of softness and gradual variation, and to the imagination those of gentleness, delicacy, and even fragility. The ideas of beauty being in the least founded on those of order, proportion, or utility, he entirely explodes. I cannot help observing here, that in speaking of any thing beautiful, we consider the figure as so essential to it as not to be altered without changing the nature of it; and the colour as an accessory quality which may be varied at pleasure :—a proof that sometimes common feelings are conformable to philosophical speculations, where we should the least expect it. Mr. Burke employs his last part in considering words as the signs of ideas. He remarks that they do not commonly, when pronounced, call up in the mind a picture of the idea for which they stand; and that consequently in poetry or eloquence we are as often affected by the words themselves, as by clear images of what they are designed to represent. I began to-day Ubbo Emmius' Geographical Description of Greece, (which will be very useful for all my Greek authors, but particularly for the Odyssey,) and read p. 1—18.

November 5th.]—I read Emmius, p. 18—40.

6th.]—I read Emmius, p. 40—45.

7th.]—I read Emmius, p. 45—54.

8th.]—I read Emmius, p. 54—194, the end. It is a short, and consequently a dry abridgment; but it is concise, clear, and exact. It contributed a good deal to confirm me in the contemptible idea I always entertained of Cellarius. 1. In comparing this abridgement with the single map of Græcia Propria, I found above 130 places omitted in Cellarius, and among them some of such note as Tirins, Helos, Ithome, Pisa, the province of Acarnania, and the valley of Tempe. What would it have been had I entered into the minute detail of any one region?

17th.]—I read *Les Observations de l'Abbé de Mably sur les Grècs*. They are not ill written; but I think a capital fault of them is, attributing more consequences to the particular characters of men, often ill-drawn, than to the general manners, character, and situation of nations.

30th.]

30th.]—I began the Odyſſey of Homer, and read L. i. p. 444, the end. 1762.

December 1ſt.]—I read the Odyſſey, L. ii. V. 1—128.

2d.]—I read the Odyſſey, L. ii. V. 128—434, the end.

3d.]—I read Potter's Greek Antiquities, V. ii. p. 120—160, where he treats of the naval affairs of the Greeks, in order to underſtand the voyages of Telemachus. As, while I was reading, I ſaw from my window ſome of the fineſt ſhips in the world, I could not very much admire the ſmall barks, with a maſt occaſionally ſet up and taken down, which they run aſhore every night.

5th.]—I read the Odyſſey, L. iii. V. 1—497, the end, and finiſhed ſome new Journals, the *Biblicthèque des Sciences et Belles Lettres, from April to September* 1762, and the *Journal des Savans combiné avec les Mémoires de Trévoux, from June to September*. There is a curious Diſſertation of Mr. Beyer upon the Atlantic Iſland of Plato. He pretends it is Judea. Some circumſtances and etymologies are as uſual favourable to him, others totally oppoſite. However, calling in allegory and romance to ſupport allegory and romance, he ſeems to think he has entirely confounded the Infidels. The other is the Voyage of M. Anquetil du Perron to the Eaſt Indies, with the ſole view of ſtudying the language and religion of the antient Persées. He is juſt returned to France, with a prodigious number of manuſcripts, which may perhaps throw ſome light upon one of the moſt obſcure but moſt curious branches of antient hiſtory.

December 6th.]—I read Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 209—237, in relation to the ſacrifice offered by Neſtor, and ſo exactly deſcribed by Homer.

12th.]—I had borrowed of M. B. . . . a French Moral and Political Romance of the Abbé Teraſſon, called *Sethos*. The beginning is fine, the deſcription of the manners of the court of Memphis is worthy of Tacitus; and the ſyſtem of the Egyptian initiation is a very happy thought: but, unluckily, the intereſt of the piece gradually diminiſhes in every book, till you arrive at the cataſtrophe, which is very cold and unnatural. As to the ſtyle, it is pure and elegant, ſcarcely ever elevated, and never animated. The Abbé Teraſſon had too mathematical a head to excel in the language of deſcription, and too ſtoic a heart to ſhine in that of the paſſions. His feelings, however, are juſt, though not warm: the whole work breathes a ſpirit of virtue and humanity, which renders it very amiable.

EXTRAITS DU JOURNAL.

1763. Février. APRE'S avoir quitté l'Angleterre, il eſt aſſez naturel que j'en quitte la langue. Les idées ont produit les mots; et j'aurois ſouvent autant de peine à rendre en Anglois les uſages du Continent, que j'aurois eu de difficulté à bien exprimer en François les mœurs Angloiſes, et les petits évènemens de notre milice. Plutôt que de recourir à des périphraſes ennuyeuſes, ou à des traductions imparfaites; il vaut mieux employer tout uniment la langue du pays.

Mais il faut renoncer à ce journal ſuivi et detaillé, dont l'idée avoit flatté mon eſprit, mais dont l'exécution auroit trop gêné ma pareſſe, pour me permettre de la continuer. Je l'avois diſcontinué pendant quelques jours; il étoit ſi facile de réparer cette petite negligence! ces jours devinrent inſenſiblement des ſemaines. L'ouvrage m'effrayoit en s'augmentant. Je perdois en vains regrets le tems qui étoit encore en mon pouvoir. Aujourd'hui, qu'il me faudroit écrire l'hiſtoire de ſix mois, la raiſon m'ordonne de n'y plus ſonger.

Mais

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL.

1763. February. HAVING left England, it is fit that I ſhould leave off Engliſh. Ideas create words; and there would be as much difficulty in expreſſing continental cuſtoms in good Engliſh, as there would be in deſcribing in pure French the manners of England, and the minute tranſactions of our regiment of militia. Inſtead of being obliged to write an imperfect tranſlation, or a tireſome paraphraſe, it is better at once to have recourſe to the language of the country.

But I muſt renounce the deſign of a regular and minute journal, of which I flattered myſelf with the plan, but of which I ſhould find the conſtraint too great on my natural lazineſs, to continue the execution. I had interrupted my labours for a few days; this little negligence might be ſo eaſily repaired! but theſe days have imperceptibly become weeks. The more I had to do, I was the more reluctant to begin the work. The time ſtill left to me was ſpent in uſeleſs regret; and now that I ought to write my hiſtory for ſix months, reaſon tells me that I muſt no longer think of the undertaking.

But

Mais cette même raiſon ne veut point que je neglige entièrement la partie, peut-être plus curieuſe de ma vie. Je vais raſſembler plutôt ſelon l'ordre des matières, que ſous celui du tems, les idées nouvelles que j'ai acquiſes pendant mon ſéjour à Paris. Elles ſe diſtribuent naturellement ſous quatre chefs: 1. Les choſes qui me ſont perſonelles, mon œconomie, mes liaiſons, et mes amis. 2. L'état de la littérature en France, les gens de lettres, les académies, et le théâtre. 3. Des obſervations détachées, militaires, politiques, et morales. 4. Les bâtimens et les ouvrages de l'art.—Je laiſſerai cependant ſubſiſter quelques pages de mon journal, écrites dans le tems même;—entrepriſe vaine: je l'abandonnai l'inſtant après l'avoir commencé. 1763.

A Lauſanne, Août 17, 1763.]—J'ai écrit quelque choſe de mon diſcours ſur les anciens peuples de l'Italie. C'eſt bien peu pour une matinée entière paſſée à la campagne; mais depuis quelque tems je ne fais plus rien. Les petites diſſipations de la ville, le tumulte de Meſery, et les changemens journaliers de l'une à l'autre, me donnent plus de diſtractions à Lauſanne, que je n'en ai jamais trouvé à Londres, ou à Paris. Il faut ſe remettre au travail.

18.]—J'ai lu *la troiſième Satyre de Juvénal*, *v.* 1—322. Que le début eſt bien choiſi! Le bon Umbricius s'arrête dans

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But the ſame reaſon enjoins me not entirely to neglect the moſt curious occurrences, perhaps, of my whole life. I ſhall collect, therefore, not in the order of time, but according to the diſtribution of ſubjects, the new ideas which I acquired during my reſidence in Paris. Theſe ſubjects may be arranged under the following heads: 1. My own perſonal concerns; expences, connections, friends. 2. The ſtate of literature in France, the men of letters, academies, theatres. 3. Detached obſervations; military, political, and moral. 4. The public buildings and works of art.—I will allow, however, ſome pages of my journal, which were written at the time, to remain in their original ſtate;—a vain undertaking, forſaken almoſt as ſoon as begun.

Lauſanne, Auguſt 17th, 1763.]—I wrote a ſmall part of my diſcourſe on the antient nations of Italy; ſmall indeed, for a whole morning ſpent in the country. But of late I ſcarcely do any thing. My trifling avocations in town, the continual buſtle at Meſery, and the frequent removals from the one to the other, produce greater diſtractions of thought at Lauſanne, than I ever experienced in London or Paris. I muſt ſeriouſly reſume my labours.

18.]—I read the third *Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of three hundred and twenty-two verſes. How judiciouſly does it ſet out! The honeſt Umbricius ſtops in the wood of Egeria, a ſacred monument of the primi-

1763. dans le bois d'Egérie dans ce monument ſacré des premiers Romains, poſſedé alors par de miſérables Juifs, pour ſe plaindre à ce legiſlateur, du luxe et des mœurs étrangères, qui avoient inondé cette patrie qu'il avoit formée par ſes loix et par ſa religion. Le caractère bas, mais mal adroit, de ſes Concitoyens, oppoſé à l'art et à la ſoupleſſe de ces étrangers qui ſe faiſoient eſclaves pour devenir maîtres, eſt un contraſte achevé. J'aurois voulu qu'après des tableaux auſſi beaux, Juvénal ne ſe fût pas rabattu ſur de petits embarras, ſur les déſordres communs à toutes les grandes villes, et qui ne comportent pas l'indignation ſérieuſe qu'il leur témoigne.

Août 20.]—J'ai lu *la quatrième Satyre de Juvénal*, pour la première fois.

24.]---J'ai lu *la quatrième Satyre de Juvénal*, *v.* 1—154, pour la ſeconde fois. Le conſeil de Domitien eſt peut-être le morceau de ſatyre le plus frappant de toute l'antiquité. Le ſujet convenoit parfaitement au génie du poëte ; cette indignation ſérieuſe, cette énergie d'expreſſion, qu'il prodigue quelquefois un peu légèrement, eſt ici à ſa place, et fait paſſer dans l'ame du lecteur l'horreur pour le tyran, et pour les Romains le mépris qu'ils méritent ſi bien. Malheureuſement ce morceau n'eſt point achevé. Après avoir décrit ſes principaux conſeillers avec la plume de Saluſte, au moment de les mettre en jeu, le principal acteur diſparoît, le feu du poëte s'éteint,

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tive Romans, but then inhabited by wretched Jews, to complain to Numa of the luxury of foreign manners, which had overflowed a nation whom he had inſtructed in laws and religion. The awkward meanneſs of the Romans, oppoſed to the addreſs and ſuppleneſs of the Greeks, who made themſelves ſlaves to become maſters, forms a ſtriking contraſt. After ſuch a beautiful picture, Juvenal, I think, would have done better not to have dwelt ſo long on the little inconveniences and diſorders common to all great cities, and, which are unworthy of exciting the ſerious indignation which he expreſſes againſt them.

Auguſt 20.]—I read, for the firſt time, the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*.

24.]—I read the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-four verſes, for the ſecond time. The council of Domitian is, perhaps, the moſt ſtriking paſſage of ſatire to be met with in any ancient author. This ſubject perfectly ſuited our poet's genius, that ſerioufneſs of indignation, and that energy of expreſſion of which he is ſometimes too laviſh, are here in their proper place; and they forcibly impreſs on the reader's mind that deteſtation for the tyrant, and contempt for the Romans, which both ſo richly merited. Unfortunately this piece is left unfiniſhed. After having deſcribed the principal counſellors with the pen of Salluſt, the very moment they ought to begin their deliberation, the principal

s'éteint, et la fin de l'action eſt étranglée. J'ai lu auſſi *la cinquième Satyre, v.* 1—173, deux fois. Que les Romains étoient groſſiers parmi tout leur luxe! Le financier le plus inſolent n'oſeroit pas aujourd'hui faire toutes ces diſtinctions humiliantes entre ſes convives. A Rome, l'élégant Pline ſe fait preſqu'un mérite d'en avoir été révolté*. Que les caractères d'Horace et de Juvénal étoient différens! Fils d'affranchis tous les deux, celui-ci ne ſavoit point fléchir devant le ſot orgueil des grands, pendant que celui-là les en guériſſoit, et vivoit avec eux, non en paraſite, mais, en ami. 1763.

Août 25.]—J'ai lu pour la première fois, *la ſixième Satyre de Juvénal, v.* 1---660. J'ai auſſi achevé *le troiſième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* Il contient pluſieurs ouvrages excellens; tels que *le Syſtème Intellectuel de Cudworth, traduit par Moſheim†; l'Alcoran de Sale,* et *les Hiſtoires critiques du Manichéiſme, et de le Monarchie Françoiſe, par M. de Beauſobre et l'Abbé Dubos.* Ces extraits ſont un peu ſuperficiels; mais *l'Hiſtoire du Droit Romain, par M. Heineccius,* eſt très intéreſſante pour un homme, qui ne s'embarraſſe de la juriſprudence que par rapport à la littérature.

† La traduction paroît l'emporter ſur l'original.

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principal perſonage diſappears, the poet's fire extinguiſhes, and the end of the piece is mangled. I alſo read, twice, the fifth ſatire, conſiſting of one hundred and ſeventy-three verſes. How groſs were the manners of the Romans amidſt all their luxury! The moſt inſolent financier would not now venture to make ſuch humiliating diſtinctions among his gueſts. At Rome, the elegant Pliny conſiders his being diſguſted with them almoſt as a merit in himſelf*. How different were the characters of Horace and Juvenal, although both ſons of freedmen! The latter diſdained to bend to the pride of the great; and the former, while he cured them of that pride, lived with them not as a paraſite, but as a friend.

Auguſt 25.]—I read, for the firſt time, the ſixth Satire of Juvenal, conſiſting of ſix hundred and ſixty verſes; and finiſhed the thirteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains extracts from many excellent works; ſuch as *Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem by Moſheim†; Sale's Alcoran, &c. Critical Hiſtories of Manicheiſm, and of the French Monarchy, by Mr. Beauſobre and the Abbé Dubos.* Theſe extracts are rather ſuperficial; but the *Hiſtory of the Roman Laws by Heineccius,* is highly intereſting; for thoſe who conſider juriſprudence only in its relation to general literature.

* V. Plin. Epiſt. L. ii. Ep. 6.

† The tranſlation appears to be ſuperior to the original.

1763. Août 26.]—J'ai relu *la ſixième Satyre de Juvénal*, v. 1—16c. Après avoir déjeûné, je ſuis monté à la bibliothèque, pour conſulter un traité de M. de Bochat, ſur le culte des Divinités Egyptiennes à Rome ; culte dont Juvénal parle à tout moment. Il eſt dans le Mercure de Neufchâtel de l'an 1742 ; mais je vois qu'il eſt tout hypothétique, et d'une hypothèſe très chimérique, ſavoir que ce culte a dû paſſer de l'Egypte en Grèce, et de la Grèce en Italie, par les colonies long tems avant Romulus. J'ai conſulté *le premier tome de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, p. 140, ſur la ſignification du mot *Attonitæ*, dans *Juvenal Satyre*, iv. *v.* 77. M. de Valois l'applique à l'étonnement qui regna dans la capitale, à l'occaſion de la révolte de L. Antonius dans la Baſſe Germanie. Cette conjecture eſt poſſible. C'eſt tout ce qu'on en peut dire ; mais je m'étonne qu'il n'en ait pas tiré la ſeule concluſion qui pouvoit la rendre intéreſſante. La révolte d'Antonius arriva l'an de Rome 840*. La tyrannie et l'extravagance de Domitien étoient donc déjà parvenûes à leur comble ; et les Romains eurent la lâcheté de ſupporter ce monſtre encore neuf ans. J'ai lu *le quatrième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y ai trouvé *Syntagma Diſſertationum, &c. Leipſig.* 1733. C'eſt un aſſez bon recueil de M. Moſheim. qui ſent cependant un peu trop le Théologiem, et même le

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Auguſt 26.]—I read over again the firſt hundred and ſixty verſes of the ſixth Satire of Juvenal. After breakfaſt I went to the library, to conſult *Mr. Bochat's Treatiſe on the Worſhip of the Egyptian Divinities at Rome*, ſo often mentioned by Juvenal. It is to be found in the Neufchâtel Mercury for the year 1742. This treatiſe is merely a hypotheſis, and that very chimerical ; namely, that the worſhip of theſe divinities was brought from Egypt to Greece, and from Greece to Italy, by colonies eſtabliſhed in that country long before the age of Romulus. I conſulted the firſt volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, p. 140, concerning the ſignification of the word "Attonitæ" in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, v. 77 Mr. Valois applies it to the aſtoniſhment which prevailed in the capital in conſequence of the revolt of L. Antonius in Lower Germany. This conjecture is poſſible, which is all that can be ſaid of it. But I am ſurpriſed that he has not drawn from it the only concluſion that could render it intereſting. Antonius's revolt happened in the year of Rome 840*. The exceſſive tyranny of Domitian had then reached its meridian ; yet the baſeneſs of the Romans endured this monſter ſtill nine years longer. I read the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Syntagma Diſſertationum*, &c, Leipſick, 1733 : a good collection, by Moſheim ; which, however, favours too much of the Theologian, and even of

* V. M. de Tillemont Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 39—edit. fol.

le Théologien Luthérien. *Plinii Epiſtolæ a Cortio, cum notis variorum*; *Amſtel.* 1734. C'eſt un aſſez bon *Variorum. Itineraria Vetera a Weſſelingio*; *Amſtel.* 1735. Edition excellente d'un des ouvrages les plus utiles que nous ayions, ſur la Géographie de l' Empire Romain. 1763.

Août 27.]—J'ai lu, pour la ſeconde fois, *la ſixième Satyre de Juvénal*,—tréſor de tous les traits qu'on a lachés contre le ſèxe depuis ſeize cens ans. Sa force, ſa variété, et ſon abondance, ne laiſſent rien à déſirer. On pourroit ſouhaiter ſeulement de retrancher ces déſcriptions trop fidèles, qui enſéignent le vice en le condamnant. Des malheureux pourront-ils cependant ſe ſauver de l'infamie, à force de la mériter? Leur ſeroit-il permis de cacher leurs excès aux yeux de la poſtérité, parcequ'ils en ont comblé la meſure? On lui a reproché même ces déſcriptions comme une preuve du plaiſir ſecret qu'il y goûtoit. Mais l'horreur qu'il en témoigne toujours, me perſuade aſſez, que c'eſt la chaleur du génie et de l'indignation, plutot que celle de la volupté. Je lui reprocherois bien davantage une malignité de cœur, qui lui fait trouver le vice partout, qu'une dépravation de mœurs qui l'engage à lui pardonner. Il confond par tout l'invéctive et la ſatyre. Toutes les femmes ſont coupables, et le ſont des crimes les plus affreux. Vous trouvez une Clytemneſtre dans chaque rue.

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of the Lutheran. *Plinii Epiſtolæ a Cortio, cum notis variorum; Amſtel.* 1734; a very good edition. *Itineraria Vetera a Weſſelingio; Amſtel.* 1734: a moſt excellent edition of one of the moſt uſeful works we have, on the *Geography of the Roman Empire.*

Auguſt 27.]—I read, for the ſecond time, the ſixth Satire of Juvenal,—the ſource of all the invectives that have for ſixteen centuries been accumulated againſt the ſex. Nothing can be added to its force, richneſs, and variety; but ſome things perhaps might be retrenched from thoſe too faithful deſcriptions, which, while they condemn vice, are apt to inſpire vicious paſſions. Yet thoſe wretches—are they entitled to eſcape infamy through the exceſs of their guilt? Ought their profligacy to be concealed from their poſterity becauſe they carried it to an immeaſurable height? Juvenal has even been reproached with gratifying, in ſuch deſcriptions, the pruriency of his own fancy. Yet the horror which he uniformly teſtifies at the diſorders which he deſcribes, will always perſuade me, that his warmth proceeds, not from the flames of voluptuouſneſs, but from the fire of indignation and genius. Inſtead of a licentiouſneſs of morals, which inclined him to pardon vice, I would rather reproach him with a malignity of heart, which made him think the corruption general. He perpetually confounds invective with ſatire. All women are guilty, and guilty of the moſt

1763. rue*. Je ſai qu'il n'y a peut-être jamais eu de ſiècle plus corrompu que celui de Juvénal; que le luxe énervoit les mœurs; que les eſclaves et les amphithéâtres endurciſſoient les cœurs; que la tyrannie aviliſſoit les ſentimens, et que le mêlange de toutes les nations détruiſoit tous les principes et tous les caractères en les confondant. Il reſtoit, cependant, encore des traces des anciennes vertus, des hommes et des femmes dignes d'un ſiecle meilleur. Conſultez un monument contemporain, les Epîtres de Pline; vous y verrez l'humanité, les mœurs, l'amour des talens, qui ſubſiſtoient dans la ſociété de cet aimable Romain. Jamais Juvénal ne ſe permet la moindre louange des hommes vertueux †, quand ce ne ſeroit que pour les faire contraſter avec les méchans. Tous les autres ſatiriques, un Horace, un Boileau, un Pope, ont compris qu'ils devoient ſe faire des amis de leurs lecteurs, en ſe repréſentant comme ceux de la vertu et des hommes. Ce ſont auſſi de tous les poëtes ceux que nous aimons le plus. Mais Juvénal paroît déteſter les hommes par principe; et en leur déclarant la guerre, il ſe ſoucie aſſez peu d'acquérir leur amitié. Cette miſantropie peut à la vérité lui donner un nouveau mérite pour notre malignité.

† J'entends de ſes contemporains.

Août

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moſt enormous crimes. You may find a Clytemneſtra in every ſtreet*. I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury; the heart hardened by the inſtitutions of domeſtic ſlavery and the amphitheatre; ſentiments debaſed by the tyranny of government; and every characteriſtic and manly principle ſubverted, by the mixture and confuſion of nations in one great city. Yet, there ſtill remained many veſtiges of the ancient virtues; and women, as well as men, worthy of living in a better age: If we conſult Pliny's Epiſtles, a cotemporary monument, we ſhall find in the circle of that amiable Roman, humanity, morals, the love of talents and of merit. Juvenal never allows himſelf to beſtow the ſmalleſt praiſe on virtuous characters †, even with the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contraſt. All the other ſatiriſts, Horace, Boileau, Pope, have taken care to recommend themſelves to their readers as the friends of virtue and of man; and as ſuch, have perhaps, of all the poets, moſt gained our love. But Juvenal ſeems to have a rooted hatred to his ſpecies; and, having declared againſt them open war, is totally regardleſs of their friendſhip. This miſanthropy, indeed, muſt render his works peculiarly acceptable to human malignity.

* Juvenal Satir. vi. v. 655.

† I mean thoſe of his own times.

Auguſt

Août 28.]—J'ai lu, deux fois, *la ſeptième Satyre de Juvénal*. Le poëte y repréſente, avec ſa vivacité ordinaire, l'état de pauvreté et de mépris, dans lequel ſe trouvoient les gens de lettres de ſon ſiècle. C'eſt toujours un ſujet peu agréable. Il eſt difficile de rendre reſpectable l'objet d'un mépris injuſte, mais général : il eſt beaucoup plus facile de rendre aimable un caractère que la multitude hait ſans raiſon. D'ailleurs ces plaintes réitérées ſur ſa fortune, ont mauvaiſe grace dans la bouche d'un homme de lettres. On convient qu'il a raiſon ; mais on y trouve toujours un air de baſſeſſe et d'avidité, fort oppoſé à l'élévation d'ame qu'on attend de lui. Si l'eſprit conſiſte à raſſembler des idées, qu'on s'étonne de trouver réunies, ſans en être choqué, le contraſte du poëte et du lion mérite bien ce nom. Ce trait eſt aſſurément des plus plaiſans. J'ai achevé *le cinquième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y vois un *ſecond extrait de l'ouvrage de M. Heineccius*, qui roule ſur l'hiſtoire du droit Germanique ; le ſujet eſt moins intéreſſant que celui du droit Romain, mais il me paroît auſſi bien traité : *Les Réflexions Critiques ſur les anciens peuples, de M. Fourmont l'aîné*. Parcequ'on ſait le Chinois, faut-il débiter des chimères d'un ton d'oracle ? Saturne, Abraham : la grande divinité des Payens, un Patriarche errant de pays en pays, adoré 1763.

Auguſt 28]—I read twice the ſeventh Satire of Juvenal ; in which the poet deſcribes, with his ordinary ſpirit, the poverty and contempt attending the men of letters of his times. The ſubject is always a diſagreeable one ; ſince it is more eaſy to render a character amiable, which happens to be the object of public hatred, than to render thoſe reſpectable, who are the objects of general, though juſt contempt : beſides, thoſe continual complaints reſpecting the bad ſtate of their fortune, come with peculiar diſadvantage from men of letters. We acknowledge their murmurs to be juſt, but they always ſtrike us with an idea of avidity, and meanneſs, extremely inconſiſtent with the elevation which we expect from their characters. If wit conſiſts in finding between ideas, relations that are natural without being obvious, the contraſt of the poet and the lion ſurely deſerves that name ; it is one of the wittieſt poſſible. I finiſhed the fifteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. It contains a ſecond extract from Heineccius, explaining the hiſtory of the German law ; a ſubject leſs intereſting, indeed, than that of the Roman law, but equally well treated. *Réflexions Critiques ;* Critical Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Fourmont the elder. Becauſe a man underſtands the Chineſe, is he, therefore, entitled to tell us abſurdities, with the authority of an oracle ? Saturn the ſame with Abraham ! The great divinity of the Pagans the ſame with a wandering patriarch : and adored after his death almoſt by the

1763. adoré après ſa mort de toute la terre, à l'exception de ſa propre famille, et cette même famille un objet d'horreur et de mépris, pour tous ſes adorateurs. *Vie de Julien, de mon ami l'Abbé de la Bleterie.* Les Journaliſtes n'ont ſenti le mérite ni du héros, ni de ſon hiſtorien. Ils ſe ſont même permis des réflexions aſſez indécentes pour tous les deux. En général, un zèle aigre et controverſiſte ſe fait beaucoup trop ſentir dans cette bibliothèque. Qu'un P. Colonia invite les fidèles au jubilé de Lyon, il vaudroit peut-être mieux n'y oppoſer que le mépris; cependant on ne ſauroit blâmer la plaiſanterie. Mais qu'en donnant l'extrait d'un ouvrage de littérature ou d'hiſtoire, on déterre quelques propos convenables au pays de l'écrivain, pour les réfuter longuement et durement, c'eſt aſſurément connoître très peu les fonctions d'un journaliſte.---J'ai écrit deux pages de mon *Recueil ſur la Géographie ancienne de l'Italie.*

Août 29.]---J'ai lu, pour la premiere fois, *la huitième Satyre de Juvenal*, v. 1---275. J'ai écrit deux pages de mon Recueil.

30.]---Je n'ai fait qu'écrire une page et demie de mon Recueil.

31.]---J'ai relu *la huitième Satyre de Juvénal.* J'ai lu deux fois la *neuvième*, v. 1.---150; et j'ai lu pour la première fois *la dixième Satyre*, v. 1---100. Qu'il eſt humiliant pour les hommes, qu'on ſoit obligé, dans preſque

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the whole world, except his own poſterity; and that poſterity an object of abhorence and contempt to all his adorers! The life of Julian, written by my friend the Abbé de la Bleterie. The journaliſts are inſenſible to the merit, both of the hero and the hiſtorian; and even indulge themſelves in making very unbecoming reflections with reſpect to both. In general, the bitterneſs of zeal and controverſy prevails too much in this *Bibliothèque.* When a father Colonia invites the faithful to the jubilee of Lyons, he is beſt anſwered with ſilent contempt; yet ridicule may be uſed againſt him without blame. But in giving the analyſis of a work of literature or hiſtory, to bring forward opinions and reaſonings ſuitable merely to the country of the writer, with a view to refute them tediouſly and ill-naturedly, is ſurely to miſtake the buſineſs of a critical journal.—I wrote two pages of my collection on the ancient geography of Italy.

Auguſt 29th.]—I read, for the firſt time, the eighth Satire of Juvenal, containing 275 verſes.

30.]—I did nothing but write a page and a half of my collection.

31.]—I read over again the eighth Satire of Juvenal. I alſo twice read the ninth, containing 150 verſes, and, for the firſt time, the firſt hundred verſes of the tenth. How humiliating it is for mankind, that they muſt be

preſque tous les pays, de leur enſeigner qu'un homme eſt plus reſpectable pour ſes vertus, que pour celles de ſes pères ! On a de la peine à concevoir la naiſſance et l'établiſſement de ce préjugé général ; la nature met une différence ineffaçable entre ceux à qui elle donne de grands talens, et ceux à qui elle les a refuſés. La raiſon et la crainte ſéparent le magiſtrat et le ſujet ; mais quel principe établit d'abord la diſtinction entre le noble et le roturier ? Je crois que c'eſt la religion. La diſcuſſion en ſeroit curieuſe, mais longue. Je me contenterai de faire une obſervation ſur cette Satyre. 1. Juvénal y parle d'un bout à l'autre le langage d'un ancien Romain. Je vois partout, non ſeulement le ton d'un vrai cenſeur, qui confond le vice, qui expoſe les ridicules, et qui fait trembler les coupables ; mais encore celui d'un républicain, dont l'ame ſe plie avec difficulté à la nouvelle conſtitution, ennemi juré de la tyrannie, et ami d'une monarchie douce et équitable, plutôt par néceſſité que par inclination. Cet air de liberté, cette fierté d'ame, diſtingue Juvénal de tous ſes confrères, qui ont vecu après l'établiſſement de l'empire. Virgile, Horace, Ovide, Lucain, Martial, Stace, Valerius Flaccus, ont tous chanté la ruine de la patrie, et le triomphe de leurs oppreſſeurs ; ils ont tous encenſé le vice d'un Néron, ou d'un Domitien, comme les vertus d'un Auguſte ou d'un Veſpaſien. Mais 1793.

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be taught, almoſt in all countries, that they are more reſpectable for their own virtues, than for thoſe of their anceſtors ! The origin and eſtabliſhment of this prejudice is ſcarcely conceivable. Nature draws an indelible diſtinction between thoſe to whom ſhe has given talents, and thoſe from whom ſhe has withheld them. The ſubordination of citizens to their magiſtrates is founded on fear and reaſon ; but what was the principle that originally eſtabliſhed the diſtinction of noble and plebeian ? I think it was religion. This queſtion would require to be examined at great length, and the examination of it would be curious. I ſhall be contented with making a ſingle obſervation on this ſatire. 1. Juvenal ſpeaks, from one end of it to the other, the language of an ancient Roman. We perceive throughout, not only the dignity of a true cenſor, who arraigns vice, expoſes folly, and appals guilt, but the ſoul of a republican, reluctantly bending under the new conſtitution, the ſworn enemy of tyranny, and the friend of a mild and equitable monarchy, rather through neceſſity than inclination. This love of liberty, and loftineſs of mind, diſtinguiſhes Juvenal from all the poets who lived after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, all ſing the ruin of their country, and the triumph of its oppreſſors. The vices of a Nero and a Domitian are commemorated in as lofty notes of praiſe, as the virtues of Auguſtus and Veſpaſian. Juvenal

1763. Mais Juvénal n'a jamais ſu proſtituer ſa muſe. Il ne lui eſt échappé qu'une ſeule louange de l'empereur, louange peut-être juſte, exprimée avec la plus grande ſimplicité, et renfermée dans un ſeul vers : mais il ne perd pas une occaſion de ſe déchaîner contre la folie et la tyrannie de ces maîtres du monde, et de leurs ſubdélégués. Il fait plus ; il enſeigne les remédes.

Tollas licet, omne quod uſquam eſt,
Auri atque argenti, ſcutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum et galeam ; ſpoliatis arma ſuperſunt---

eſt un conſeil qui s'addreſſe pour le moins, autant aux Romains qu'aux Africains. Cette liberté de Juvénal décide du tems ou il a veçu, bien mieux que les traditions incertaines et contradictoires de ſon vieux ſcholiaſte. Juvénal a vêcu ſous un bon prince, ſous un Nerva, ou un Trajan ; tems heureux où il étoit permis d'exprimer ce qu'on ſentoit ! Les tyrans avoient le tact fin ; ils ſe reconnoiſſoient aiſément dans les portraits de leurs prédéceſſeurs. Un Domitien jugeoit avec raiſon, qu'un ennemi de Néron ne pouvoit pas être ſon ami, et un délateur auroit arreté Juvénal à ſa première ſatyre. Mais je doute qu'il en eût jamais couru les riſques. Les ames les plus fortes, et les génies les plus élevés, n'ont ſu ſe dérober aux ſoupçons dangereux des tyrans, qu'en cherchant la retraite, le ſilence, et des études frivoles et innocentes.---

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Juvenal alone never proſtitutes his muſe. In his works, there is but one example of praiſe beſtowed on the emperor ; a praiſe perhaps juſt, expreſſed with the greateſt ſimplicity, and included in a ſingle verſe. But he never loſes an opportunity of arraigning the folly and tyranny of thoſe maſters of the world and their deputies. He does more ; he teaches how the evils inflicted by them may be cured.

Tollas licet, omne quod uſquam eſt,
Auri atque argenti, ſcutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum et galeam ; ſpoliatis arma ſuperſunt—

is an advice addreſſed fully as much to the Romans as to the Africans. Juvenal's liberty of ſpeech fixes the time in which he lived far better than the uncertain and contradictory reports of an old ſcholiaſt. He lived under a good prince, a Nerva or a Trajan, at a happy period when his ſentiments might be expreſſed without diſguiſe. Tyrants had the niceſt ſenſibility ; they eaſily knew their own pictures in thoſe of their predeceſſors. Domitian reaſonably concluded, that an enemy to Nero could not be his friend ; an informer would have ſilenced Juvenal after his firſt ſatire. But I ſuſpect that he never run that riſk. Men, diſtinguiſhed by vigour of mind and elevation of genius, found no other means of eſcaping the fatal ſuſpicion of tyrants, than by concealing themſelves in ſilence and

La neuvième Satyre eſt preſque dégoûtante. Le vice que le poëte y condamne eſt ſi naïvement expoſé. Le ridicule que Juvénal y a ſu répandre me paroît venir du caractère de Nævolus, d'un miſérable *pathique*, dont les ſentimens ſont ſi avilis par ſon genre de vie, qu'il ne paroît pas en comprendre l'infamie, et qu'il raconte ſes ſervices du même air d'indifférence qu'un ſoldat parleroit de ſes campagnes. Ce ſérieux, ſi déplacé que le lecteur ſent, et que Nævolus ne ſent point, fait ſelon moi la plaiſanterie de cette Satyre. 1763.

Septembre 1.]---J'ai lu la dixième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 100---365; j'ai relu cette ſatyre, et j'ai lu pour la première fois la onzième, v. 1---208. Dans la dixième, Juvénal s'exerce ſur un ſujet digne de lui, la vanité de nos vœux, défaut général, compatible avec les plus grandes vertus, et lié étroitement avec les ſentimens les plus naturels au cœur humain. Le poëte y déploye une philoſophie fine, exacte, et fondée ſur les principes les plus ſolides de la morale. Son génie s'éleve à proportion de l'importance de ſon rôle; il anéantit toutes les fauſſes grandeurs; il peſe avec la ſublime indifférence d'un être ſupérieur, les vertus, les talens et le deſtin des plus grands hommes. Il néglige, il paroît mépriſer ce talent de la verſification, cette harmonie douce et charmante, qu'il poſsède ſi bien. Son ſtyle, toujours énergique, précis,

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and obſcurity, confining their application to innocent and frivolous purſuits.—The ninth Satire of Juvenal is diſguſting by its ſubject. The vice which the poet condemns is exhibited without diſguiſe. The ridicule of the ſatire appears to me to ariſe from the character of Nævolus, a miſerable catamite, whoſe principles are ſo much debaſed by his way of life, that he has loſt all ſenſe of its infamy, and relates his ſervices with the ſame air of indifference that a ſoldier would deſcribe his campaigns. This gravity, which the reader perceives to be ſo much out of place, and which Nævolus does not, produces, in my opinion, the whole humour of the piece.

September 1.]—I read a ſecond time the tenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—365, the end; and the eleventh, conſiſting of 208 verſes, for the firſt time. In the tenth, Juvenal treats of a ſubject worthy of himſelf; the vanity of human wiſhes, a misfortune conſiſtent with the greateſt virtues, and intimately connected with the moſt natural ſentiments of the heart. The poet every where employs a refined and accurate philoſophy, founded on the ſtricteſt principles of moral ſcience. His genius riſes with his ſubject: he ſhews the nothingneſs of falſe grandeur, and weighs, with the ſublime indifference of a ſuperior being, the virtues, talents, and deſtiny, of the greateſt men. He here neglects, and ſeems even to diſdain, the beauty of verſification, and that ſweet and charming harmony of which he was ſo great a maſter. His ſtyle, preciſe, energetic, lofty,

1763. précis, ſoutenu, et rempli des plus belles images, eſt moins coulant, et plus rude que dans ſes autres pièces. Comme il s'appuye toujours ſur l'expérience, ſes raiſonnemens ſont entre-mêlés d'exemples, dont la plupart ſont choiſis avec beaucoup de goût. Celui de Séjan eſt parfait. Jamais élevation plus ſingulière, jamais chûte plus foudroyante. La légèreté de ce peuple, qui court briſer les ſtatues qu'il venoit d'encenſer, fait un tableau achevé. L'exemple de la mort d'Alexandre me paroît le moins philoſophique. Alexandre eſt malheureux pour être mort au milieu de ſa gloire et de ſes ſuccès. Cependant ſi Marius étoit mort en deſcendant de ſon char de triomphe, il eût été le plus heureux de tous les hommes. Les raiſonnemens de cette ſatyre auroient été plus clairs, ſi Juvénal avoit diſtingué les ſouhaits dont l'accompliſſement ne peut que nous rendre malheureux, et ceux dont le ſuccès pourroit ne pas faire notre bonheur. La puiſſance abſolue eſt de la première eſpèce, une vie longue de la ſeconde. Nous devons abandonner ceux-ci à la connoiſſance des dieux, mais nos lumières nous ſuffiſent pour les prier hardiment de ne pas nous accorder ceux-là. A propos des dieux, je remarque dans Juvénal cette indéciſion à leur égard ſi commune aux anciens. Rien de plus pieux, ni de plus philoſophique que la ſoumiſſion, que la foi, qu'il fait paroître; un inſtant après, notre ſageſſe nous ſuffit, et la prudence tient lieu de toutes les divinités.

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loſty, and enriched with images, flows in a rougher ſtream than in his other pieces. Taking experience for his guide, his reaſonings are mixed with examples, of which the greater part are choſen with exquiſite judgement. That of Sejanus is a maſter-piece: never was any elevation more extraordinary than his, nor any fall more dreadful. The levity of the people, who were in haſte to break his ſtatues, which they had juſt worſhipped, is a finiſhed picture of popular inconſtancy. The example of the death of Alexander, ſeems to me to be choſen with leſs diſcernment than the reſt. *His* misfortune conſiſted in being cut off in the midſt of his ſucceſs and glory. Yet had Marius died as he deſcended from his triumphal car, he would have been deemed the happieſt of mortals. The reaſoning in this ſatire would have been clearer, had Juvenal diſtinguiſhed between thoſe wiſhes, the accompliſhment of which could not fail to make us miſerable, and thoſe whoſe accompliſhment might fail to make us happy. Abſolute power is of the firſt kind; long life of the ſecond. The latter we may ſafely commit to the providence of the gods; but our own reaſon may teach us to pray, that they would refuſe to us the former. With regard to the gods, I remark that inconſtancy of opinion in Juvenal, which is ſo frequent among the antients. At one moment nothing can be more pious than his faith, or more philoſophical than his ſubmiſſion. The next, our own wiſdom ſuffices, and

divinités. 'Au vers ſuivant, ſa dévotion le reprend; il borne cette propoſition générale à la ſeule *Fortune*, et replace tous les autres dieux ſur l'Olympe. 1763.

J'ai achevé le *ſeizième tôme de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *les Sermons de M. Foſter*. Quel miracle! un théologien, qui préfere la raiſon à la foi, et qui eſt plus effrayé du vice que de l'héréſie. *Scriptores Rei Ruſticæ à Geſnero*. Ces auteurs peuvent être utiles pour la langue et l'économie des Romains; mais où eſt le littérateur qui les lira? où eſt le cultivateur qui les ſuivroit? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol.* 1. *per Math. Ball:* ouvrage immenſe, mais trop détaillé pour tout ce qui n'eſt pas Hongrois. *Eloge de M. le Clerc:* ouvrage exact et ſec du journaliſte. *Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo, par le Père le Courayer; premier extrait.* En ſouhaitant au traducteur une certaine vigueur de raiſon qu'il n'a pas, on ne ſauroit lui ſouhaiter plus de modération, d'impartialité, et de tolérance, qu'il n'en découvre dans ſa préface.

Septembre 3.]---J'ai relu la onzième Satyre de Juvénal. J'ai lu la douzième Satyre, v. 1---130; et je l'ai relue, v. 1---100. Dans l'onzième, Juvénal, qui veut inviter ſon ami à ſouper, compare, avec beaucoup de vivacité, le luxe effréné de ſes contemporains, avec ces repas ſimples et groſſiers des anciens dictateurs; il fait ſentir très fortement,

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and prudence uſurps the thrones of all the divinities. In the following verſe his devotion again gets the aſcendency: he limits his general aſſertion to fortune only, and replaces all the other gods in Olympus.

September 2.]—I finiſhed the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. It contains Foſter's Sermons. Wonderful! a divine preferring reaſon to faith, and more afraid of vice than of hereſy. *Scriptores Rei Ruſticæ à Geſnero*. Theſe authors may be uſeful for inſtructing us in the language and rural œconomy of the Romans; but where is the ſtudent that reads, or the farmer who puts in practice, their leſſons? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol.* 1. *per Math. Ball:* an immenſe work, but too minutely circumſtantial for any but Hungarians. The Panegyric of Mr. Le Clerc; a dry but accurate work of the Reviewer. The Council of Trent, by Father Paul, tranſlated by Father Courayer; firſt extract. We might wiſh the tranſlator more vigour of underſtanding; but in his preface he diſplays all the candor, impartiality, and toleration, that can poſſibly be deſired.

3.]—I read a ſecond time the eleventh Satire of Juvenal: I read the firſt 100 verſes a third time: and alſo the twelfth Satire, conſiſting of 130 verſes. In the eleventh, Juvenal takes an opportunity, in inviting his friend to ſupper, to contraſt, with much ſprightlineſs, the extravagant luxury of his contemporaries with the ſimple and coarſe fare of antient

1763. fortement, ſans le dire, combien l'élégance de ſon ſiècle étoit devenue univerſelle, et preſque néceſſaire, puis qu'un pauvre philoſophe, comme lui, préparoit à ſon ami un repas fort inférieur à ceux de Ventidius, mais très ſupérieur à ceux de Curius. La ſimplicité, la propreté, et les amuſements honnêtes, devoient ſeuls y regner. Juvénal avoit l'eſprit juſte, et l'ame honnête; mais l'un et l'autre étoient dépourvus de douceur et d'aménité. Il a negligé l'occaſion de parler à ſon ami de ces ſentimens qu'on ſe fait toujours un plaiſir d'épancher dans ſon ſein, lorſqu'ils exiſtent chez nous. Les converſations libres et philoſophiques que l'amitié inſpire, et que la confiance aſſure, ſont mal remplacées à ſon ſouper par la lecture d'Homere. Horace n'a eu garde de les oublier dans le portrait charmant qu'il nous fait d'un repas vague et incertain, dont l'exiſtence réelle et prochaine ne contribuoit point à l'échauffer. Je diſtinguerois cependant ici, entre les caractères de Boileau et de Juvénal. L'un et l'autre paroiſſent avoir peu connu les ſentimens tendres. Mais c'étoit dans le premier une ſéchereſſe de cœur et d'imagination, qui le rendoit peu ſuſceptible de paſſions quelconques. Juvénal avoit l'imagination ardente, et un cœur qui y répondoit; mais tous les deux portoient plutôt leur énergie ſur les paſſions fortes, ſombres et élevées que ſur celles qui ſont douces et aimables.

Septembre

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tient dictators. He makes us clearly perceive, without formally expreſſing it, how univerſal, and almoſt neceſſary, the elegance of the table was become in his time, ſince a poor philoſopher like himſelf prepared for his friend a ſupper, very inferior indeed to the feaſts of Ventidius, but far ſuperior to thoſe of Curius. This entertainment was to be graced by ſimplicity, neatneſs, and decent amuſements only. Juvenal poſſeſſed juſtneſs of underſtanding, and honeſty of heart; but his character was deficient in point of ſweetneſs and ſenſibility. He has neglected an opportunity of expreſſing thoſe ſentiments, which one friend, when he feels them, is always ready to pour into the boſom of another. The free and philoſophical converſation which the confidence of friendſhip inſpires and warrants, is but ill ſupplied at his ſupper by the reading of Homer. Horace took care not to forget, in his charming picture of an entertainment diſtant and uncertain, thoſe amiable feelings with which the near reality of a ſimilar repaſt does not inſpire Juvenal. Here, however, I would make a diſtinction between this ſatiriſt and Boileau. Neither of them were endowed with tenderneſs of ſentiment. But this defect in Boileau proceeded from a coldneſs of heart and fancy, which rendered him but little ſuſceptible of any paſſion whatever. Juvenal's heart and fancy were both of them ardent; but their warmth exhauſted itſelf in paſſions ſtrong, dark, and elevated, not in affections which are amiable and tender.

September

Septembre 4.]—Je n'ai fait qu'achever la douzième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 100---130. Cet ouvrage me fait voir combien Juvénal avoit le génie de la fatyre; mais qu'il n'avoit que ce génie. Certainement il ne fongeoit pas à faire une fatyre: il vouloit féliciter un de fes amis qui venoit d'echapper à un grand naufrage; après y avoir employé les deux tiers de la fatyre, il s'échappe à la fin, il fe fouvient que cet ami, pour le falut de qui il va offrir tant de facrifices, a trois enfans. Que fa conduite eft différente de celle des *captatores*, dont Rome étoit remplie, qui ne s'attachoient qu'aux riches fans enfans! Il oublie fon ami, et il n'eft plus queftion que de ces faquins. Le tableau qu'il en fait eft vif, et très fupérieur à fa defcription de la tempête. Celle-ci eft trainante, foible, et confufe; l'ouvrage d'un déclamateur, et quelquefois d'un écolier. 1763.

J'ai achevé le dix feptième tôme de la *Bibliothèque Raifonnée*. J'y trouve le deuxième et troifième *Extraits de l'Hiftoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo, par le Courayer*. On croiroit que l'ame de l'illuftre Servite étoit paffée dans celle du chanoine régulier; les talens, les vertus, et jufqu'aux foibleffes, tout leur eft commun. Cet ouvrage eft un beau monument de l'hiftoire des religions, la partie la plus curieufe de celle de l'efprit humain, pour qui fait s'élever au deffus de tous les préjugés de parti et de fecte.

De

September 4.]—I did nothing but finifh the twelfth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—130, the end. This performance fhews the author's genius for fatire, but alfo that it was the only kind of genius with which he was endowed. In this piece, he certainly did not at firft intend writing a fatire, but only to congratulate one of his friends, who had been faved from a dreadful fhipwreck. After employing, on this fubject, two-thirds of the poem, he is at once diverted from it, by recollecting that his friend, for whofe fafety he is to offer fo many facrifices, has three children. This conduct in himfelf ftrikes him as totally oppofite to that of the teftament-hunters, with whom Rome abounded, and whofe attentions were folely beftowed on rich people who were childlefs. He forgets his friend, for the pleafure of expofing thofe knaves. The lively picture which he draws of them, is far fuperior to his defcription of the tempeft, which is tedious, languid, confufed, difgraced by declamation, and even by puerility.

I finifhed the feventeenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raifonnée*. It contains the fecond and third extract from Father Paul's Council of Trent, tranflated by Father Courayer. It fhould feem as if the foul of the illuftrious Servite animated the regular Canon: the fame talents, virtues, and even weaknefles, are common to both. This work is a beautiful monument of the hiftory of religion, the moft curious part of the human mind, for thofe who can foar above the prejudices of fects and parties.

De

1763. *De verbis ambiguis à Reitzio.* Un beau deſſein, très mal exécuté. *Diſſertation ſur le Suicide, par Robeck.* L'auteur s'eſt jetté dans l'Elb. On ne ſauroit douter de ſa ſincérité ; mais ſes lumières ne l'égaloient point.

Septembre 5.]---J'ai écrit plus d'une page de mon Recueil. J'ai lu la treizième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 1---249.

6.]---J'ai relu la treizième Satyre de Juvénal, et j'ai lu la quatorzième, v. 1---331. Ce poëte cherche à conſoler un de ſes amis, à qui un coquin venoit de faire perdre dix mille ſeſterces en niant un dépôt qui lui avoit été confié. Un théologien trouveroit dans cet ouvrage de nouvelles preuves de l'incertitude des Payens ſur un état futur et ſur la Providence. Il parle avec une énergie preſque divine, des tourmens d'une conſcience bourrelée par le ſentiment affreux d'avoir violé les loix de la juſtice, et du ſupplice de celui qui porte toujours ſon bourreau au dedans de ſon cœur. Ses ſonges ne lui retracent que des objets affreux ; et s'il ſurvient un malheur, une maladie, l'idée de punition qu'il y attache, les rend encore plus douloureux. Mais il ne décide jamais, ſi ces craintes ont un fondement réel. Elles aſſocient le malheur et le vice par l'effet qu'elles ont ſur l'imagination ; mais quelle influence doivent-elles avoir ſur la raiſon ? Juvénal en parle tout auſſi peu que des peines du méchant dans l'autre vie. La ſeule fois qu'il les rapelle, c'eſt avec une forte

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De verbis ambiguis a Reitzio : good deſign, ill executed. A Diſſertation on Suicide by Robeck. The author threw himſelf into the Elbe. It is impoſſible to doubt his ſincerity, which far ſurpaſſed his underſtanding.

September 5.]—I wrote above a page of my collection, and read the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal conſiſting of 249 verſes.

6.]—I read a ſecond time the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, and the fourteenth, conſiſting of 331 verſes, for the firſt time. In the firſt, the poet, offers conſolation to a friend, who had been defrauded of ten thouſand ſeſterces, by a knave who denied the depoſit of that ſum. In this Satire, a divine might find new proofs of the uncertainty of the Pagans reſpecting a Providence and a future ſtate. The poet ſpeaks almoſt divinely of the torments of a guilty conſcience; of its horrid remorſe for having violated the laws of juſtice; and of the dreadful ſufferings of him who bears his puniſhment always in his own heart. His dreams appal him with the moſt frightful images; and the pain of every calamity that befalls him, is heightened by his regarding it as a puniſhment. But he does not decide whether theſe terrors reſt on any ſolid foundation. Wickedneſs and miſery are aſſociated in the fancy; but does reaſon prove that there is a neceſſary connection between them? Juvenal does not conſider this queſtion, any more than the puniſhment of the wicked in another life. He mention this but once and

forte de mépris. Encore après avoir épuiſé toute ſon élo- 1763.
quence à peindre les punitions du vice, il n'en trouve point
de plus fortes, ni de plus efficaces que celle du magiſtrat. C'eſt par celle-là qu'il finit. Juvénal, cependant, ne ſe piquoit point de la philoſophie impie des Grècs. C'étoit un vieux Romain qui s'attachoit plus à Caton qu'à Chryſippe, et qui reſpectoit ſincèrement la divinité, quoiqu'il ſe moquât un peu de la multiplicité des dieux de ſes concitoyens.

Septembre 7.]---J'ai achevé le *dix huitième tôme de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* J'y vois *Lettres de Leibnitz.* Parmi l' univerſalité de ſes talens, le théologien nous arrête ici. Leibnitz étoit philoſophe; pouvoit-il ſonger ſérieuſement à une réunion des réligions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii et P. Alpheni.* La vie du premier de ces juriſconſultes eſt auſſi intéreſſante que celle de l'autre l'eſt peu. Everard Otton en eſt l'auteur. *Heineccii Opuſcula.* Parmi ces diſſertations, celle ſur les habillemens des premiers Chrétiens eſt ſavante et curieuſe. *Catonis Diſticha.* Après avoir vu les preuves de M. Carnegzieter, on ne peut guères douter que Dionyſius Cato n'ait été Payen, et qu'il n'ait vécu avant le ſiècle de Conſtantin. Faut-il en effet être Chrétien, pour débiter d'un ſtyle ſi bas, des maximes d'un bon ſens auſſi commun?

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and then contemptuouſly. Having exhauſted his whole eloquence in deſcribing the puniſhments of vice, he thinks none ſo powerful and efficacious as that inflicted by the magiſtrates, with which he concludes. Yet Juvenal had never imbibed the impious philoſophy of the Greeks; he was an old Roman, who hearkened to Cato rather than to Chryſippus; and who ſincerely venerated the divinity, though he was inclined to laugh at the polytheiſm of his fellow-citizens.

September 7.]—I finiſhed the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains the letters of Leibnitz. This univerſal genius here appears as a theologian. As a philoſopher, could Leibnitz really hope that an union might be effected among religions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii et P. Alpheni.* The life of the firſt of theſe lawyers is as intereſting, as that of the ſecond is the reverſe. It is written by Everard Otto. *Heineccii Opuſcula.* Among theſe diſſertations, that concerning the dreſs of the firſt Chriſtians is learned and curious. *Catonis Diſticha.* After having read the proofs brought by M. Carnegzieter, it is impoſſible to doubt that Dionyſius Cato was a Pagan who lived before the age of Conſtantine. It was not neceſſary, ſurely, to be a Chriſtian, to be able to retail in the loweſt ſtyle, maxims of the plaineſt common ſenſe.

1763. Septembre 8.]---J'ai écrit deux pages de mon Recueil; et j'ai relu la quatorzième Satyre de Juvénal, v. 1---106.

9.]---Le premier volume des *Lettres du Baron de Bielfeld*, qui me tombèrent par hazard entre les mains, m'a amuſé et m'a diſtrait. Les déſcriptions de Berlin, de Potzdam, et d'Hanovre, m'ont plu. La vie du roi de Pruſſe dans ſa retraite, y eſt bien crayonnée : on y voit l'aurore d'un beau jour, mais on ne voit point des préſages de tempêtes; auſſi le portrait eſt-il un peu flatté. Pour Homere et l'Angleterre, le Baron les connoît autant l'un que l'autre.

13.]---J'ai achevé *le neuvième tôme de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y vois *le quatorzième et dernier Extrait de l'Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo, par le Père le Courayer*. La politique de la maiſon d'Autriche eſt aſſez fine. Elle a toujours ſu profiter de cette ſuperſtition dont les autres nations étoient les victimes. Elle a rejetté, en particulier, le Concile de Trente, en paroiſſant l'accepter avec beaucoup de reſpect. *Les Commentaires de Cæſar, par Oudendorp* : bon et peſant variorum. *Penſées et Diſſertations Théologiques d'Alphonſo Turretin* ; foible raiſonneur, mais bon écrivain. *Miracles de l'Abbé Paris, par M. de Montgeron* : ce fanatiſme des Janſéniſtes eſt une de ces maladies épidémiques de l'eſprit humain, qui méritent beaucoup d'attention.

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September 8]—I wrote two pages of my collection, and read over again the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1.—106.

9.]—The firſt volume of the Letters of Baron Bielfeld having accidently fallen into my hands, engaged and amuſed me. I was pleaſed with his deſcription of Berlin, Potſdam, and Hanover. The life led by the king of Pruſſia, in his retreat, is well ſketched. We behold the morning of a beautiful day; but as there are no preſages of the tempeſt, the picture is a little too flattering. As to Homer and England, the Baron is juſt as well acquainted with one as with the other.

13.]—I finiſhed the nineteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée* : it contains the fourteenth and laſt extract from Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, tranſlated by Courayer. The refined policy of the Houſe of Auſtria has always known how to avail itſelf of that ſuperſtition of which other nations have been the victims. Auſtria in particular rejected the authority of the Council of Trent, which ſhe had appeared to admit moſt reſpectfully. *Cæſar's Commentaries, by Oudendorp* : a good and bulky edition. *Thoughts and Theological Diſſertations, by Alphonſo Turretin* : a weak reaſoner, but a good writer. The *Miracles of Abbé Paris, by Montgeron*. This fanaticiſm of the Janſeniſts is one of thoſe epidemic maladies of the human mind, which deſerves much attention.

Septembe

Septembre 16.]---J'avois un peu négligé Juvénal. J'en ai lu aujourd'hui pour la ſeconde fois la quatorzième Satyre, v. 106---331 ; et, pour la première, la quinzième, v. 1. 174. Il y a des ſatyres plus plaiſantes que la quatorzième ; il y en a où le poëte prend un vol plus ſublime ; mais il n'y en a aucune où il déploye autant de talens philoſophiques, la briéveté, l'art d'enchaîner ſes idées et ſa préciſion. Sa briéveté n'eſt point celle ſi commune aujourd'hui d'étrangler ſes penſées, en croyant les reſſerrer, et d'imaginer qu'on a beaucoup fait, lorſqu'en peu de mots on laiſſe entrevoir obſcurement le quart d'une idée ; mais cette briéveté de Tacite et de Monteſquieu, qui fait retrancher tout ce qui n'eſt qu'acceſſoire, pour renfermer l'idée principale dans une expreſſion forte et préciſe. Voyez dans cette ſatyre les vers 166---171 ; où dans cinq lignes, en choiſiſſant les circonſtances les plus caractériſtiques, le poëte vous met devant les yeux la ſimplicité des anciens Romains, leur amour du travail, l'union des familles, la ſobriété de leurs repas, et leur haine d'un grand nombre d eſclaves étrangers. Toute cette ſatyre n'eſt qu'un tiſſu bien travaillé ; les idées naiſſent les unes des autres, ou du moins les tranſitions ſont toujours aiſées, et preſque inſenſibles. Avec quelle juſteſſe, avec quelle fineſſe, ne ſuit-il pas le progrès de l'avarice dans le cœur humain ? Il la prend dans ſon origine, et la fait paſſer de la 1763.

September 16.]—I had a little neglected Juvenal. To day I read for the ſecond time, the fourteenth Satire, v. 106—331, the end ; and, for the firſt time, the fifteenth Satire, v. 1—174. There are ſatires more agreeable than the fourteenth ; there are others in which the poet takes a loftier flight ; but there are none in which he ſo much diſplays his genius for philoſophy, the art of connecting his ideas, his preciſion, and brevity. His brevity reſembles not that ſo common among writers of the preſent age, who often ſtrangle a thought in hopes of ſtrengthening it ; and who applaud their own ſkill, when they have ſhewn to us, in a few abſurd words, the fourth part of an idea ; it is the brevity of Tacitus and Monteſquieu, which after retrenching whatever is ſuperfluous or unneceſſary, includes the principal thought in a preciſe and vigorous expreſſion. By ſelecting the moſt characteriſtic circumſtances, the poet ſets before your eyes, in five lines, (v. 166—171,) the ſimplicity of the ancient Romans, their love of labour, their domeſtic happineſs, the fruitfulneſs of their wives, their ſober diet, and their averſion to being ſerved by a multitude of foreign ſlaves. Throughout the whole of this ſatire, the texture is ſkilfully combined ; the thoughts either riſing immediately the one from the other, or the tranſitions being ſo natural, that they are almoſt imperceptible. How juſtly and artfully does the poet deſcribe the progreſs of avarice in the human heart ? tracing it from its origin, in ſordid

1763. la lézine aux arts honteux, et de là à l'injuſtice, aux violences, et, enfin, aux plus grands crimes; le père qui le premier lui a inſpiré ce goût funeſte, veut en vain le rappeller. Après avoir longtems été le ſpectateur étonné de ſes crimes, il en devient quelquefois la victime.

Trepidumque Magiſtrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus;

image pleine de force et de hardieſſe. Ce maître du lion avoit cultivé ſa férocité naturelle, pour le rendre plus digne de l'attention de l'amphithéâtre.

Septembre 17.]—J'ai lu la quinzième Satyre de Juvénal pour la ſeconde fois, v. 1—174; et la ſeizième et dernière deux fois, v. 1---60. La haine de Juvénal contre la nation et la religion des Egyptiens, paroît aſſez à découvert dans la première de ces ſatyres. Je n'en ſuis nullement ſurpris. Juvénal, homme de bon ſens, en mépriſoit les abſurdités; il avoit vû quelles atteintes ce culte, introduit à Rome, avoit portées aux mœurs de ſes compatriotes; que leurs aſſemblées tumultueuſes qui cachoient l'âge, le rang, et le ſexe, ſous les ombres du myſtère et de la nuit, ouvroient la porte à la débauche la plus effrénée, pendant que leurs prophètes et leurs devins enſeignoient aux femmes et aux enfans, à calculer,

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parſimony, to mean contrivances for gain; and from thence to injuſtice, violence, and the greateſt crimes. The father who firſt inſpired into his ſon this miſerable paſſion, vainly ſtruggles to check his flagitious career; and after being long the aſtoniſhed ſpectator of his crimes, ſometimes becomes their victim.

Trepidumque Magiſtrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus;

is an image equally bold and impreſſive. This maſter of the lion had exaſperated his natural ferocity, in order to render him more deſerving the attention of the amphitheatre.

September 17.]—I read the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—174, the ſecond time; and alſo read the ſixteenth and laſt Satire. In the firſt of theſe Juvenal expreſſes, undiſguiſed, his hatred againſt the Egyptian nation and religion. This does not at all ſurpriſe me. As a man of good ſenſe, Juvenal deſpiſed the abſurdities of this worſhip; he ſaw how much its introduction into Rome had corrupted the morals of his fellow-citizens; and perceived that thoſe crowded aſſemblies, in which the diſtinctions of age, rank, and ſex were concealed and confounded, under the veil of night and myſtery, opened a door to the moſt abominable debauchery, at the ſame time that the Egyptian prophets and fortune-tellers taught women

calculer, et quelquefois à abréger, les jours d'un père, ou d'un mari. Un exil, qui le fixoit parmi une nation qu'il mépriſoit autant qu'il déteſtoit, devoit aigrir ſon humeur, et porter ſes ſentimens au plus haut point. J'aurois ſeulement voulu qu'ils ne l'euſſent pas rendu injuſte. Dans un tumulte que la ſuperſtition excita, le peuple Egyptien mangea la chair d'un des ennemis qu'il avoit égorgé. L'action eſt affreuſe, j'en conviens ; mais il n'en faut pas conclure que les Egyptiens ſont auſſi barbares que les Cyclopes et les Læſtrigones. Les François en ont bien fait autant au Maréchal d'Ancre, et les Hollandois au Penſionnaire de Witt. L'on ne doit jamais mettre en parallèle les mœurs fixes et conſtantes d'une nation, et ces momens de fureur et de délire. Juvénal fait encore un peu trop le déclamateur. Il croit aggraver le crime des Egyptiens ; il le diminue par tous ſes raiſonnemens, par ſon exemple des *Vaſcones*, &c. On peut blâmer celui qui viole les principes de Zénon ; mais ce n'eſt que la nature outragée qui nous fait frémir. Mais je reconnois bien mon poëte dans cette déſcription pleine de ſel, du culte que les Egyptiens rendoient aux animaux, et même aux végétaux*, dans cette origine de la ſociété, fondée ſur la bienveillance et la ſociabilité, que la nature n'a accordées qu'aux hommes ſeuls†, et dans cette image horrible, mais belle, de la férocité d'un Egyptien. 1763.

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women and children to calculate, and ſometimes to haſten, the deaths of their fathers and huſbands. His own baniſhment into a country which was the object of his contempt or deteſtation, naturally ſharpened his animoſity, and carried his reſentment to the utmoſt pitch. I only wiſh that he had reſtrained it within the bounds of juſtice. In a tumult excited by ſuperſtition, the Egyptians devoured the fleſh of one of their fallen enemies. From this horrid action it was not fair to conclude, that the Egyptians equalled in barbarity the Cyclops and the Leſtrigons. The French treated with equal barbarity Mareſhal d'Ancre, and the Dutch Penſionary de Witt. The fixed and permanent character of a people, ought never to be inferred from moments of madneſs and fury. The poet alſo too much indulges his talent for declamation. Inſtead of aggravating the crime of the Egyptians, he in reality leſſens it by his unſeaſonable reaſonings, example of the Vaſcones, &c. He who violates the principles of Zeno may be worthy of blame ; but the monſter who inſults the dictates of nature can alone excite horror. The genius of our poet is clearly diſplayed in the witty deſcription of the worſhip which the Egyptians paid to animals* ; in the origin of ſociety, founded on thoſe principles of benevolence. which are implanted by nature in the heart of man only† ; and in that dreadful, though beautiful picture of the ferocity of an Egyptian

* Sat. xv. v. 1—14. † Id. xv. 129—158.

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1763. La ſeizième Satyre n'eſt pas trop reconnue pour être de Juvénal. Elle eſt aſſez foible, et même negligée; mais il me ſemble que je reconnois la touche du maître au vers 55. Cette ſatyre eſt, cependant, d'un aſſez grand prix pour l'hiſtoire. On n'a pas trop remarqué juſqu'à quel point les ſoldats avoient pouſſé leurs privilèges ſous les empereurs. On a bien vû que dans le tems de ſédition, ils renverſoient leurs trônes; mais on a ignoré qu'en tems de paix ils les partageoient. Je ne connois point d'attentat plus hardi à une petite portion de la ſociété, que de ſe ſouſtraire de la juriſdiction commune, et d'exiger même que ſes différens avec les autres citoyens ſoient décidés par ſes propres juges. Le clergé l'a fait dans les tems d'ignorance; mais j'excuſerois plutôt cette entrepriſe dans un corps qui étoit cenſé poſséder toute la vertu, et qui poſsédoit réellement toute la ſcience de ces ſiècles, qu'à des ſoldats, dont l'ignorance, la groſſièreté, et les maximes militaires et deſpotiques, les éloignoient ſi fort de la profeſſion de juge.

J'ai fini Juvénal que je regrette beaucoup de n'avoir pas plutôt connu, et qui ſera déſormais un de mes auteurs favoris. Comme j'ai couché par écrit mes obſervations principales, à meſure que je les faiſois, il me reſte peu de choſe à en dire. Je me bornerai à deux remarques; ſur le tems où Juvénal a vécu, et ſur ſa verſification.

The ſixteenth Satire is not clearly proved to be Juvenal's. It is written weakly, and negligently; but I think we may recognize the maſter's hand in v. 55. This ſatire, however, is of conſiderable importance in hiſtory. It has not been ſufficiently remarked to what extent the privileges of ſoldiers were carried under the emperors. In moments of ſedition, it was manifeſt, they overturned the thrones; but it was not known that in time of peace they ſhared their ſovereignty. I know not of a bolder enterpriſe, in any ſmall portion of a community, than that of withdrawing itſelf from the juriſdiction of the ordinary magiſtrates, and inſiſting that its differences, even with the other claſſes of citizens, ſhould be decided by its own judges. The clergy obtained theſe privileges in the dark ages; but ſuch pretenſions ſeem to have been more excuſable in a body, which was believed to poſſeſs all the virtue, and which really poſſeſſed all the learning of the times, than they could poſſibly be in the Roman ſoldiers, whoſe ignorance, groſſneſs of manners, deſpotic and military maxims, removed them to ſo great a diſtance from the character belonging to a judge.

I finiſhed Juvenal, whom I regret not being earlier acquainted with; and who, in future, will be one of my favourite authors. Having written my obſervations on him, as they occurred in reading his Satires, I have but little to add on the ſubject; and ſhall confine myſelf to two remarks: the firſt, as to the time in which he lived; the ſecond, concerning

tion. 1. Il n'y a point de poëte Latin sur lequel nous ayons aussi peu de lumières. Soit modestie, soit fierté, il a négligé de nous apprendre le tems de sa naissance, et les circonstances de sa vie. Il n'y a aucun de ses ouvrages auquel quelque grand évènement ait donné lieu, et dont cet évènement fixe la date. Il paroît même avoir pris à tâche de nous confondre, en parlant souvent de plusieurs personnes qui ont vécu dans des tems assez éloignés, comme de ses contemporains. Il ne nous reste que les quatre mots d'une ancienne vie du poëte, écrite, par un auteur inconnu; mais cette vie redouble nos embarras, tant elle est opposée aux inductions assurées qu'on peut tirer des propres ouvrages de Juvénal. Selon cet historien et le vieux scholiaste, notre poëte a vécu sous Néron, qui l'exila en Egypte, où il mourut très peu de tems après. Cependant il est certain qu'il survêcut à Domitien; qu'il vit la condamnation de Marius Priscus; que Martial, qui ne se rétira en Espagne que sous Trajan, le laissa à Rome; et l'on peut soupçonner, par la date d'un consulat, qu'il étoit en Egypte vers la troisième année du règne d'Adrien. Toutes ces époques s'accordent très bien avec le système du savant Dodwell, qui pense que ce fut ce dernier empereur qui le relégua. J'ai lu cet ouvrage *(les Annales Quintiliennes)* il y a quelque tems. N'ayant plus le livre sous la main, j'ignore à présent le détail de ses preuves; mais si l'on peut raisonner sur les vraisemblances, j'en entrevois plusieurs. 2. La versification 1763.

cerning his versification. 1st, There is not any Latin poet concerning whom we have so little information; whether from pride or modesty, he has neglected to tell us either the time of his birth, or the circumstances of his life. None of his works were written in commemoration of any great event, which might have ascertained their date. It seems as if he had taken a pleasure in perplexing us, by often speaking of many persons as his contemporaries who lived at very different periods of time. There remain but a few words of an old life of Juvenal, written by an unknown author; which life augments our uncertainty, by its opposition to the clearest inferences from the poet's own works. According to that biographer and his scholiast, Juvenal lived under Nero, who banished him to Egypt, where he died soon afterwards. Yet it is certain that he survived Domitian; that he witnessed the condemnation of Marius Priscus; that Martial, who did not retire into Spain until the reign of Trajan, left him at Rome; and from the date of a consulship, there is reason to suspect, that he was in Egypt in the third year of the reign of Adrian. All the æras perfectly correspond with the system of the learned Dodwell, who thinks that our poet was banished by the last named emperor. Some time ago, I read Dodwell's work, the Quintilian Annals. I have not the book at hand, and cannot recollect the proofs which he brings; but I can see several probabilities tending to support his opinion. 2. Juvenal's versification

1763. tion de Juvénal me paroît supérieure à celles de la plupart des poëtes Latins. Entre ses mains la langue des Romains perd presque toute sa dureté. Sa poësie est coulante, harmonieuse, et animée, et le sens n'y est cependant jamais sacrifié. Je croirois presque que les vers venoient se placer sur le bout de sa plume, quand j'en vois parmi une infinité de beaux, quelques uns qui sont d'une langueur affreuse. Un homme capable de les laisser, devoit avoir travaillé avec très peu d'attention à sa versification. Il lui auroit été si facile de les corriger. Je remarque aussi, que sa poësie devint riche et moins ornée dans les dernières satyres. Si elles sont rangées dans l'ordre chronologique, la raison en feroit à trouver.

Comme la Satyre de Sulpitia sur l'exil des philosophes se trouve à la fin de celles de Juvénal, j'ai voulu la voir. J'ai lu cette pièce deux fois, v. 1—70. Les éloges de Martial m'avoient prévenu en faveur de cette dame; mais, à mon avis, elle les mérite assez peu. Peut-être que son génie trop foible pour l'essor qu'elle a voulu prendre ici, se prêtoit mieux aux sujets qui ne demandoient que la finesse, la légèreté, et la sensibilité. Peut-être aussi que le faiseur d'épigrammes, aussi peu délicat sur les louanges que sur les satyres, prodiguoit, sans réflexion, son encens à une femme de condition, qui accueilloit les gens de lettres dans sa maison. 1. Il n'y a nul plan, nul arrangement.

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versification appears to me to be superior to that of most of the Latin poets. Managed by him, the Roman language loses all its roughness. His verses are flowing, harmonious, and animated; although he never sacrifices the sense to the sound. I should fancy that the lines flowed spontaneously from his pen, did I not perceive, amidst a multitude of fine ones, some few that are disgusting, by their rudeness or their languor. To have allowed them to pass uncorrected, a poet must have been extremely inattentive to his versification; since they might have been mended so easily. I remark also, that his poetry is more sparing of ornament in his last satires. If they are placed in chronological order, this difference may be easily accounted for.

As the Satire of Sulpitia, on the banishment of the philosophers, is printed with the Satires of Juvenal, I had an inclination to examine it; and therefore read it twice over, v. 1—70. The praises bestowed by Martial had prepossessed me in favour of this lady; but, in my opinion, those praises were not her due. Her genius, perhaps, was too feeble to support her in this lofty flight; but was better adapted to subjects that required only taste, spirit, and sensibility. The epigrammatist, perhaps, had as little delicacy in his praise as in his satire; and was carelessly prodigal of his flattery to a woman of fashion, whose house was the resort of men of letters. 1. The work is without method or plan; and the beauty

arrangement. Un ſujet auſſi beau diſparoît totalement entre ſes mains. Au lieu de la philoſophie gémiſſante, des arts éperdus, et de l'ignorance qui rétablit ſon ancien empire, je ne vois dans un poëme de ſoixante dix vers, qu'une invocation et une peroraiſon, qui en occupent vingt trois, et qui ne m'apprennent rien, ſinon que Sulpitia avoit beaucoup de vanité et d'affectation ; et ſans huit vers jettés par hazard au milieu de la ſatyre*, je ſerois encore à en connoître le ſujet, comme je le ſuis encore à deviner le but et le ſens de la digreſſion où elle examine ſi le bonheur ou l'adverſité convenoit mieux à la république. 2. Pour le ſtyle et la poëſie, malheureuſement pour Sulpitia, on ne peut point critiquer de ces défauts qui annoncent le génie, ou du moins de l'imagination. Ici tout eſt froid, tout eſt dur ; nulle invention, nulle harmonie ; une verſification qui ne ſatisfait ni l'oreille ni l'eſprit. 3. On reproche aux femmes de n'avoir point de préciſion dans l'eſprit. En ce cas Sulpitia étoit bien femme. Sans parler de la ſageſſe civile et de la ſcience, qu'elle confond au point de paroître ignorer qu'on les ait jamais diſtinguées, je ne veux que l'exemple de l'image la plus fauſſe et la plus choquante que j'aye connue. Elle compare les philoſophes exilés par Domitien aux Gaulois chaſſés par Camille ; ſans parler des autres diſſonances 1763.

beauty of the ſubject is deſtroyed by her manner of treating it. Inſtead of lamenting that the throne of ignorance ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the ruins of philoſophy and the arts, twenty-three lines of a poem conſiſting of ſeventy, are conſumed in an invocation and concluſion, which inform us of nothing, except that Sulpitia was a woman of great vanity and affectation : and were it not for eight verſes caſually inſerted in the middle of the ſatire*, I ſhould not be able to gueſs its ſubject, as I ſtill am at a loſs to diſcover the meaning and uſe of the digreſſion, where ſhe examines whether proſperity or adverſity were moſt uſeful to the republic. 2. As to the ſtyle and poetry, it is the misfortune of Sulpitia, that ſhe has not left room for criticiſing faults, that proceed from genius or fancy. Her work is characteriſed by coldneſs, hardneſs, poverty of invention, rudeneſs of harmony, and a verſification that gratifies neither the ear nor the mind. 3. Women have been accuſed of want of preciſion. In this reſpect Sulpitia does not belie her ſex. Without mentioning that ſhe confounds ſcience with wiſdom, as if thoſe two things had never been diſtinguiſhed, I ſhall only give an example of the moſt incongruous and abſurd ſimile that I ever remember to have met with. The philoſophers baniſhed by Domitian are compared with the Gauls expelled by Camillus. It is needleſs to point out the abſurdity of comparing

* Bello fœcunda ſecundo.

1763. diſſonances qui s'y trouvent, d'un corps de gens de lettres comparé à une nation de barbares, et d'un baniſſement civil, à la défaite d'une armée. Sulpitia auroit pu ſe ſouvenir que les Gaulois avoient brulé la ville, qu'ils avoient aſſiégé le capitole, et que la victoire de Camille lui valut le titre de ſecond fondateur de Rome. 4. Il faut, cependant, rendre juſtice à Sulpitia. J'ai trouvé dans ſa ſatyre une image qui m'a fait plaiſir. Rome y eſt repréſentée après toutes ſes victoires comme ce combattant des jeux (ce Milon) qui reſtoit ſeul dans la carrière, ſans pouvoir trouver un antagoniſte. Cette image eſt heureuſement conçue, et rendue avec clarté ; elle auroit pu l'être avec plus de force.

Septembre 7.]—J'ai commencé aujourd'hui *le Traité ſur l'ancienne Rome, de Fabiano Nardini, dans la traduction Latine de Tollius, inſerée dans le quatrième tôme du Tréſor des Antiquités Romaines de Grævius*, que M. Pavillard m'a procurê de la bibliothèque publique de Genève. Les ſavans eſtiment beaucoup cet ouvrage ; mais je vois que l'Abbé Langlet du Freſnoy fait aſſez peu de cas de la verſion. J'ai lu aujourd'hui *L. i. C. i, ii. p.* 881—897 *de Nardini.* Il ſoutient l'origine qu'on donne communément à la ville de Rome par des raiſons aſſez communes. C'eſt le ſujet du premier chapître. Mais le ſecond eſt fort intéreſſant ; c'eſt l'enceinte de la première ville de Romulus. Elle ne comprenoit que le Mont

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paring a body of men of letters with a nation of barbarians, and a legal baniſhment with the defeat of an army ; and Sulpitia ought to have remembered that the Gauls had burnt the city, beſieged the capitol, and that their conqueror, Camillus, merited the title of ſecond founder of Rome. 4. Juſtice, however, muſt be done to Sulpitia. Her ſatire is adorned by one ſtriking image. Rome, after all her victories, is repreſented under the figure of the wreſtler Milo, who remained alone in the liſts, vainly expecting an antagoniſt. This image is happily conceived ; and clearly, though not forcibly, expreſſed.

September 7.]—I this day began the deſcription of ancient Rome, by Fabiano Nardini, tranſlated into Latin by Tollius, and inſerted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities, which Mr. Pavillard borrowed for me from the public library of Geneva. This work is much valued by the learned ; though I perceive that the Abbé Langlet du Freſnoy ſpeaks lightly of its tranſlation. I read L. i. C. i, ii. p. 881—897. Nardini vindicates the account commonly given of the origin of Rome, by arguments very generally known. This is the ſubject of the firſt chapter. The ſecond is very intereſting, ſince it examines the extent of the firſt city, built by Romulus, which comprehended only the Palatine

Mont Palatin ; et lorſque les Sabins avoient pris le capitole, ils n'étoient maîtres que de la citadelle. 1763.

Septembre 18.]---J'ai lu *Nardini, L. i. C. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p.* 897---945. Il traite d'un nombre d'objets avec beaucoup de ſavoir, aſſez de jugement, et une exactitude de détails qui inſtruiſent ordinairement, mais qui ennuyent quelquefois. Après avoir achevé de décrire la première ville de Romulus, il traite de celle de Tatius, que ce nouvel allié y ajoûta ſur le Mont Capitolin ; et paſſe enſuite à la forme que Servius Tullius (le moins célèbre, mais peut-être le plus grand de ſes légiſlateurs) lui donna, et de ſes murailles qui en déterminèrent l'enceinte, juſqu'au tems d'Aurélien. Il en ſuit avec beaucoup de ſoin les veſtiges ; et ſes grandes connoiſſances du local, le mettent preſque toujours ſur la voye. Il réſulte de toutes ſes opérations, que l'enceinte de l'ancienne Rome étoit à peine auſſi grande que celle de la Rome moderne : fait qui renverſe de fond en comble tous les ſyſtèmes de Lipſius et de Voſſius. Nardini explique fort heureuſement le fameux paſſage où Pline parle des douze portes qu'on ne devoit compter que pour une ſeule fois. Il réſulte de deux paſſages de Cicéron et de Tite Live que pluſieurs portes de Rome avoient deux Arcades qu'on appelloit *Jani ;* et qu'on voit encore ſur les anciens monumens. Nardini n'eſt pas auſſi heureux dans ce qu'il dit du *Pomœrium*. Malgré toutes ſes hypothèſes, il reſte toujours trois

Palatine Mount; and when the Sabines took the capitol, this meant the citadel.

September 18.]—I read Nardini, L. i. C. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. x. p. 897—945, which terminates the firſt book. A variety of ſubjects are treated with great learning, conſiderable judgement, and a minute accuracy ; which is commonly inſtructive, but ſometimes tireſome. Having finiſhed his deſcription of the city built by Romulus, he examines the addition made to it by Tatius, the ally of that king, on the Capitoline Hill; and then proceeds to conſider the form given to it by Servius Tullius, (the leaſt celebrated, but perhaps the greateſt of all its legiſlators,) and the wall which bounded the extent of Rome to the reign of Aurelian. This wall he traces with great attention, directed by an exact local knowledge. It reſults from the whole of his obſervations, that the circuit of ancient Rome was ſcarcely ſo conſiderable as that of the modern : a fact which totally overturns the ſyſtems of Lipſius and Voſſius. Nardini is very happy in explaining the famous paſſage of Pliny, which treats of the *twelve* gates; and which ought not to be reckoned more, ſince we learn from two paſſages of Cicero and Livy, that ſeveral of the Roman gates had two arches, called Jani ; which are ſtill diſtinguiſhable on ancient monuments. Nardini is not equally ſucceſsful in explaining the Pomœrium. In ſpite of all his hypotheſes, there

1763. trois propoſitions également conſtatées, et cependant contradictoires. 1. Que le *Pomœrium* étoit un eſpace de terrein conſacré des deux côtés des murs. 2. Que les murs de Rome ſont demeurés les mêmes depuis Servius Tullius juſqu'à Aurélien. 3. Que Sylla, Jules Céſar, et l'empereur Claude ont reculé le *Pomœrium*.

J'ai achevé aujourd'hui *le vingtième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y ai trouve *Le Diodore de Sicile, traduit par l'Abbé Teraſſon*. Il eſt ſingulier qu'un homme, qui mépriſoit les plus grands écrivains de l'antiquité, ait pu devenir le traducteur d'un hiſtorien, dont l'utilité fortuite eſt ſupérieure aux talens réels. Quoique la traduction ſoit eſtimeé, on relève ici un aſſez grand nombre de ſes défauts. *Les deux éditions de Tite Live et ſes ſupplémens, l'une par Drakenborch, l'autre par M. Crevier.* Dans la première, je vois le texte de Tite enſeveli dans tous les commentaires bons et mauvais qu'on a faits ſur lui. Je vois dans l'autre une vie ſenſée de l'auteur, un choix raiſonné des meilleures remarques, et beaucoup de goût et de ſagacité de la part de l'éditeur. Je vois que celui-ci a ſu renfermer les quinze premiers livres dans 828 pages, (y compris encore ſes propres prolegomènes,) pendant qu'il en a fallu à l'autre 2159 pour les dix neuf premiers livres, *cum notis variorum ;* je ne nie pas cependant que l'édition Hollandoiſe ne ſoit un bon répertoire.

Syntagma

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there are ſtill three propoſitions on this ſubject, which reſt on equally good authority, and are yet contradictory to each other. 1. That the Pomœrium was a conſecrated ſlip of ground on both ſides of the walls. 2. That the walls of Rome had the ſame extent from Servius Tullius to Aurelian. 3. That Sylla, Julius Cæſar, and the emperor Claudius extended the Pomœrium.

I this day finiſhed the twentieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée ;* which contains the tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus, by the Abbé Teraſſon. It is remarkable that a man, who deſpiſed the fineſt writers of antiquity, ſhould have condeſcended to become the tranſlator of an hiſtorian, whoſe accidental utility far ſurpaſſes his real merit. Though this tranſlation be eſteemed, the critic here expoſes many of its errors. Two editions of Titus Livius, with his ſupplements; one by Drakenborch, and the other by Crevier. In the firſt, the text of Livy is buried under a weight of the commentaries, good or bad, that have been written on that author. The ſecond contains a ſenſible life of the hiſtorian, a judicious ſelection of the beſt remarks on his work, and diſplays as much intelligence as taſte on the part of the editor. He includes the firſt fifteen books, together with his own prolegomena, in 828 pages; whereas the Dutch editor beſtows 2159 pages on the firſt nineteen books, *cum notis variorum.* The latter edition, however, may be conſidered as

Syntagma Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium a Mosheimio. Elles me paroissent meilleures que ses dissertations théologiques. *La vérité des Miracles de M. de Paris, le deuxième et troisième Extrait.* Le journaliste épluche avec beaucoup de soin la guérison du jeune Alphonse de Palacios. Si tous ces miracles ressemblent à celui-ci, il n'étoit pas nécessaire aux Jésuites de recourir à l'œuvre du démon. *La Friponnerie Laïque du Docteur Bentley.* Réponse au fameux livre de Collins, pleine d'érudition et d'injures. Le traducteur et le journaliste ont renchéri sur lui à l'égard des dernières. 1763.

Septembre 19]---J'ai lu *L. i. C. i, ii, iii. p.* 949---961. Après avoir fixé les limites de la ville, il décrit les sept collines qui y étoient renfermées ; la méthode opposée n'auroit-elle pas été plus claire et plus naturelle ? Il examine fort bien les divisions différentes du peuple et de la ville ; les *tribus* et les *curiæ* de Romulus, les *tribus* de Servius, les quatorze régions d'Auguste, es les sept régions des premiers papes. Je voudrois qu'il eût recherché la distribution des *curiæ*, après le regne de Servius. Les partagea-t-on de nouveau entre les *tribus* de ce prince ? Les *tribus* de Romulus subsistèrent-elles uniquement pour les *comitia curiata ?* La division des *curiæ*, n'eut-elle plus rien de commun avec celle des tribus ? Le dernier sentiment me paroîtroit le plus vraisemblable.

Septembre

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as a good repertory. *Syntagma Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium* a Mosheimio. His ecclesiastical dissertations seem to me to have more merit than his theological ones. *The Truth of the Miracles of Mr. Paris* ; second and third Extract. The journalist carefully sifts the cure of young Alphonso of Palacios : if none of the miracles was better than this, the Jesuits needed not to have ascribed them to the devil. *La Friponnerie Laïque, Lay Fraud*, by Dr. Bentley. An answer to the famous book of Collins, full of learning and scurrility ; in the latter of which the author is outdone by his translator and critic.

September 19.]—I read Nardini, L. ii. C. i, ii, iii. p. 949---961. After fixing the limits of the city, he describes the seven hills which they included. The reverse of this method would perhaps have been more natural. He explains very clearly the different divisions of the people and of the city, the tribes and curiæ of Romulus, the tribes instituted by Servius, the fourteen regions of Augustus, and the seven regions of the first popes. I wish he had enquired into the distribution of the curiæ after the reign of Servius, and determined whether they were again divided among the tribes instituted by that prince ; whether the division of the tribes by Romulus continued to subsist merely for the purpose of the *comitia curiata ;* or whether, after the time of Servius, the division of the

1763. Septembre 20]---J'ai lu Nardini, *L. ii. C. iv, v. et L. iii. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v. vi. et une partie du vii. p.* 961---1005. Il y parle des écrivains qui nous ont laiſſé des déſcriptions, de Rome, tels que Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius Panvinius, et la Notice de l'Empire. Ils ſont utiles comme ayant eu ſous les yeux un grand nombre de monumens qui ne ſubſiſtent plus que dans les livees. Malgré tous leurs avantages néanmoins, leur exactitude eſt ſi inférieure à celle des critiques modernes, (d'un Nardini par exemple,) que ceux-ci ſe voyent à tout moment en état de ſuppléer à leurs omiſſions, de relever leurs mépriſes, et de remarquer même quelquefois leurs contradictions. Après ces préliminaires, Nardini paſſe à la déſcription des quatorze regions de la ville; il décrit fort en détail la première région, *(Porta Capena,)* et une partie de *la deuxième (Mons Cælius).* On peut dire qu'en général ſes recherches ſont heureuſes, et qu'en combinant une infinité de paſſages diſperſés dans les anciens auteurs, auſſi bien les uns avec les autres, qu'avec l'état actuel des lieux, il parvient à déterminer la ſituation de la plupart des monumens. Dans la déſcription qu'il fait du vallon d'*Egeria*, (aujourdhui Caſſarella,) qui s'étend à gauche de la

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the people by curiæ, had no longer any relation to their diviſion by tribes. The latter opinion appears to me the more probable.

September 20.]—I finiſhed the ſecond book of Nardini, chapters fourth and fifth. I alſo read the third book, C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii. p. 961—1005. He ſpeaks of the authors who have given us deſcriptions of Rome; ſuch as Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius Panvinius, and the *Notitia Imperii*. Their chief utility ariſes from their having had before their eyes many monuments which are now known only by books. Yet notwithſtanding this advantage, their deſcriptions are ſo inferior in point of accuracy to thoſe of modern critics, (Nardini for example,) that the latter are continually obliged to correct their miſtakes, to ſupply their defects, and ſometimes even to point out their contradictions. After theſe preliminary matters, Nardini proceeds to deſcribe the fourteen regions of the city; treating minutely, in this part of his work, the firſt region, or that of the Porta Capena; and the ſecond, or that of the Mons Cælius. We may pronounce his reſearches in general to be ſucceſsful. By combining a multitude of paſſages ſcattered in ancient authors, both with each other, and with his local knowledge of Rome, he is enabled to aſcertain the ſituation of the greater part of its monuments. His account of the valley of Egeria, which lies on the left of the *Porta Capena*, between the Latin and Appian ways, illuſtrated, much to my ſatisfaction, ſeveral

la porte *Capena*, entre la voye Latine et la voye Appienne, 1763.
j'ai goûté le plaiſir d'entendre beaucoup mieux mon Juvénal. Nardini employe la moitié d'un chapître à rechercher la vraie ſignification des mots de *domus* et d'*inſula*, et à refuter le ſentiment de Lipſius là-deſſus. Grævius n'eſt point content ni de l'un ni de l'autre. Si ces Meſſieurs, meilleurs critiques qu'ils n'étoient logiciens, avoient apporté autant de ſoin à ſe faire des idées nettes qu'à entaſſer des citations, je crois qu'ils auroient vû, ſans difficulté, 1. Que le mot *inſula*, métaphorique dans ſon origine, ſignifioit tout bâtiment de toute eſpèce quelleconque, qui étoit entièrement iſolé, et dont les murailles étoient ſéparées des murailles voiſines par un eſpace plus ou moins grand. C'eſt la notion primitive de ce mot. Elle eſt appuyée par la raiſon et l'autorité de Feſtus, et il faut bien ſe garder d'y faire entrer des idées acceſſoires. 2. Sans diſconvenir que dans les premiers ſiècles de Rome, il n'y eut beaucoup de ces bâtimens, on peut dire hardiment qu'après l'incendie de Néron, ils devinrent beaucoup plus nombreux, et que dans le ſiècle de Conſtantin ils rempliſſoient toute la ville. Tacite nous apprend un édit très ſage de Néron, portant qu'on ne rebâtiroit plus les maiſons avec des murs mitoyens, mais que chaque maiſon auroit ſes murailles particulières. Peut-on déſigner plus clairement des *inſulæ*? Peut-on douter d'un autre côté, que

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ral paſſages in Juvenal. He employs the half of a chapter in inveſtigating the true meaning of the words *domus* and *inſula*, and in confuting Lipſius's opinion on that ſubject. Grævius is equally diſſatisfied with the explications of Lipſius and his antagoniſt. If theſe antiquaries, who were better critics than logicians, had been at as much pains to acquire an exact idea of their ſubject, as to heap up citations, I am perſuaded they would eaſily have perceived, 1. That the word *inſula*, which in its application to the houſes of Rome, was at firſt metaphorical, denoted every edifice that was intirely inſulated, and whoſe walls were completely ſeparated from thoſe of the neighbouring building. This primitive ſignification of the word is ſupported both by the nature of the thing and the authority of Feſtus; and we ought not to mix with this eſſential characteriſtic, any acceſſory ideas. 2. Without diſputing that, in the firſt ages of Rome, the number of ſuch edifices was great, we may boldly affirm that it became much greater after the conflagration in the reign of Nero; and that, in the age of Conſtantine, buildings called *inſulæ* filled the whole extent of the city. Tacitus informs us of a wiſe regulation made by Nero, forbidding the uſe of walls common to two contiguous houſes, and requiring that the walls of each houſe ſhould be diſtinct and ſeparate from thoſe of the houſes neareſt to it. The *inſulæ* cannot he more accurately defined than by this deſcription

1763. que cet édit n'ait été ſuivi de ſon exécution, quand on voit dans Publius Victor, que dans le quatrième ſiècle, il y avoit quarante ſix mille *inſulæ* dans la capitale, et qu'à l'exception tout au plus de dix huit cens *domus*, toutes les habitations particulières ſont compriſes ſous ce nom. Dès que le fait eſt conſtaté, il faut plutôt ſonger à l'expliquer qu'à le conteſter. Ainſi je ne dirai point que toute la ville n'a pas pu être rebâtie ſelon l'édit de Néron, puiſque l'incendie qui arriva ſous ſon règne n'en conſuma qu'une partie. Cet édit étoit certainement ſage: pourquoi ſes ſucceſſeurs ne l'auroient-ils pas confirmé? En ce cas les trois cens ans écoulés entre Néron et Victor ſuffiſent bien pour renouveller la ville, et pour la rebâtir toute entière ſur le nouveau plan. On n'a pas meilleure grace de ſe recrier ſur le peu d'agrément de toutes ces maiſons iſoleés. La ſureté ne mérite-elle pas le ſacrifice de la beauté? C'eſt d'ailleurs ſi fort une beauté de convention que je ne ſens point ce défaut. Dès le moment que les rues étoient larges, et les maiſons bien alignées, je ne crains plus rien pour le coup d'œil. 3. Cet édit en reglant les ſituations des maiſons en laiſſoit la forme et la grandeur à la diſpoſition de chaque particulier. La maiſon d'un artiſan et celle de Néron étoient également *inſulæ*, dès qu'elles en poſſédoient la marque caractériſtique, celle d'être iſolées de tout autre bâtiment. Le nombre des unes et des autres a dû cependant être aſſez borné. Celui

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ſcription, and we cannot doubt whether the edict was carried into execution, when we read in Publius Victor, that in the fourth century there were 46,000 *inſulæ* in the capital; and that, with the exception of not more than 1800 *domus*, all the dwellings of Rome were comprehended under that name. Since the fact is aſcertained, it is our buſineſs not to conteſt, but to explain it. I will not therefore allege that the whole city could not have been re-built agreeable to Nero's edict, becauſe there was only a part of it conſumed by the conflagration under his reign. As the edict was a wiſe one, it would naturally be perpetuated by his ſucceſſors; and in the ſpace of three hundred years from Nero to Victor, there was time for re-building the whole city according to the new plan. The unpleaſing effect of ſo many ſeparate houſes to the eye, ought not to create any difficulty: ſafety is to be preferred to beauty; eſpecially to a beauty dependent on faſhion; ſo that, provided the ſtreets were ſtraight and ſpacious, the eye would be abundantly gratified. 5. This edict regulated only the ſituation of houſes, but left their ſize and ſhape to the diſcretion of each proprietor. Nero's palace and the houſe of an artificer were equally entitled to the appellation of *inſulæ*, provided they had the ſpecific character of ſtanding detached and ſeparate from all other buildings. The number of ſuch *inſulæ* could not be conſiderable. The *great* form but a ſmall proportion of any community; and

Celui des grands eſt toujours petit; et je penſe que la dépenſe, auſſi bien que la difficulté et le danger d'avoir une petite maiſon ſéparée de toutes les autres, a dû engager la plupart des gens du peuple à ſe contenter d'un appartement de louage. On voit même par Juvénal et par Martial qu'ils s'en contentoient. Dès lors la cupidité induſtrieuſe des hommes me prouve mieux que tous les paſſages, qu'il a dû s'élever beaucoup d'entrepreneurs qui travailloient pour la beauté de la ville et la commodité du peuple, en conſtruiſant de grandes maiſons, dont ils louoient les différens appartemens à pluſieurs familles. Cet uſage généralement répandu, étendit bientôt la ſignification d'*inſula*, en y uniſſant des idées nouvelles et acceſſoires. On commençoit à s'en ſervir pour déſigner proprement un aſſemblage de pluſieurs ménages ſous le même toit, et conſéquemment pour exprimer une maiſon louée, et louée à des gens du commun. C'eſt ainſi que Pétrone et les juriſconſultes nous la repréſentent. 4. Ne pourroit-on point du nombre des *inſulæ* conjecturer celui des habitans de Rome? Victor et la Notice de l'Empire s'accordent ſur le premier. Il y en avoit 46,602. Je vois dans Juvénal que les maiſons de Rome étoient ordinairement à quatre étages *; et à les ſuppoſer remplies chacune d'une famille de ſix perſonnes, l'*inſula* en contenoit vingt quatre. Celles qui étoient louées (et c'étoit le grand nombre) ne devoient pas en avoir moins; et les palais 1763.

and the expence, together with the inconvenience and danger, attending a ſeparate dwelling, incline me to believe that the lower claſſes at Rome were contented with lodgings; which appears really to have been the caſe, both from Juvenal and Martial. The avaricious induſtry of man will ſerve better to convince us than all the paſſages in antient authors, that there would be a number of builders, who promoted the beauty of the city and the convenience of its inhabitants, by erecting large edifices, of which the ſeparate apartments were left to different families. This practice, which became general, greatly extended the ſignification of the word *inſulæ*, by connecting with it a new meaning. It began to denote a multitude of families living under the ſame roof, and therefore a houſe hired to the lower claſſes of the people: and in this ſenſe it is taken by Petronius and the writers on the Roman law. 4. From the number of the *inſulæ* would it be poſſible to aſcertain that of the inhabitants of Rome? Victor and the *Notitia Imperii* fix the former at 46,602. We learn from Juvenal, that the houſes of the Romans conſiſted commonly of four ſtories *; and if we ſuppoſe each ſtory to have lodged a family of ſix perſons, each of the *inſulæ* would contain twenty-four inhabitants. Thoſe which were let to hire could not have fewer, and the

* Juvenal Satir. iii. 197—202.

1763. palais des riches en renfermoient bien davantage *. Heureuſement on peut répartir l'excédent ſur les petites maiſons particulières. A multiplier donc cette ſomme par celle des *inſulæ*, nous aurons pour le total des habitans de Rome 1,118,448 âmes. Ce nombre me plaît aſſez ; il remplit la grande enceinte de la ville, et tout ce que nous liſons de ſon immenſité, ſans paſſer toutefois les bornes de la vraiſemblance. Je pourrois montrer en détail, que le ſyſtème de Nardini ne donneroit qu'environ 360,000 habitans à la capitale du monde, tandis que l'hypothèſe de Grævius en exigeroit quatre ou cinq millions. L'un et l'autre de ces nombres me paroîſſent également inſoutenable. 5. Quant aux dix huit cens maiſons, *domus*, qui ſont comptées à part dans toutes les déſcriptions, leur nom, leur nombre, et un paſſage de Suétone m'engagent à croire qu'elles étoient les maiſons principales, les hôtels de Rome. Je ne crois pas, cependant, qu'il faille les diſtinguer des *inſulæ*. Si leur grandeur les tiroit de cette claſſe, leur ſituation iſolée et diſtincte les faiſoit rentrer dans l'idée primitive et ſpéciale de ce mot †.

Septembre 22.]—Le ſecond tome des Lettres du Baron de

* Il faut ſe ſouvenir combien les Seigneurs Romains avoient d'eſclaves.

† V. ſur toute cette queſtion, *Lipſ. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987 : *et Græv. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Theſaur. Antiq. Roman.* Je me ſers de toutes leurs citations.

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the palaces of the rich would contain a far greater number *. This ſurplus may be divided among the ſmall *inſulæ* not let to hire, but belonging to thoſe who inhabited them : ſo that by multiplying the number of *inſulæ* by twenty-four, we ſhall have 1,118,448 for the inhabitants of Rome. I am pleaſed with this number, which, without paſſing the bounds of credibility, correſponds with the greateſt extent of the city, and with all that we are told of its populouſneſs. It might be clearly proved that Nardini's ſyſtem would give but 360,000 inhabitants to the capital of the world; whereas Grævius's hypotheſis would require four or five millions : both which numbers ſeem to me highly improbable. 5. As to the 1800 houſes, *domus*, which in all the deſcriptions of Rome are reckoned ſeparately, their name, their numbers, and a paſſage of Suetonius concur in making me believe that they were the principal buildings, or palaces of Rome. I think, however, they need not be diſtinguiſhed from the *inſulæ* ; ſince if they are removed from this claſs by their greatneſs, they may be again reduced to it, by their detached ſituation, which was the original and ſpecific meaning of the word †.

September 22.]—The ſecond volume of Baron Bielfeld's Letters withdrew

* We muſt remember that the ſlaves were numerous in great families.

† See concerning the whole queſtion, *Lipſ. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987, *et Græv. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Theſaur. Antiq. Roman.* I have availed myſelf of all their quotations.

de Bielfeld m'a détourné de Nardini. Son caractère m'intéreſſe. Je trouve dans ſes lettres une image aſſez naïve des cours d'Allemagne. J'aurois préferé à la vérité quelques circonſtances du caractère et de l'hiſtoire du roi de Pruſſe, et des ſoupers de Potzdam, à tous ces galas et ces mariages. Mais la diſcrétion et la crainte impoſent des loix bien rigoureuſes en Allemagne. 1763.

Septembre 23.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. iii. le reſte du C. ſeptième, et le viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p.* 1005—1039. Mon auteur acheve de décrire la deuxième région, paſſe enſuite à la troiſième *(Iſis et Moneta)*, et commence la quatrième *(Templum Pacis)*. Comme il approche du centre de la ville, des quartiers remplis d'anciens monumens, ſes matériaux deviennent plus abondans. Il dépeint la *Via Sacrà* avec beaucoup de netteté; il eſt vrai qu'il pouvoit s'aider d'un grand nombre de points déterminés. Cette rue fameuſe étoit bornée d'un côté par *l'Arcus Fabianus*, qui s'ouvroit dans le *Forum Romanum;* de l'autre côté elle aboutiſſoit au *Coloſſeum*, qui la ſéparoit de la rue *Suburra*, qu'on a eſſayé vainement de tranſporter ailleurs, et dont Nardini fixe la poſition avec beaucoup de ſavoir et d'exactitude. La cérémonie qui ſe pratiquoit dans la *Regia*, porte, ſelon moi, toutes les marques de la plus haute antiquité: un peuple, qui voulant repréſenter le Dieu de la Guerre, ne ſavoit ou ne vouloit point imiter

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withdrew my attention from Nardini. I am intereſted in the Baron's character; his letters give a picture of the German courts. I ſhould have preferred indeed ſome account of the character and hiſtory of the king of Pruſſia, and the ſuppers at Potzdam, to the deſcription of all thoſe galas and marriages. But fear or diſcretion impoſe rigorous laws on a German author.

September 23.]—I read Nardini, L. iii. the remainder of C. vii. and C. viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1005—1039. He finiſhes the deſcription of the ſecond region, and proceeds to that of the third (Iſis and Moneta), which he alſo concludes; and then commences the deſcription of the fourth (Templum Pacis). As he draws near to the center of the city, his materials become more abundant, from the greater quantity of ancient monuments in that neighbourhood. He traces diſtinctly the Via Sacra; whoſe ſituation, indeed, is aſcertained by a variety of ſure limits. This famous ſtreet is bounded, on one ſide, by the Fabian arch, which led to the Roman Forum; and, on the other, it terminates at the Coloſſeum, by which it was ſeparated from the ſtreet called Suburra; which ſome antiquaries vainly endeavoured to place elſewhere; but whoſe poſition is fixed by Nardini with much learning and accuracy. The ceremony practiſed in the Regia, bears, in my opinion, all the marks of the higheſt antiquity: a people, deſirous of repreſenting the God of War, but who were incapable or unwilling to imitate the human

1763. imiter la figure humaine, et qui l'adoroit ſous la forme d'une lance : le ſacrifice d'un cheval fait dans les champs, dont on enlevoit la tête ſanglante, et qu'on attachoit à la muraille de la *Regia :* tout (dis-je) m'annonce une origine Scythique, et les mœurs d'un peuple nomade. Il n'y a pas juſqu'aux combats des habitans de la *Via Sacra*, et de ceux de la *Suburra*, qui ne rappellent la barbarie de cette inſtitution, établie dans un ſiècle où la ſociété ſe formoit à peine. En ſuivant la *Via Sacra*, l'on trouve le *Temple de la Paix*, et le *Coloſſeum*. Rome doit au plus avare de ſes princes deux de ſes plus beaux monumens. Heureux le pays, dont les ſouverains ſont avares dans les détails, pour être magnifiques dans le grand !

Septembre 24.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. iii. C. xiii, xiv, xv, et L. iv. C.* 1—10. *p.* 1039—1125. Il pourſuit la déſcription de la quatrième région, et paſſe enſuite à la cinquième *(Eſquilinus)*, la ſixième *(Alta Semita)*, et la ſeptième *(Via Lata)*; et il met bien ſous les yeux l'action infernale de Tullia. Elle montoit le *Vicus Cyprius*. Elle étoit déjà preſqu'à l'extrêmité de cette rue, où elle ſe partageoit en deux branches ; la droite *(Clivus Virbius)* montoit à l'Eſquilin, et conduiſoit au palais de Servius Tullius ; la gauche *(Vicus Patricius)* paſſoit entre l'Eſquilin et le Viminal, et formoit une rue où les Patriciens demeuroient ſous les yeux de leur roi. Ce fut dans cet endroit que le corps ſanglant de ſon père ne put arrêter le char de *Tullia*. L'horreur public détacha ce lieu du *Vicus*

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figure, and therefore adored him under the form of a ſpear ; a horſe ſacrificed in the field, whoſe bloody head was carried in proceſſion, and fixed to the wall of the Regia ; every thing in theſe rites points to a Scythian origin, and indicates the manners of wandering barbarians. Even the military ſports of the inhabitants of the Via Sacra and Suburra date their origin from a period when ſociety was yet in its infancy. The Via Sacra leads to the Temple of Peace and the Coloſſeum, two of the fineſt monuments of Rome, which that city owes to the moſt avaricious of its princes. Happy the people, whoſe princes, by habitual œconomy, are capable of executing great undertakings!

September 24th.]—I read Nardini, L. iii. C. xiii, xiv, xv. and L. iv. C. i—x. p. 1039—1125. He continues and concludes the deſcription of the fourth region, and proceeds to the fifth (Eſquilinus), the ſixth (Alta Semita), and the ſeventh (Via Lata). He ſets clearly before our eyes the infernal action of Tullia. She aſcended the Vicus Cyprius, and had already reached the extremity of that ſtreet, where it divides into two branches : that on the right led to the Eſquiline Mount and the palace of Servius Tullius ; that on the left (Vicus Patricius) joined the Eſquiline and the Viminal, forming a ſtreet where the Patricians lived under the eyes of their king. It was here that the bloody body of her father could not ſtop the chariot of Tullia. The horror excited by her deed

Vicus Cyprius, dont il faiſoit partie, et lui fit prendre le nom de *Vicus Sceleratus*. La huitième Satyre du premier livre d'Horace offre une petite difficulté par rapport au Mont Eſquilin. Les jardins de Mécène occupoient un terrein deſtiné auparavant aux cimetières du peuple. Cela paroît clairement. Mais dans quel tems ce changement s'eſt-il fait? Nardini penſe que ce fut ſous le règne de Servius. Cependant, il me ſemble qu'un coup d'œil ſur cette ſatyre ſuffit pour faire voir qu'il n'eſt point ici d'alluſion froide et recherchée à des évènemens arrivés depuis cinq cens ans, mais que le poëte y parle d'un changement fait de ſon tems, ſous ſes yeux, et par les ſoins de ſon protecteur. Le Mont Eſquilin (me dit-on cependant) étoit depuis Servius dans l'enceinte de la ville. Enterroit-on des eſclaves dans une ville où l'on accordoit à peine cet honneur aux empereurs? Je ſens tout le poids de l'objection. Mais ſi l'Eſquilin étoit renfermé dans les murailles de Rome, l'étoit-il dans le *Pomœrium?* Nous n'en ſavons rien. Le Mont Aventin étoit dans l'enceinte de Servius. Six ſiècles après l'empereur Claude l'environna de murailles. La défenſe d'enterrer les morts dans les villes tenoit au droit pontifical; et pour les pontifes, les limites étoient celles qu'ils traçoient eux mêmes, *le Pomœrium*. Je ne donne qu'une explication d'hypothèſe; mais c'eſt tout ce que je puis donner. Sur le même Mont Eſquilin on voit encore un arc de triomphe, 1763.

deed, ſeparated this place from the *Vicus Cyprius*, and gave to it the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*. In the eighth Satire of the third book of Horace, a difficulty occurs reſpecting the Eſquiline Mount. The gardens of Mecænas ſtood on a ground formerly employed as a public burying place. There is not any doubt of the fact; but it is uncertain when this change took place. Nardini thinks that it was in the reign of Servius. But it ſeems to me, that a glance at this Satire is ſufficient to ſhow that the paſſage in Horace is not a cold and far-fetched alluſion to an event that happened five hundred years before his own time; but that he ſpeaks of a change operated under his own eyes, and by the direction of his patron. But Mount Eſquiline, I ſhall be told, was ever ſince the time of Servius within the walls of Rome: and can it be believed that ſlaves ſhould have been interred in a city, which ſcarcely granted that honour to emperors? I feel the whole weight of this objection; yet I would aſk, whether the Eſquiline, though within the walls, was therefore within the Pomœrium? This cannot be determined. Mount Aventine was within the circuit traced by Servius, and the emperor Claudius ſurrounded it with walls ſix centuries afterwards. The prohibition of interring in cities proceeded from the pontifical law; and the college of prieſts regulated, at pleaſure, the limits of the Pomœrium. This is but an hypotheſis, yet it is the only ſolution I can give of the difficulty. We ſtill ſee on Mount Aventine

1763. triomphe, érigé par un particulier à l'empereur Gallien. L'ouvrage en eſt groſſier; mais l'adulation de l'inſcription l'eſt encore d'avantage. Un prince qui laiſſoit ſon père dans les fers des Perſes, et l'empire en proye à tous ſes ennemis, y eſt loué pour ſa valeur, qualité dominante chez lui, et qui ne le cédoit qu'à la ſeule piété. Qu'on transforme les vices d'un monarque dans des vertus qui peuvent y avoir quelque rapport; qu'on nomme ſon ambition grandeur d'ame, ſa lâcheté amour de la paix, ſa crainte juſtice; c'eſt la règle; on auroit tort de s'en offenſer. Mais incenſer en lui les vertus les plus oppoſées à ſon caractère! On eſt preſque tenté d'y voir une ſatyre ſévère cachée ſous l'ironie. Cette inſcription eſt bien plus forte que le *pax ubique*, que M. Addiſon avoit trouvée ſur une médaille du même Gallien.

Septembre 25.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. v. C. i, ii, iii, iv. p.* 1125—1149. Il eſt enfin arrivé au centre de la ville, au *Forum Romanum*, où l'on ne peut faire un pas, ſans rencontrer les monumens de la religion, de la grandeur, et de la politique des Romains. Malheureuſement la plupart de ces anciens monumens n'exiſtent plus que dans les auteurs. Ceux-ci nous parlent d'une petite chapelle de la concorde, dont je dirai deux mots. Elle étoit moins l'ouvrage de la piété que de la haine. Flavius, cet ennemi

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Aventine a triumphal arch, which a private citizen raiſed in honour of the emperor Gallienus. The rudeneſs of the work is ſurpaſſed by the coarſe flattery of the inſcription. A prince, who left his father a priſoner among the Perſians, and the empire a prey to its enemies, is extolled for his valour, which was only exceeded by his piety. It is allowable to transform the defects of princes into kindred excellencies; to call their ambition magnanimity; their ſeverity juſtice; and their cowardice moderation. This does not offend us, becauſe it is the cuſtom. But when Gallienus is flattered for virtues moſt oppoſite to his character, we are almoſt tempted to believe that, under the flattery, a ſevere ſatire is concealed. This inſcription is ſtill more impudent than the *pax ubique*, which Mr. Addiſon read on a medal of the ſame Gallienus.

September 25.]—I read Nardini, L. v. C. i, ii, iii, iv. p. 1125—1149. He has now reached the centre of the city, where it was impoſſible to advance a ſtep without finding ſome monument of the religion, greatneſs, or policy of Rome; but unfortunately the greater part of thoſe monuments no longer exiſt, except in ancient authors. They ſpeak of a little chapel dedicated to Concord, concerning which I ſhall ſay a few words. This chapel was the work rather of hatred than of piety; it was built by C.

ennemi juré de la nobleſſe, ſongeoit à mortifier ſon or- 1763.
gueil par ce temple. Comment y réuſſit-il ? 1. En le dé-
diant lui-même. Le ſénat vit avec indignation qu'un édile oſât s'attribuer des fonctions réſervées toujours aux conſuls et aux dictateurs †. 2. D'une façon encore plus ſenſible, quoique plus indirecte ; peu de lecteurs l'ont apperçue dans un paſſage de Pline ‡. Flavius, au milieu d'une diſſention civile, avoit fait vœu de conſacrer cette chapelle à la Concorde, ſi elle vouloit réunir les ordres de l'état. Lorſqu'il la conſacra, il l'accompagna d'une inſcription qui fixa la date de ſa dédicace à cent quatre ans, après celle de la concorde du capitole §, ouvrage de Camille, et la ſuite d'un vœu ſemblable. On conçoit aſſez quelle mortification la nobleſſe devoit éprouver à la vue de cette Concorde plebéienne d'un édile, placée vis à-vis de la Concorde patricienne de ſon dictateur. Dans ce beau paſſage il n'y a que la date qui me paroît fautive. La première dédicace étant de l'an de Rome 386, et la ſeconde de l'an 448, il eſt clair qu'au lieu de 104, il faut lire 62.

J'ai

‡ *Poſt Capitolinam*, ſelon l'édition de Daléchamp. Je voudrois voir celle de Hardouin. Nardini lit *poſt capitolium*, leçon qui me paroît très fautive. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

C. Flavius, that ſworn enemy of the nobles, with a view to mortify their pride. How did he accompliſh this purpoſe ? 1. By performing the ceremony of dedication himſelf. The ſenate beheld with indignation an edile arrogating to himſelf the functions hitherto reſerved for dictators and conſuls †. 2. In a manner leſs direct indeed, but ſtill more offenſive, which but few readers have perceived in a paſſage of Pliny ‡. In the midſt of a ſedition, Flavius vowed to conſecrate a temple to the goddeſs Concord, on condition that ſhe re-eſtabliſhed harmony among the different orders of citizens. The chapel was conſecrated, and the æra of its dedication fixed by an inſcription, at the diſtance of 104 years from that of the Concord of the capitol §, which had been built by Camillus, in conſequence of a ſimilar vow. It may eaſily be imagined how much the patricians were mortified at ſeeing this plebeian Concord, the work of an edile, ſtanding in the neighbourhood of the patrician Concord of their dictator. In this intereſting paſſage, the date only is erroneous. The firſt dedication was in the year of Rome 386 ; the ſecond, in the year 448. Inſtead of the numbers 104, we muſt therefore read 62.

† T. Liv. ix. 46.

‡ Poſt Capitolinam, according to the edition of Delcampius. I ſhould like to conſult that of Hardouin. Nardini erroneouſly reads poſt capitolium. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

§ Plutarch. in Camill.

I finiſhed

1763. J'ai achevé *le vingt et unième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* J'y trouve *Eloge Historique d'Alphonse Turretin, par M. Vernet.* Il n'est pas mal écrit. C'est dommage que le sujet ne soit pas plus beau. Une bonne latinité, des idées empruntées des Anglois, peu connûes alors, et une modération rare aux théologiens de son tems, ont fait toute sa réputation. Aussi commence-t-elle à passer. *Dissertations de l'Académie de Cortone :* les sujets sont très mal choisis, mais assez bien traités. *Lettres de M. Mayans, et Vie du Doyen Marti, à la tête de ses Lettres, publiées par le même M. Mayans.* La barbarie de leur pays, que ces deux Espagnols ne cessent de déplorer, demande de l'indulgence. Ils en ont besoin. *Histoire Critique de la Philosophie, par M. Deslandes :* ouvrage léger et spirituel. *Hésiode, par M. Robinson :* la préface de cette édition me paroît bien travaillée. *Premier Extrait d'un Ouvrage de M. Wesseling, sur cette fameuse Inscription de Bérénice, qui a tant exercé les savans.* M. Wesseling ne la considère que par rapport aux Juifs.

Septembre 26.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. v. C. v, vi, vii, viii. ix, x, xi, xii. p.* 1149—1216. Après avoir enfin épuisé le *Forum Romanum,* il passe aux quartiers qui l'environnoient, et surtout au *Forum* de César, à ceux d'Auguste, et de Trajan. Un *Forum* étoit proprement une place fort

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I finished the twenty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the panegyric of Alphonso Turretin, by Mr. Vernet; in which the beauty of the style exceeds that of the subject. This piece owes its fame to its excellent latinity; to ideas borrowed from England, and then new on the continent; and to a degree of candour not usual with theologians of that age. Its celebrity is now in the wane. *Dissertations of the Academy of Cortona :* the subjects are well treated, but ill chosen. *Letters of Mr. Mayans, and the Life of Dean Marti prefixed to his Letters, published by the same Mr. Mayans.* The barbarism of their country, which these two Spaniards continually deplore, entitles them to an indulgence, of which they stand in much need. The *Critical History of Philosophy, by Mr. Deslandes :* a lively, but light performance. *Hesiod, by Mr. Robinson :* the preface is elaborate. *First Extract from Mr. Wesseling's Discourse on the famous Inscription of Berenice,* which has so much exercised the ingenuity of the learned. He considers it only in relation to the Jews.

September 26.]—I read Nardini, L. v. C. v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, p. 1149—1216. After having exhausted the subject of the Roman Forum, he passes to the surrounding monuments, particularly the Forum of Cæsar, that of Augustus, and that of Trajan. A Forum was properly a place adorned on all sides with temples and porticos; but whose essential

fort ornée de temples et de portiques à l'entour, mais dont le bâtiment eſſentiel étoit une baſilique, où ſiégeoient les tribunaux de juſtice. Comme ces tribunaux ſe tenoient auparavant dans la place, c'eſt delà que quelques auteurs confondent ſouvent le *Forum* et le *Baſilica ;* et qu'ils en parlent quelquefois comme d'une place ouverte, et quelquefois comme d'un bâtiment couvert. La colonne de Trajan, placée au milieu de ſon *Forum*, eſt un beau monument, mais l'inſcription l'aggrandit infiniment. Conſerver par un grand ouvrage la memoire d'un ouvrage plus grand encore ; élever une magnifique colonne de cent vingt ſix pieds, pour annoncer qu'on a applani une montagne de cette hauteur : c'eſt le ſublime de l'architecture, de cette architecture qui parle autant à l'eſprit qu'aux yeux, et que les Romains entendoient mieux que tous les peuples de la terre. En paſſant par le *Forum* d'Auguſte, j'apperçois le temple de *Mars le Vengeur*. Depuis un édit d'Auguſte, le ſénat s'y aſſembloit toujours, pour accorder les triomphes. Ce réglement, qui paroît n'être que de police, tient eſſentiellement aux grands changemens de ce prince, et à tout ſon ſyſtème politique. Le ſénat s'aſſembloit autrefois dans le temple de Mars ou de Bellone, mais toujours hors des murailles. Le général ne pouvoit point conſerver ſa qualité militaire dans la ville. Mais après qu'on eut accordé à Auguſte cette 1763.

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characteriſtic conſiſted in a Baſilica, or court of juſtice. As the Roman judges antiently ſat under the open air, authors have been led to confound the Forum with the Baſilica, and to mention it ſometimes as an open ſquare, and at other times as a covered building. Trajan's pillar, which ſtands in the middle of his Forum, is a beautiful monument, and highly dignified by its inſcription. To preſerve by one great work the memory of a work ſtill greater; to raiſe a pillar one hundred and twenty-ſix feet high, in order to celebrate the levelling of a mountain of equal altitude, is worthy of that ſublime architecture which ſpeaks to the mind as much as to the eyes, and which the Romans underſtood better than any people on earth. In croſſing the Forum of Auguſtus, you perceive the temple of Mars the Avenger; where, in conſequence of an edict of that prince, the ſenate aſſembled for the purpoſe of decreeing triumphs. This edict, which ſeemed merely a regulation of police, was eſſentially connected with the great changes introduced by Auguſtus, and with his whole ſyſtem of policy. The ſenate formerly aſſembled in the temples of Mars or Bellona, which ſtood without walls; the general not being allowed to hold his military rank in the city. But when Auguſtus was inveſted

1763. cette commiſſion extraordinaire d'*Imperator*, le nouveau généraliſſime demeuroit armé au milieu du *Forum*, et tenoit le glaive toujours levé ſur la tête des citoyens.

Septembre 27.]—J'ai lu *Nardini*, *L. v. C. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi. p.* 1237—1297. J'ai eu beaucoup de peine à m'en faire une idée. Il y eſt queſtion de pluſieurs objets aſſez compliqués, et dont il eſt difficile de ſe former une image nette ſans le ſecours d'une repréſentation ſenſible. Une bonne carte topographique du Mont Capitolin m'auroit été fort utile. Cependant ſi Nardini en avoit fait une*, ſon éditeur l'a oubliée. La carte de M. d'Anville me paroît très exacte pour la configuration générale; mais il ne faut point y chercher les détails. Ajoutez que le ſtyle de Nardini, ou de ſon traducteur, eſt très embaraſſé, et que ſa méthode eſt aſſez extraordinaire; puiſque le treizième chapître ſuppoſe la lecture du quatorzième, comme le onzième et le douzième avoient ſuppoſé l'intelligence du treizième. Toutefois après une lecture réitérée, et une méditation approfondie, j'ai ſurmonté ces obſtacles, et peut-être ont ils ſervi à graver plus fortement dans mon eſprit l'image du Mont Capitolin. Il avoit deux ſommets très ſéparés l'un de l'autre, quoique aſſez ſouvent confondus par les anciens, et méconnus par

* Il y renvoye lui-même, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1208.

veſted with the extraordinary character of Imperator, this new generaliſſimo remained for life in the midſt of the Forum, and held the ſword always raiſed over the heads of the citizens.

September 27.]—I read Nardini, L. v. C. xiii, xiv, xv. xvi. p. 1237—1297, which concludes the book; of which I found it very difficult to form a diſtinct idea. He treats of ſeveral objects, and thoſe ſo complicated, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to paint them in the mind without ſeeing them delineated on paper. A good topographical chart of the Capitoline Mount would have been extremely uſeful; but if ſuch a chart was made by Nardini*, it is here omitted by his editor. That of D'Anville exhibits accurately the general outline; but does not repreſent particulars. Nardini's ſtyle, or that of his tranſlator, is alſo exceedingly puzzling; and his arrangement faulty in the extreme; ſince the thirteenth chapter ſuppoſes the reader acquainted with the fourteenth, and the eleventh and twelfth chapters cannot be underſtood without a previous acquaintance with the thirteenth. By repeated peruſals, and attentive meditation, I at length ſurmounted theſe obſtacles, which have ſerved perhaps to engrave more deeply in my mind the image of the Capitoline Mount. It had two ſummits, quite diſtinct from each other, though often confounded by the ancients, and miſtaken by the moderns.

* He refers to it himſelf, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1208.

par les modernes. Celui du midi, qui dominoit le Tybre, et qui étoit borné par les rochers Tarpéïens, ſi eſcarpés autrefois, et ſi imperceptibles aujourdhui, s'appelloit *Arx*, la citadelle. Le ſommet ſeptentrional étoit proprement le capitole. Il étoit occupé par le temple de Jupiter. Le vallon qui ſéparoit ces deux ſommets s'appelloit l'*Intermontium*. Ce fut dans ce vallon, dans un bois touffu qui l'ombrageoit, que Romulus établit le fameux *Aſylum*, la pépinière de ſa colonie. Dans la ſuite le bois diſparut, et céda la place à des édifices magnifiques. Une muraille forte formoit l'enceinte des deux montagnes et du vallon. On montoit au capitole par trois chemins, qui y menoient depuis le Forum. 1. Les *Centum Gradus*, qui commençoient un peu au-deſſus du temple de la Concorde, et qui aboutiſſoient à celui de Junon *Moneta* dans la citadelle. 2. Le chemin de l'*Aſylum*, c'étoit celui des triomphes. 3. *Le Clivus Capitolinus :* ſa ſituation n'eſt pas auſſi déterminée que celle des autres. Après avoir peſé les argumens de Marlianus et de Nardini, je dois dire qu'ils me paroiſſent très foibles et les uns et les autres. Cependant j'adopterai l'opinion du premier. Dès le moment qu'un des trois chemins avoit le nom propre de *Clivus Capitolinus*, je crois qu'il conduiſoit au capitole proprement dit. Ainſi ſelon cette ſuppoſition, chaque ſommet avoit ſon chemin particulier, ſans compter celui qui étoit commun aux deux. 1763.

Septembre

derns. The ſouthern ſummit, which overlooked the Tiber, was almoſt contiguous to the rude Tarpeian rocks, which are now ſcarcely perceptible; and was called *Arx;* the citadel. The northern ſummit properly formed the capitol. It was the ſite of the temple of Jupiter. The valley ſeparating the two mountains was called *Intermontium*, and covered with a thick foreſt; where Romulus eſtabliſhed the famous Aſylum, which was the nurſery of his colony. Afterwards the foreſt diſappeared, to make room for magnificent edifices. The valley and both mountains were incloſed with a ſtrong wall. Three roads led to the capitol from the Forum. 1. The *Centum Gradus*, which began a little beyond the temple of Concord, and terminated at the temple of Juno Moneta in the citadel. 2. The road belonging to the Aſylum, which was that through which conquerors paſſed in triumph. 3. The *Clivus Capitolinus*, whoſe ſituation is leſs accurately determined than that of the two others. After carefully weighing the arguments of Marlianus and Nardini, I am obliged to ſay, that neither party ſupports his opinion with much force. I adopt, however, that of the former; if one of the roads had the name of *Clivus Capitolinus*, it is natural to think that it led to the capitol, properly ſo called; and on this ſuppoſition each ſummit muſt have had its particular road, beſides that common to both.

September

1763. Septembre 28.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vi. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii. p.* 1237—1297. Cet auteur, après avoir achevé cette huitième région, qui comprenoit le *Forum* et le capitole, sort de la porte Carmentale pour parcourir la neuvième *(Campus Martius)*, qui n'entra dans l'enceinte de la ville qu'après la construction de la muraille d'Aurélien. Après l'expulsion des Tarquins, le peuple consacra à Mars un champ qui leur avoit apartenu, et qui servit désormais aux exercices militaires, et aux assemblées du peuple. Une certaine Tarutia, qui légua au peuple son champ entre celui de Mars et le Tybre; et Flaminius, qui lui laissa quelques prés hors de la porte Carmentale, aggrandirent bientôt ce domaine public, qui n'étoit encore qu'une plaine rase et unie, où l'œil ne découvroit qu'une prison assez ancienne, un temple de Bellone, (bâti A. U. C. 457,) et les *Equiria* et les *Septa*, qui ressembloient plutôt à des parcs de moutons qu'à des bâtimens publics. On peut appercevoir trois époques principales parmi tous les changemens plus insensibles qui ont dû s'y faire. 1. Peu de tems avant la seconde guèrre Punique, (vers l'an de Rome 535,) ce Flaminius qui périt ensuite à la bataille de Thrasymène, construisit un cirque sur le terrein qui avoit été autrefois à ses ancêtres. Ce cirque fut bientôt environné des temples d'Hercule Musagète, et de Junon, du portique d'Octavius, &c. et un petit fauxbourg

September 28.]—I read Nardini, L. vi. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii. p. 1237—1297. Having described the eighth region, comprehending the Forum and the Capitol, he proceeds through the *Porta Carmentalis*, to examine the ninth, or Campus Martius, which was without the city till enclosed by Aurelian's wall. The Romans, after expelling the Tarquins, consecrated to Mars a field which had belonged to that family; and which afterwards served for the place of military exercises, and the assemblies of the people. The legacy of Tarutia, consisting of a field between the Campus Martius and the Tiber, and that of Flaminius, consisting of some meadows beyond the Porta Carmentalis, speedily enlarged the bounds of the public property; which still continued a bare and smooth plain, except that the sight was interrupted by an antient prison; by a temple of Bellona, built in the year of Rome 457; and by the *Equiria* and *Septa*, which resembled rather inclosures for sheep than public edifices. In the changes which the Campus Martius gradually underwent, we may distinguish three principal æras. 1. Towards the year of Rome 535, and a little before the second Punic war, the same Flaminius, who afterwards perished in the battle near the lake Thrasymenus, built a circus on the ground which had formerly belonged to his ancestors. This circus was soon surrounded by the temple of Hercules Musagetes, by that of Juno, and by the portico of Octavius, &c. and a small suburb began

bourg commençoit à s'établir hors de la porte Carmentale, vers le milieu du ſeptième ſiècle de Rome. 2. Vers la fin du ſeptième ſiècle, le grand Pompée, de retour de ſes conquêtes orientales, *ſpoliis orientis onuſtus*, voulant conſtruire quelques bâtimens publics, et ſe trouvant gêné dans la ville, recula les bornes de ce fauxbourg vers le Champ de Mars. Ce fut là qu'il établit ſon théâtre magnifique, le premier qu'on eût vu à Rome. Il l'accompagna d'un temple de Vénus, d'une *curia*, d'un portique, d'un beau jardin, et d'un temple, qu'il conſacra à la fortune des Chevaliers. 3. Parmi les grands deſſeins d'Auguſte pour l'embelliſſement de la ville, il n'eut garde d'oublier *le Campus Martius*; il le remplit de beaux édifices, et encouragea les grands de Rome à ſuivre ſon exemple. Perſonne ne s'y prêta avec plus de zèle que ſon gendre Agrippa. Ses magnifiques *Septa*, ſes bains, ſes jardins, et ſon étang, mais ſurtout le panthéon, ſont autant de monumens de ſa magnificence. Le Champ de Mars étoit devenu, du tems de Strabon, un fauxbourg qui ne cédoit qu'avec peine à la ville même. Il n'a jamais cependant été peuplé à proportion de ſon étendue; les jardins publics emportoient beaucoup de terrein, et il reſtoit toujours un eſpace aſſez grand, réſervé comme auparavant aux exercices de la jeuneſſe. Déjà du tems de Cicéron*, on parloit de comprendre le *Campus Martius* dans l'enceinte de 1763.

began to be built without the Porta Carmentalis, towards the middle of the ſeventh century of Rome. 2. Towards the end of that century, the great Pompey, at his return from his eaſtern conqueſts, *ſpoliis orientis onuſtus*, wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome public edifices; but there not being room within the walls, he extended the bounds of this ſuburb towards the Campus Martius; and built there his magnificent theatre, the firſt that had been ſeen at Rome. This theatre was ſurrounded by a temple of Venus, a *curia*, a portico, a fine garden, and a temple conſecrated to the fortune of the knights. 3. Amidſt his other great deſigns for embelliſhing the city, Auguſtus did not forget the Campus Martius. He adorned it with beautiful buildings, and encouraged the grandees of Rome to follow his example. None imitated him more eagerly than his ſon in law Agrippa, of whoſe magnificence the *Septa*, baths, gardens, lake or baſon, and above all the pantheon, were conſpicuous proofs. In the time of Strabo, the ſuburb of the Campus Martius was but little inferior to the city itſelf. Its populouſneſs, however, was never proportional to its extent; the public gardens occupied much ground; and there was ſtill left an empty ſpace for the military exerciſes of the Roman youth. As early as the time of Cicero*, there was mention of taking the Campus Martius within the walls, that it might be filled with buildings, while a field

* Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 33.

1763. de la ville, de le remplir de maiſons, et de faire ſervir le champ du Vatican de l'autre côté du Tybre, aux anciens uſages du Champ de Mars. Mais ce projet n'eut jamais lieu. A combien de réflexions ce petit tableau ne donneroit-il pas lieu ? Ce peuple roi (qui méritoit bien ce nom) jouiſſoit collectivement de tous les droits de la ſouveraineté, et de tous les agrémens de la grandeur. Un citoyen ne ſortoit de ſa maiſon que pour ſe promener ſous un beau portique, pour prendre ſa place avec 80,000 de ſes compatriotes dans un théâtre magnifique, où l'on étaloit les raretés de toute la terre ; ou pour ſe délaſſer dans ces Thermes où l'on avoit ſu réunir tous les plaiſirs des ſens et de l'eſprit, avec le faſte des plus grands monarques. Les ambitieux prodiguoient leurs richeſſes au peuple, d'abord pour obtenir ſes graces ; enſuite pour lui faire oublier qu'ils les avoient obtenues. Mais on s'étonne toujours de voir ces grands de la république, un Pompée, un Agrippa, qui achèvent avec facilité de pareils ouvrages. Quelles étoient les ſources inépuiſables de leurs tréſors ? Les provinces et la guèrre. Les généraux ſans principes, déſoloient les ſujets de l'état ; ceux à qui il reſtoit encore quelque vertu, ſe contentoient de dépouiller ſes ennemis. Quelles richeſſes pouvoient ſuffir à la magnificence de Pompée ? Cependant on pouvoit louer ce même Pompée à la face du peuple Romain, pour la modération et le déſintéreſſement qui le diſtinguoient ſi avantageuſement

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field belonging to the Vatican ſhould be ſet apart for the purpoſes in which the Field of Mars had formerly been employed. But this project was never carried into execution. How many reflections does this ſlight ſketch naturally excite ! That people of kings, who ſo well deſerve this appellation, enjoyed collectively all the rights of ſovereignty, and all the pleaſures of grandeur ; a citizen never ſtirred from his houſe, but he walked under a beautiful portico ; or took his ſeat with 80,000 of his countrymen in a magnificent theatre, which exhibited the greateſt curioſities on earth ; or repoſed himſelf in thoſe *thermæ*, or baths, in which were united all the pleaſures of the mind and ſenſes, with the pomp befitting the greateſt monarchs. Ambitious generals laviſhed their wealth on the people, firſt to obtain preferment, and afterwards to make them forget that it had been beſtowed. But it will always be matter of ſurpriſe, how the grandees of Rome, a Pompey or an Agrippa, could ſo eaſily accompliſh ſuch vaſt undertakings. What ſources could ſupply their extraordinary expences ? War and the Provinces. Unprincipled generals robbed the ſubjects of the ſtate ; thoſe who had any remains of virtue, were ſatisfied with plundering the public enemy. What vaſt wealth was neceſſary for ſupporting the magnificence of Pompey ! Yet the moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, by which he was honourably diſtinguiſhed from other generals, was praiſed publicly in the preſence of the Roman people

tageuſement des autres généraux †. Son triomphe étaloit aux yeux de Rome les richeſſes de l'Orient ſubjugué; mais dans le tems que les armées étoient à la république, ces richeſſes auroient augmenté le tréſor public. Depuis longtems les chefs s'étoient fait une habitude de ſe les approprier ‡, et exigeoient encore la reconnoiſſance du peuple, pour l'emploi qu'ils faiſoient de ſon bien. Rien n'a dû indigner autant les citoyens contre le faſte de Lucullus, que de voir que ce voluptueux qui rapportoit tout à lui-même, et rien au public, conſtruiſoit des maiſons et des jardins pour vaincre les élémens, et pour rapprocher les climats, mais qu'il n'élevoit pas un ſeul monument pour les dieux, ni pour ſes compatriotes. Parmi les ouvrages d'Agrippa, j'en apperçois un, qui me démontre combien ce citoyen vertueux ſongeoit encore à la république, et avec quelle bonne foi il ſervoit un maître dont il pénétroit peu la politique artificieuſe. Ce ſont les *Septa*. Un homme qui ornoit les lieux des aſſemblées du peuple Romain, ignoroit ſans doute qu'Auguſte minoit leur autorité à pas lents, et les conduiſoit inſenſiblement au point où ſon ſucceſſeur pouvoit les abolir ſans crainte. 1763.

J'ai achevé le *vingt deuxième tôme de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *le ſecond Extrait du Syntagma de Weſſeling, ſur le fameux paſſage de Victor Tunnunenſis*, dont les

people †. His triumph diſplayed in the ſtreets of Rome the wealth of the ſubjugated eaſt; although, during the ages when the army really belonged to the republic, that wealth would have increaſed the treaſury of the ſtate; but the generals had been long accuſtomed to appropriate the ſpoils of war ‡, and to expect gratitude from the people, for the oſtentatious employment of the people's riches. The citizens muſt have felt indignation againſt the pride of Lucullus, when they beheld that ſelfiſh voluptuary making houſes and gardens which bade defiance to the elements, and brought together the ſeaſons, without raiſing a ſingle monument for the honour of the gods, or the accommodation of his fellow-citizens. Among the works of Agrippa, there is one which ſhews how much that virtuous citizen ſtill loved the republic, and how honeſtly he ſerved a maſter, of whoſe artful policy his own ſimplicity was the dupe. This work is the *Septa*. A man who adorned the place of aſſembly for the Roman people, muſt have been ignorant that Auguſtus was gradually undermining their authority, and bringing their aſſemblies into ſuch contempt, that his ſucceſſor could without fear totally aboliſh them.

I finiſhed the twenty-ſecond volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. I find the ſecond extract of Weſſeling's Treatiſe on the famous paſſage of Victor Tunnunenſis,

† Cicero pro lege Manilia, C. xxii, xxiii.

‡ Bergier Hiſt. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. xxi. p. 77. —80.

1763. les incrédules se sont si fort prévalus. Il les bat en ruine, et tout autrement que Bentley. *Sermons de Foster*; toujours judicieux et modérés. Ouvrage *sur les Services étrangers, par M. de Bochat.* Quand la raison seroit convaincue, le cœur s'éleveroit toujours contre cet usage barbare des Suisses; mais il s'en faut beaucoup que la raison soit convaincue. *Lettres de Marti, dernier Extrait.* M. Marti est précisément un des littérateurs du quinzième siècle. Aussi est-il comme eux à l'aurore de la science. Un savoir grand, mais mal choisi; une vénération infinie pour les anciens, et cette espèce d'imitation de leurs mœurs qui en est la marque la plus sûre. Beaucoup de projets laissés imparfaits, faute de secours; beaucoup d'observations bonnes ou mauvaises, mais déjà faites dans tous les pays de l'Europe. *Erudition des Apôtres.* Ouvrage très curieux du Docteur Lami de Florence. *Histoire des anciens Traités, par Barbeyrac:* exact et utile. *Histoire naturelle du Languedoc, par M. Astruc:* aussi bien faite qu'elle est curieuse. Ce premier exrait contient la géographie, sa première classe. A cette occasion, il entre dans un détail très intéressant sur la province Narbonnoise, la Septimanie, dont il donne une étymologie bien forcée, et sur tous les auteurs anciens qui ont parlé du Languedoc.

Septembre 29.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vi. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, et xv. p.* 1297—1347. Il y parcourt le reste de la neuvième

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Tunnunensis, of which Infidels have so much availed themselves. He beats all their works in pieces, and far more effectually than Bentley. Foster's Sermons: always moderate and judicious. A work on Foreign Service, by Mr. Bochat. Were reason convinced, yet the heart would always rebel against this barbarous custom of the Swiss: but reason is far from being convinced of the utility of this practice. Marti's Letters, second extract. Mr. Marti is merely a scholar of the fifteenth century, and still at the dawn of science; much ill-chosen erudition, a profound veneration for the ancients, and that servile imitation of their manners, which is its surest mark. Many designs left imperfect for want of assistance; and many observations, good and bad, but already made in all the countries of Europe. *The Learning of the Apostles:* a very curious performance, by Mr. Lami of Florence. *The History of Ancient Treaties, by Barbeyrac:* accurate and useful. *The Natural History of Languedoc, by Mr. Astruc*: curious and well written. The first extract contains the article geography, which is his first class; where he enters into a very interesting account of the Narbonnese province; of Septimania, of which he gives a very forced etymology; and especially of the ancient authors who speak of Languedoc.

September 29.]—I read Nardini, L. vi. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 1297—1347. He describes the remainder of the ninth region, the most extensive,

neuvième région, la plus étendue, et une des plus ornées de la ville. Delà il paſſe à la dixième, (*Mons Palatinus*) petite en elle-même, mais fameuſe pour avoir été d'abord le berceau de la nation, et enſuite le ſiège de l'empire. Auguſte s'y établit dans la maiſon de l'orateur Hortenſius, où tout reſpiroit la modeſtie d'un citoyen plutôt que la magnificence d'un monarque. Tibère l'aggrandit du côté du *Forum*. Caius la pouſſa juſqu'au temple de Caſtor. Neron voulut y renfermer la ville entière. Il couvrit le Mont Palatin de bâtimens juſqu'au cirque; d'un autre côté il remplit d'édifices la plaine entre le Palatin, l'Eſquilin, et le Cælius, juſqu'à s'approcher des jardins de Mécène. On montoit à ce palais (*Domus Aurea*) par la *Via Sacra*: vers le milieu de la rue on trouvoit la Grande Cour (*Veſtibulum*), à l'endroit où fut dans la ſuite le temple de la Paix. Plus loin l'on entroit dans la première ſalle (*Atrium*), qui conduiſoit aux jardins, aux portiques immenſes, et à l'étang ſitué dans l'emplacement de l'amphithéâtre de Titus. Veſpaſien détruiſit la plupart de ces bâtimens, et réduiſit le palais au Mont Palatin, dont il continuoit toujours d'occuper la plus grande partie. Domitien y fit de grands embelliſſemens, et preſque tous ſes ſucceſſeurs y ajoutèrent quelque choſe, juſqu'au tems où, abandonné par les empereurs, il tomba de vieilleſſe ſous Théodoric. Le palais Farnèſe remplit aujourd'hui cette ſituation. Le palais Impérial étonnoit les ſpectateurs par l'étendue 1763.

extenſive, and alſo one of the moſt ornamented of the whole city. From thence he proceeds to the tenth, *Mons Palatinus*; ſmall in itſelf, but famous both as the cradle of the nation and the ſeat of its empire. Auguſtus fixed his reſidence there, in the houſe of the orator Hortenſius, affecting the modeſty of a citizen; rather than the magnificence of a prince. Tiberius enlarged this reſidence on the ſide next the Forum; and Caius extended it to the temple of Caſtor. Nero ſeemed to wiſh comprehending in it the whole city. He covered the mount Palatine with buildings that reached to the circus; and, on the other ſide, filled with edifices the plain bounded by the Palatine, the Eſquiline, and mount Cælius, even to the neighbourhood of Mecenas's gardens. The aſcent to his palace, the Domus Aurea, led through the Via Sacra, in the middle of which ſtreet ſtood the *Veſtibulum*, or great court, which was afterwards the ſcite of the temple of Peace. Farther on ſtood the great hall, or Atrium, which led to his gardens, immenſe porticos, and the lake or pool which afterwards became the ſcite of Titus's amphitheatre. Veſpaſian deſtroyed the greateſt part of thoſe buildings, and confined his palace to the Palatine Mount, the greater part of which he continued to occupy. Domitian added many embelliſhments, which were encreaſed by almoſt all his ſucceſſors, until the Palatine palace, being forſaken by the emperors, periſhed of decay, in the reign of Theodoric. The Farneſe palace now ſtands

1763. l'étendue des bâtimens, la magnificence des meubles, le prix des ornemens curieux, et par le nombre de temples qu'il renfermoit, et qui lui donnoient un air auguſte et ſacré. Je doute que la beauté de l'architecture y répondît; bâti ſans un plan fixe, il étoit l'ouvrage ſucceſſif de cinquante princes, qui n'ont pu lui donner le premier mérite, l'harmonie de l'enſemble, et la proportion des parties. Malheureuſement encore il a dû perdre en goût à meſure qu'il augmentoit en magnificence. Simple ſous Auguſte, dans les beaux jours des arts, il n'a reçu ſes principaux ornemens que des mains déjà foibles et languiſſantes de ſes ſucceſſeurs. Auſſi les anciens ne l'ont il jamais compté parmi les beaux édifices de Rome.

Septembre 30.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vii. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. p.* 1347—1402. Il y décrit l'onzième région (*Circus Maximus*), la douzième (*Piſcina Publica*), et la treizième (*Mons Aventinus*). Il entre dans un aſſez grand détail à l'occaſion du cirque, le plus vaſte peut-être de tous les bâtimens deſtinés aux ſpectacles. Tarquin l'ancien, qui le conſtruiſit, paroît avoir moins enviſagé la petiteſſe actuelle de ſon empire, que la haute deſtinée qui l'attendoit dans l'avenir. Tout peut nous convaincre que le cirque étoit capable de contenir un peuple nombreux; mais Denys d'Halicarnaſſe le fixe à 150,000 perſonnes: Pline

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on its ruins. The imperial reſidence aſtoniſhed every beholder by its vaſt extent, the magnificence of its furniture, the richneſs of its ornaments, and the multitude of its temples; from which laſt it derived an auguſt and ſacred appearance. I think it doubtful, whether the elegance of the architecture correſponded to all this grandeur. Since it was the work of fifty ſucceſſive princes, but muſt have been built without any fixed plan, and therefore deficient in the principal merit of proportion and harmony. Unfortunately too, it muſt have loſt in point of taſte, in proportion as it gained in magnificence. Simplicity was the aim of Auguſtus, in an age when art flouriſhed; and ornaments were added by the feeble and languiſhing taſte of his ſucceſſors. This palace, therefore, has never been numbered among the beautiful edifices of Rome.

September 30.]—I read Nardini, L. vii. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. p. 1347—1402. He deſcribes the eleventh region, or Circus Maximus; the twelfth, or Piſcina Publica; and the thirteenth, or Mons Aventinus. He enters into many particulars concerning the circus, the largeſt perhaps of all the edifices deſtined for the exhibition of ſhows. Tarquinius Priſcus, by whom it was built, ſeems not to have adapted it to the ſmallneſs of the ſtate in his own time, but the greatneſs which fortune had in ſtore for Rome. Every particular tends to convince us, that the circus was fitted for containing a vaſt number of people. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, 150,000; Pliny, 260,000; Victor, 380,000; the modern

Pline à 260,000 : Victor à 380,000 : le Victor moderne à 385,000, et la Notice de l'Empire à 405,000. Au milieu de ces différences énormes, quel parti faut-il prendre ? Celui de consulter les faits, les lieux, et l'expérience. La position, et les bornes du cirque nous sont connues ; elles ont toujours été presque les mêmes, et la plupart des changemens n'ont affecté que l'intérieur du bâtiment, puisque ceux qui en ont reconnu les ruines, ont de la peine à lui trouver les trois stades et demie de longueur, que son premier fondateur lui donna*. Denys d'Halicarnasse lui assigne quatre *jugera*, ou 960 pieds Romains de largeur. Pline lui donne trois stades seulement de long, sur une stade, ou 625 pieds Romains de largeur. Mais cette contradiction apparente devient, selon l'explication de Nardini, un principe lumineux †. Denys d'Halicarnasse a envisagé l'enceinte extérieure du cirque ; Pline n'a fait attention qu'a l'enceinte intérieure. Les bâtimens, qui l'environnoient, emportoient la différence des sommes, et comme ils étoient remplis par les spectateurs, il nous importe d'en connoître l'étendue précise. Pour trouver leur largeur, il ne faut que soustraire 625 pieds de 960 ; il nous en restera 335. Si l'on en prend la moitié, nous 1763.

† Par rapport à la largeur du cirque, Pline lui-même confirme expressément cette explication.

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modern Victor, 385,000; and the Notitia Imperii, 405,000. In this great diversity of authorities, how ought we to form our judgment? By consulting facts, places, and experience. We know the situation and the bounds of the circus. They always remained the same; and the alterations which took place, regarded only the interior arrangement of the edifice, since those who have examined its ruins, are scarcely able to trace the three stadia and a half in length, which were assigned to it by the first founder*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives it four *jugera*, or 960 Roman feet in breadth; Pliny makes it three stadia long, and one stadium or, or 625 Roman feet, broad. This apparent contradiction Nardini considers as a source of much information‡. According to his explanation, Dionysius spoke of the exterior circumference, and Pliny of the interior. The intermediate buildings exhausted the difference; and as these were filled with spectators, their extent is an object of importance. To find their breadth, we have only to subtract 625 feet from 960; the remainder is 335 feet; the half of which, 168 feet, multiplied by three

*Traité des Mesures Itineraires, par M. d'Anville, p. 59.

‡ As to the breadth of the circus, Pliny himself expressly confirms this explanation.

1763. nous aurons, pour les ſpectateurs de chaque côté, trois ſtades (1875 pieds Romains) de longueur ſur 168 pieds de largeur. Les bâtimens couverts, qui en formoient l'enceinte extérieure, étoient de bois, à deux étages, eux-mêmes environnés d'un portique. Des ſiéges de pierres, placés comme dans les amphithéâtres, deſcendoient de tous côtés depuis les bâtimens couverts juſqu'à l'Euripus et à l'Arène. Le portique extérieur a dû être au moins double; il occupoit donc une trentaine de pieds. Des 138 qui me reſtent, j'en aſſignerois volontiers 48 aux ſiéges couverts, et 90 à ceux de pierre. Toutes choſes conſidérées, cette propoſition me paroît la plus naturelle: mais on peut répartir différemment cette ſomme des 138 pieds, ſans beaucoup déranger les calculs. Si l'on conſidère la petiteſſe du pied Romain*, et la grande attention qu'on avoit à procurer aux ſpectateurs toutes ſortes de commodités, il me paroît difficile de donner à chaque perſonne moins

* Le pied Romain, le pied d'Angleterre, et le pied de Roi, ſont dans la proportion de 1306, 1351½, et 1440. Le premier contient à peu près $11\frac{1}{5}$ pouces meſure d'Angleterre, et $10\frac{7}{8}$ meſure de France. *Traité des Meſures, &c. p.* 164. Après y avoir mûrement réfléchi, j'aimerois mieux ne donner à chaque perſonne que $2\frac{1}{4}$ pieds Romains. J'aurois 120,000 perſonnes pour les places, et 30,000 pour l'excédent. J'aurois encore quelque choſe à dire ſur la meſure locale de M. D'Anville, mais il vaut mieux attendre que je ſois à Rome.

Florence, le 11 Juillet 1764.

ſtadia, 1875 feet, will give the ſpace allotted for the ſpectators on both ſides. The covered buildings, which formed the exterior circumference, were made of wood, two ſtories high, and ſurrounded by a portico. The ſeats were of ſtone, and arranged like thoſe of the amphitheatre, deſcending on all ſides from the covered building to the *Euripus* and the *Arena*. The exterior portico muſt have been double: it therefore occupied thirty feet. Of the 138 which remain, I would allow 48 for the covered ſeats, and 90 for thoſe of ſtone. Every thing conſidered, this proportion appears to me the moſt probable; although the 138 feet may be otherwiſe diſtributed without injuring our calculations. When we reflect on the ſmallneſs of the Roman foot †, and the great attention beſtowed in procuring every ſort of conveniency for the ſpectators, leſs than two feet and a half can

† The Roman, Engliſh, and Paris foot, are in the proportion of 1306, 1351½, and 1440. The firſt contains nearly $11\frac{1}{5}$ inches of Engliſh, and $10\frac{7}{8}$ of French meaſure. *Traité des Meſures*, &c. p. 164. After attentively reflecting on the ſubject, I prefer allowing to each perſon $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet. This will give 120,000 perſons who were ſeated, and 30,000 who ſtood in the porticos. There is ſtill ſomething to be ſaid concerning Mr. D'Anville's meaſurement of the circus; but this will be better deferred, until I have viſited Rome.

Florence, 11th July, 1764.

moins de deux pieds et demi, et à chaque banc (y compris l'intervalle) moins de trois pieds de profondeur. Je vois donc 750 perſonnes qui rempliſſoient les trois ſtades du premier banc, puiſque les dégrés de pierre avoient 90 pieds ; on y montoit par 30 marches, qui étoient en même tems des ſiéges. Ils contenoient 22,500 perſonnes. Chaque étage des bâtimens couverts partageoit ſur la même longueur ces 48 pieds en 16 bancs. Les 32 contenoient ainſi 24,000 ſpectateurs, et le total de ceux, qui pouvoient être aſſis de chaque côté du cirque, étoit de 46,500 perſonnes. Les deux côtés réunis nous en donnent 93,000. Reſte encore un des bouts du cirque, car l'autre étoit occupé par les *Carceres*. Sa longueur étoit la largeur du cirque, une ſtade, ou 625 pieds. Ainſi en lui donnant la même profondeur qu'aux côtés, et en ſuivant les mêmes loix, dans notre calcul, il devoit contenir le tiers des ſpectateurs qui occupoient un côté : c'eſt à dire environ 15,500 perſonnes. Ce nombre, ajoûté au 93,000, nous fournit un total de 108,500 ſpectateurs aſſis dans le cirque. Je conçois aſſez qu'aux grands jeux, le goût déterminé du peuple a pu remplir les portiques d'une foule, à qui les plaiſirs faiſoient oublier les fatigues. Mais j'ai peine à y reçevoir plus de 40 ou 50-mille perſonnes. Auſſi Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, qui a décrit le cirque, n'en demande pas davantage pour achever la ſomme de 150,000 ſpectateurs, dont il le remplit. Pour expliquer la multitude 1763.

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can ſcarcely be allowed for each perſon, and three feet in depth for the benches, as well as for the intervals between them. The firſt bench then, extending three ſtadia, contained 750 perſons, ſince the ſtone ſeats roſe to the height of 90 feet. The ſpectators aſcended by thirty ſteps, which ſerved alſo for ſeats. They contained 22,500 perſons. Each ſtory of the covered buildings, being of the ſame length, divided the 48 feet which it occupied into ſixteen benches ; the two ſtories, comprehending thirty-two benches, therefore contained 24,000 perſons ; the whole ſpectators ſeated on either ſide amounted to 46,500 ; and the total, on both ſides together, to 93,000. There ſtill remains one of the ends of the circus, for the other was occupied by the *Carceres*. It was as long as the circus was broad ; that is, a ſtadium, or 625 feet ; ſo that if we allow to it the ſame depth as to the ſides, and calculate on the ſame principles, it muſt have contained 15,500, or a third part of thoſe contained by each of the ſides. This number, added to 93,000, gives 108,500, for the whole ſpectators ſeated in the circus. It may well be imagined, that at the great games, the paſſionate love for thoſe amuſements would crowd the porticos with ſpectators, who ſacrificed their eaſe to their curioſity. But I think they could not well exceed 40, or 50,000. More are not required for completing the number of 150,000, aſſigned by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus.

To

1763. titude énorme que les deux Victors†, et la Notice de l'Empire y ont placé, je ne demande qu'une fuppoſition. C'eſt que ces écrivains du Bas Empire avoient peu de jugement, et encore moins de goût. Ceux qui les ont examinés, ne me chicaneront pas là-deſſus. Des compilateurs de cette eſpêce diſtinguent mal la licence d'un poëte, ou l'hyperbole d'une inſcription flateuſe. Quand Juvénal s'abandonnant à toute la véhémence de ſon feu et de ſon indignation, s'écrie avec force

Totam hodie Romam circus capit‡ ;

quand on lit dans une inſcription de Trajan, que ce prince aggrandit le cirque pour le rendre capable de contenir tout le peuple Romain‡, ces abréviateurs n'auront ils pas pu prendre ces expreſſions à la rigueur, et exprimer le nombre des ſpectateurs par celui des citoyens? Si l'on prend la ſomme annonçée dans l'ancien Victor, le moins défectueux des trois, et qu'on y ajoûte des eſclaves Romains, ſelon la proportion Athénienne, nous trouverons que le total des habitans de Rome montoit à 1,140,000.

Comme

† Le Victor moderne eſt l'édition la plus étendue du même auteur publiée par Panvinius. Il y a beaucoup d'additions que les critiques mépriſent avec raiſon, comme l'ouvrage d'un impoſteur. *Nardini Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. v. p. 965.*

To explain the prodigious multitude mentioned by the two Victors§, and the Notitia Imperii, I required but one ſuppoſition, which is, that thoſe writers of the Lower Empire had but little judgment, and ſtill leſs taſte. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with them will not diſpute the point. Compilers of their claſs might miſtake for hiſtoric truth a poetical licence, or the exaggeration of a flattering inſcription. When Juvenal, giving way to the warmth of his indignation, cries out

Totam hodie Romam circus capit † ;

when an inſcription in honour of Trajan ſays, that this prince rendered the circus capable of containing the whole people of Rome‡, theſe abridgers might explain ſuch paſſages literally, and thus expreſs the number of ſpectators in the circus by that of Roman citizens. If we conſider the paſſage of the ancient Victor, the leaſt erroneous of the three, and add to the number mentioned in it, that of the Roman ſlaves, according to the proportion which the Athenian ſlaves bore to the citizens, we ſhall find that the whole inhabitants of Rome amounted to 1,140,000.

My

§ The moſt judicious edition of the modern Victor is that publiſhed by Panvinius. The numerous additions are juſtly deſpiſed as the work of an impoſtor. *Nardini Roma Vetus*, L. ii. C. v. p. 965.

† Juvenal Satir. xi. 195.

‡ Dio. Caſſ. apud Nardini, L. vii. C. ii. p. 1355.

Comme ce nombre n'eſt point éloigné de celui que nous avons fixé† par une opération plus exacte, je trouverois de la vraiſemblance à ma conjecture. Si on la rejette, il faut dire tout ſimplement, que ces trois écrivains ſe ſont trompés de la façon la plus groſſière. Mais je ne ſaurois me réſoudre à en dire autant de Pline. Cependant il n'y a point de reſſource; le naturaliſte détermine lui-même que c'eſt du cirque embelli et aggrandi par Jules Céſar, dont il parle. Denys d'Halicarnaſſe étoit contemporain du dictateur, et il écrivit ſous ſon ſucceſſeur. Lire 160,000, au lieu de 260,000, ce ſeroit couper le nœud Gordien. Mais les manuſcrits! 1763.

Octobre 1.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. vii. C. x, xi, xii, xiii. et L. viii. C. i, ii, iii. p.* 1402—1446. Mon auteur paſſe enfin le Tybre. Il examine la quatorzième et dernière région *(Tranſtiberina)*, et le Mont Vatican, qui n'a jamais été compris dans l'enceinte de l'ancienne Rome. Le huitième livre commence par une récapitulation générale des édifices de la ville; il paſſe delà à quelques objets généraux, tels que le Tybre, et les ponts qu'on y avoit bâtis. C'eſt ſur la profondeur de cette rivière que je vais hazarder quelques réflexions. L'expérience nous abandonne ici. Il ne ſeroit pas difficile de déterminer la profondeur actuelle du Tybre, mais elle ne concluroit rien pour celle qu'elle pouvoit avoir anciennement. Les ruines

My conjecture is ſtrengthened by obſerving, that this number nearly agrees to that aſcertained by a more exact calculation †. But if this explanation be rejected, we muſt pronounce that thoſe writers have moſt groſsly deceived themſelves. I am unwilling to ſay as much of Pliny; yet there is no alternative; the naturaliſt declares that he ſpeaks of the circus as embelliſhed and enlarged by Julius Cæſar. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus was contemporary with the Dictator, and publiſhed his work under his ſucceſſor. We might cut the Gordian knot by reading 160,000 inſtead of 260,000. But what becomes of the manuſcripts!

October 1.]—I read Nardini, L. vii. C. x, xi, xii, xiii. and L. viii. C. i, ii, iii. p. 1402—1446. The author at length croſſes the Tiber, and examines the fourteenth and laſt region, called Tranſtiberina, and the Mount Vatican, which never was encloſed within the walls of ancient Rome. The eighth book begins by a general recapitulation of the edifices of the city; from thence he proceeds to ſome general topics; ſuch as the Tiber and its bridges. I ſhall venture to make ſome reflections on the depth of that river. On this ſubject we can derive nothing from experience; for though we may eaſily meaſure the preſent depth of the Tiber, this

† Journal, 20th September, p. 67, 68.

1763. ruines des édifices, qui ont preſque exhauſsé les vallons au niveau des montagnes, ont dû produire le même effet ſur le lit de ce fleuve. Il faut donc conſulter les anciens; mais notre embarras augmente, lorſqu'on croit appercevoir une contradiction frappante entre deux auteurs de la première force. Pline nous parle partout du Tybre, comme d'une rivière navigable aux plus grands bâtimens†. Ce vaiſſeau immenſe qui porta l'obéliſque du Vatican, d'Alexandrie à Rome, remonta le Tybre avec autant de facilité qu'il avoit deſcendu le Nil‡. D'un autre côté, Strabon§ nous aſſure que les grands amas de limon que le Tybre charioit dans ſon cours, et qu'il dépoſoit à ſon embouchure, obligeoit les grands vaiſſeaux de s'alléger d'une partie de leur cargaiſon avant que de pouvoir remonter juſqu'à la ville. Si cette contradiction eſt auſſi réelle qu'elle le paroît d'abord, il ſeroit difficile de croire que des auteurs auſſi exacts ſe ſeroient trompé ſur une choſe ſi notoire, et il ſeroit preſque impoſſible de ſavoir à qui l'on doit attribuer la faute. Mais ne pourroit-on point diminuer la différence, ſi on ne la fait pas entiérement diſparoître par les réflexions ſuivantes? 1. Je vois beaucoup de prévention dans le récit de Pline; un deſſein formé d'étaler tous les avantages du Tybre, et de l'égaler aux plus grands fleuves. Ce deſſein ſeul pouvoit lui dicter

this will not aſcertain what it was anciently. The ruined edifices which have raiſed the vallies almoſt to the height of the mountains, muſt have produced a ſimilar change in the bed of the river. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, to have recourſe to the ancients; and our difficulty is much encreaſed by an apparent contradiction between two authorities of the firſt rank. Pliny every where mentions the Tiber as navigable for the largeſt ſhips†. The prodigious veſſel which carried the obeliſk of the Vatican from Alexandria to Rome, ſailed up the Tiber as eaſily as it had ſailed down the Nile‡. Strabo§, on the contrary, aſſures us, that the vaſt heaps of mud which were waſhed down by the current, and depoſited at the mouth of the river, rendered it neceſſary for large ſhips to unload a part of their cargo, before they could arrive at the city. If this contradiction is as ſtrong as it at firſt ſight appears, it will be difficult to conceive how ſuch accurate writers could be deceived in a matter ſo generally known; and ſcarcely poſſible to determine which of the two is chargeable with the fault. The difference between them may perhaps be diminiſhed, if not totally removed, by the following reflections. 1. In the narration of Pliny I perceive much prepoſſeſſion; a deſire to exaggerate the advantages of the Tiber, and to magnify it by a compariſon with the greateſt

† Plin. Hiſt. Natur. L. ii. 5. ‡ Idem, L. xvi. 40. L. xxxvi. 9.
§ Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 60.

ter une comparaiſon auſſi fauſſe que celle qu'il établit entre cette rivière et le Nil. L'une et l'autre portoient le vaiſſeau de l'obéliſque ; donc le Tybre a autant d'eau que le Nil : un géant peut ſoulever un poid de dix livres, un nain le ſoulève auſſi ; donc le nain eſt auſſi fort que le géant. Voilà le raiſonnement de Pline. Le voyage de l'obéliſque ne prouve que le fait même, et ne conclut rien ſur la profondeur plus ou moins grande des deux rivières. 2. L'expérience nous apprend que les rivières qui charient beaucoup de limon, et de ſable, n'en ſont point embaraſſées dans leur cours. Entraînés par ſa rapidité, ils les ſuivent juſqu'à leur embouchure, et ne s'arrêtent que lorſqu'elles n'ont plus de force. C'eſt alors qu'il s'en forme des amas conſidérables ; mais comme il y a des courans à l'embouchure de preſque toutes les rivières, ils en ſuivent la direction, et ſe rejettent ſur le côté voiſin. C'eſt ainſi que le Rhône pouſſe tous ſes embarras ſur les côtés du Languedoc, dont il a bouché tous les ports. Le Tybre dépoſoit de même tout ſon amas de limon ſur les rivages du *Latium :* le port d'Oſtie en étoit devenu impraticable. Il reſtoit ſûrement quelques bancs de ſable que la diſpoſition du terrein y avoit arrêtés dans certains endroits ; mais on pouvoit les ſurmonter, on pouvoit les éviter ; et de la relation de Strabon bien entendue, il réſulte ſeulement que pour remonter le Tybre dans un vaiſſeau 1763.

greateſt rivers. Nothing ſhort of ſuch a deſign could have made him compare it with the Nile, to which it is ſo much inferior. Both rivers had carried the veſſel containing the obeliſk. The Tiber, therefore, is equal to the Nile. A giant lifts a weight of ten pounds, ſo does a dwarf; the dwarf therefore is a ſtrong as the giant. Such is Pliny's reaſoning. The tranſportation of the obeliſk muſt be allowed ; but no concluſion can be drawn from it concerning the equality of depth in the two rivers. Experience teaches us, that rivers which carry down much ſlime and ſand, are not thereby rendered more ſhallow, except near to their mouths, where the ſtrength of their ſtreams is commonly much abated. There great accumulations are formed ; but as currents much prevail at the mouths of rivers, the accumulations naturally follow their direction, and throw themſelves on the neighbouring coaſt. In this manner the Rhine diſcharges its obſtructions on the coaſt of Languedoc, whoſe harbours are thereby blocked up. The Tiber, likewiſe, diſcharged its mud on the coaſt of Latium, by which the harbour of Oſtia became inacceſſible. Some ſand-banks, doubtleſs, remained in particular places of the river in conſequence of local circumſtances : but theſe obſtacles might be ſurmounted or ſhunned; and, from Strabo's narrative well conſidered, we can

1763. vaiſſeau qui tiroit beaucoup d'eau, il falloit de l'habileté et du courage. 3. Le commerce n'inſpire pas le dernier. Je conçois facilement avec Strabon, que les négocians étrangers déchargeoient avec plaiſir une partie de leur cargaiſon ſur les chaloupes qui les attendoient, et leurs maîtres intéreſſés ne manquoient point de leur exagérer tous les périls de cette navigation. Je comprens encore avec Pline, qu'un Caligula, qui ne comptoit pour rien ni ſes tréſors, ni ſes ſujets, et qui ſe piquoit de mépriſer la raiſon, et de vaincre les élémens, pouvoit faire tout ce qui n'étoit pas impoſſible. Tout a dû concourir à ſon deſſein. Le lit du fleuve bien nettoyé auparavant; des écluſes ménagées avec art, et les travaux réunis des hommes et des chevaux, auront fait remonter juſqu'à Rome le vaiſſeau qui y apporta l'obéliſque du Vatican. Je ne doute pas même qu'un eſſai auſſi heureux n'ait convaincu les navigateurs qu'une partie des obſtacles étoient imaginaires, et qu'en perfectionnant leur art, ils n'ayent trouvé le moyen de diminuer ceux qui étoient réels. Quoiqu'il en ſoit pour les vaiſſeaux, il eſt conſtant que les galères qui tiroient beaucoup moins d'eau, remontoient le Tybre avec une grande facilité. Caton fit cette navigation ſur un ſeptirême, et il ne prit terre qu'aux *Navalia*, ſous le Mont Aventin. Rome étoit donc une ville maritime, et malgré

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can only infer that a veſſel drawing much water, could not ſail up the Tiber without exertions of ſkill and courage. 3. The latter is not inſpired by commerce. We can eaſily, therefore, believe with Strabo, that foreign merchants were glad to unload part of their cargoes, and to put them on board of lighters, which were ready for their ſervice; and whoſe maſters, from motives of intereſt, would not fail to exaggerate the dangers of the voyage. I can believe alſo with Pliny, that a Caligula, who ſported equally with his treaſures and the lives of his ſubjects, and who valued himſelf on ſetting reaſon and the elements at defiance, could do every thing not impoſſible. Every exertion would ſecond his enterpriſe. The bed of the river would be previouſly cleared; ſluices would be ſkillfully diſtributed; and the ſtrength of men and horſes would impel to Rome the veſſel carrying the obeliſk of the Vatican. I doubt not that the ſucceſs of this trial would convince mariners that part of the obſtacles were imaginary; and that, by improving their art, even thoſe which were real might be much diminiſhed. Whatever was the caſe with ſhips, it is certain that gallies, which indeed draw much leſs water, eaſily ſailed up the Tiber to Rome. Cato performed this voyage in a galley with ſeven tire of oars, and landed at the *Navalia*, near the foot of the Mount Aventine. Rome therefore was a maritime city, and open to the inſults of

malgré l'autorité de Camille, ou de Tite Live†, elle etoit exposée aux insultes d'une escadre ennemie. Pourquoi les Carthaginois, souvent maîtres de la mer, n'ont ils jamais su tenter cette entreprise ? S'ils étoient entrés dans la rivière vers le soir, ils auroient pu à la pointe du jour, débarquer au pied du capitole‡. Mais ils manquoient de hardiesse, et leur marine étoit plutôt commerçante que militaire. 1763.

Octobre 2.]—J'ai lu *Nardini, L. viii. C. iv, v. p.* 1446---1460; *la fin de ce livre et de tout l'ouvrage.* Il est excellent. Beaucoup de pénétration et d'exactitude, jointes à une grande lecture, doivent laisser peu de chose à découvrir à ses successeurs. Peut-être est il un peu diffus, et qu'il n'a pas toujours toute la netteté possible. Je lui reprocherois aussi de trouver trop de difficultés, et d'employer des pages entières à expliquer ce qu'une seule observation juste et précise éclairciroit d'abord. Je suis très content de moi vis-à-vis de cet auteur. J'ai lu ce traité dans seize jours, et cependant je l'ai fort bien lu, et d'une façon très attentive et très réfléchie.

J'ai achevé le *vingt troisième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* J'y trouve un deuxième Extrait de l'*Histoire Naturelle du Languedoc, par M. Astruc.* Dans la partie des mœurs, j'ai été frappé des vestiges du Paganisme qui s'y trouvent

† La navigation n'étoit que de seize milles Romains.

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of a hostile fleet, notwithstanding the opinion of Camillus, or rather of Titus Livius†, to the contrary. Why did not the Carthaginians, who were often masters of the sea, attempt such an enterprise ? Had they embarked on the river towards evening, they might before day-break have landed at the foot of the capitol‡. They had not courage for the undertaking, and their ships were not so well fitted for war as for commerce.

October 2.]—I read Nardini, L. viii. C. iv, v. p. 1446—1460; which concludes the whole work; the excellence of which, its accuracy, judgment, and learning, must leave but small gleanings for subsequent writers. Perhaps he is chargeable with being too diffuse, and sometimes with want of perspicuity. I am inclined also to accuse him of raising up difficulties, and of employing whole pages on what might be ascertained by one just and clear observation. I am satisfied with my diligence with respect to this work, which I have read in sixteen days, with much attention and reflection.

I finished the twenty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée;* which contains the second extract of Mr. Astruc's Natural History of Languedoc. In the article respecting manners, we find striking vestiges of Paganism still remaining in that province; I speak not of those general characters of superstition which are common to all men, because they are

† T. Liv. V. 54.

‡ The navigation was only sixteen Roman miles.

1763. trouvent encore. Je ne parle pas de ces traits généraux de ſuperſtition qui ſont communs à tous les hommes, parcequ'ils ſont hommes, mais de quelques uſages ſi ſinguliers et ſi arbitraires qu'ils décèlent leur origine. Qu'il eſt difficile d'abolir la religion, ou la langue d'un peuple! *Satyres de Sectanus, avec la Réponſe de Coſellius, &c.* Guèrre littéraire, qui a deſhonoré preſque tous les ſavans de l'Italie, ſans faire beaucoup d'honneur à leur eſprit. Le Jéſuite Sectanus en a cependant plus que ſes adverſaires. Leurs noms toutefois me feroient croire que ſa cauſe ne vaut rien. *Bibliothèque des Manuſcrits, par le Père de Montfaucon:* ouvrage ſavant et utile, mais qui n'eſt complet que ſur la France. Il eſt preſque néceſſaire à tout littératur. *Oroſe, par M. Havercamp.* Edition bienfaite, et dont on avoit beſoin, d'un très mauvais auteur, qui ne doit ſon mérite qu'à la perte de ſes confrères qui valoient bien mieux que lui.

Octobre 3.]—Comme le quatrième tome du *Tréſor de Grævius* contient pluſieurs autres ouvrages qui ſe rapportent tous aux antiquités de la ville de Rome, j'ai voulu en lire quelques uns. J'ai commencé par la courte, mais fameuſe *Diſſertation d'Iſaac Voſſius de Antiquæ Urbis Romæ Magnitudine; et j'ai lu cette pièce toute entière. p.* 1497—1516. On connoît aſſez les paradoxes de ce critique. Il donne libéralement à l'ancienne Rome plus de trente milles d'enceinte ſans ſes fauxbourgs, et plus de ſoixante et dix en les y comprenant. Il y place plus de quatorze millions

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are men, but of ſome practices ſo ſingular and arbitrary, that it is impoſſible to miſtake their origin. How difficult it is to aboliſh the religion and language of a nation! The *Satires of Sectanus, with Coſellius's Anſwer:* a literary war, which diſhonoured almoſt all the learned in Italy, without procuring much fame for their talents. Thoſe of the Jeſuit Sectanus were the moſt diſtinguiſhed; but the names of his adverſaries incline me to think that his cauſe was not good. *A Library of Manuſcripts, by Father Montfaucon:* this work is learned and uſeful, but is not complete except as to France. It is almoſt neceſſary for every man of letters. *Oroſius, by Mr. Havercamp:* a good edition, which was much wanted, of a very bad author, whoſe ſole value ariſes from the loſs of his fellow-labourers, who were far ſuperior to himſelf.

October 3.]—I looked into the fourth volume of Grævius' Theſaurus, which contains ſeveral other treatiſes, beſides Nardini's, on the antiquities of Rome. I began by reading the whole of the ſhort but famous Diſſertation of Iſaac Voſſius on the magnitude of that city. His paradoxes are well known. He aſſigns upwards of thirty miles for the circuit of Rome, independently of the ſuburbs; and upwards of ſeventy miles when the

millions d'habitans *, et comme il eſt auſſi avare pour les modernes, qu'il eſt généreux envers les anciens, il aſſure hardiment que les trois royaumes les plus floriſſans de l'Europe ne ſauroient aujourd'hui produire ce nombre de ſujets. Ces nouveautés étoient trop révoltantes pour ne pas trouver des adverſaires qui les ont réfutées avec autant de ſavoir que de force. Voſſius n'a que deux argumens qui puiſſent éblouir un moment. Un paſſage de Dénys d'Halicarnaſſe, qu'il n'a point entendu, et un autre de Pline qu'il a corrompu. Pour le premier, je renverrai ſeulement à Nardini, qui a démontré de la manière la plus victorieuſe, que lorſque cet hiſtorien a comparé la grandeur d'Athènes à celle de Rome, il n'a voulu parler que d'Athènes proprement dite ; et que le port du Pirée n'étoit point compris dans l'enceinte de la ville †. Pour le paſſage de Pline, je renverrois au ſavant Fréret, qui en a donné l'explication la plus naturelle et la mieux liée ‡. Je ne diſconviens pas que ſon hypothèſe n'ait encore ſes difficultés, mais déſqu'une partie du paſſage eſt auſſi claire que l'autre eſt obſcure, il faut expliquer celle-ci par celle-là, et non point corriger celle-là ſur celle-ci. Je ne parlerai ici que d'un ſeul argument de Voſſius. Il eſt ingénieux ; et depuis que je l'ai vu la première fois dans les *Nouvelles de* 1763.

* Voſſius, p. 1514—1515. Ses calculs ſont un peu embrouillés comme à l'ordinaire, mais je prends ſon propre réſultat.

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the ſuburbs are included. He fills that vaſt extent with more than fourteen millions of inhabitants § ; and being as niggardly towards the moderns, as prodigal with reſpect to the ancients, he aſſures us that this number of ſubjects is not to be found in the three moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of Europe. Theſe ſtrange novelties could not fail to provoke the indignation of many adverſaries, by whom they were ably and learnedly refuted. There are but two authorities for Voſſius, and theſe merely fitted to dazzle and bewilder ; a paſſage of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, which he miſconſtrues, and a paſſage of Pliny, which he has corrupted. For the firſt, I would refer to Nardini, who proves clearly that when Dionyſius compares the ſize of Rome with that of Athens, he does not include the harbour of the Piræus †. For the paſſage of Pliny, I would refer to the learned Freret, who explains it very naturally in connexion with the context ‡. I do not ſay that his hypotheſis is without its difficulties ; but of the two parts of a paſſage, when one is clear and another obſcure, I ſay that the latter muſt be explained by the former, and not the reverſe. I ſhall conſider but one argument adduced by Voſſius. It is ingenious, and ever ſince I firſt read it in the *Nouvelles de la*

§ Voſſius, p. 1514—1515. His calculations are, as uſual, ſomewhat confuſed ; but I give the reſult as ſtated by himſelf.

† Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. vi. p. 912—916.

‡ Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, par Bayle ; mois de Janvier 1685.

1763. *de la République des Lettres*, j'en ai toujours été frappé. Le bois d'Egérie (dit-il) étoit aux portes de Rome dans les premiers siècles de cet état; dans le tems de sa grandeur, l'on trouve le bois d'Egérie auprès d'Aricie, et à quinze *milles du Forum*. On peut croire, ajoute-t-il, qu'à mesure qu'on aggrandissoit la ville, l'on reculoit ce bois, afin de lui conserver toujours sa situation relative d'être dans les fauxbourgs, un peu au delà de la Porte *Capena*. Il en est de même du *Clivus Virbius*, et du Lac de Juturne qu'on retrouve pareillement aux environs d'Aricie, après les avoir laissés au centre de la ville †. Encore une fois l'idée est très ingénieuse, mais plusieurs raisons m'empêcheroient de faire grand fond là dessus. 1. Ce sont ici des hypothèses au lieu de faits. Tous les écrivains parlent du bois d'Egérie, de la Porte *Capena*, et du bois d'Aricie; mais aucun n'y suppose la moindre liaison. Aucun ne parle du dernier comme n'étant en effet que le premier, dont on avoit reculé la situation. Le seul Servius fait entendre que la Nymphe Egérie du bois d'Aricie, étoit celle dont Numa se vantoit d'avoir eu les bonnes graces ‡; mais l'identité de divinité ne conclut point celle du bois sacré. Je sais que les dieux champêtres n'étoient point ceux des nations entières, et que l'étendue de leur culte étoit bornée par celle de leurs bienfaits; mais je sais aussi que dans le monde mythologique,

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la République des Lettres, it has left on my mind a strong impression. The wood of Egeria, he says, was at the gates of Rome in the first ages of the Republic; but in the age of Roman greatness, this wood was in the neighbourhood of Aricia, and fifteen miles from the *Forum*. It may be supposed, he adds, that in proportion as the city was enlarged, this wood was gradually cut down, so that it might still continue to keep its former situation with regard to the suburbs, and stand a little beyond the Porta Capena. The same thing happened as to the Clivus Virbius and the lake of Juturna, which are in the neighbourhood of Aricia now, but were in the centre of the city formerly †. This idea is doubtless ingenious; but many reasons convince me that it is false. It is founded entirely on hypothesis. All writers mention the Porta Capena, the wood of Egeria, and that of Aricia; but none suppose any connection between them, or that the latter was merely a continuation of the former. Servius, indeed, and he alone, says that the nymph Egeria of the wood Aricia, was the same goddess with whom Numa was familiar ‡. But the identity of the goddess does not prove that of the sacred wood. I know that rural divinities were not the gods of whole nations, and that their worship

† Vossius de Rom. Magnitud. C. iv. p. 906, 907.

‡ *Nympha in Aricino nemore, quam amicam suam Numa esse fingebat.* Serv. ad Æneid. L. vii. V. 762.

gique, comme dans le monde naturel, tout étoit lié par des gradations preſqu'imperceptibles, et qu'on remontoit par une chaîne ſucceſſive d'êtres depuis la Dryade juſqu'au Maître du tonnèrre. La Dryade ſans pouvoir, ſans connoiſſance, et preſque ſans ſentiment, n'exiſtoit que dans l'arbre qu'elle occupoit, et dont on la diſtinguoit à peine. Mais Egèrie étoit d'une ordre plus relevé ; ſemblable à Faunus, qui paſſoit rapidement de l'Arcadie au pays des Sabins *, le bois ancien qu'elle habitoit auprès d'Aricie, ne devoit point empêcher que Numa ne lui en conſacrât un autre aux portes de Rome, et qu'il ne perſuadât aux peuples qu'elle l'honoroit fréquemment de ſa préſence. Encore ſi je hazardois une ſuppoſition des plus naturelles, c'eſt que tout le pays entre Rome et Aricie n'étoit anciennement qu'une forêt, où l'on voyoit deux chapelles conſacrées à la Nymphe ; et que lorſqu'on défricha ces bois, on en laiſſa toujours ſubſiſter les deux extrêmités par reſpect pour elle. 2. Bien loin que le bois d'Aricie paroiſſe d'une fondation plus nouvelle que celui de la Porte *Capena*, ſelon la chronologie de la fable, tout y annonce une antiquité ſupérieure à celle de Rome. Hyppolite vint en Italie 400 ans avant la naiſſance de Romulus ; or toutes les traditions du lieu ſe rapportent au tems de ce prince ; le *Virbius*, nom qui annonçoit ſa nouvelle 1763.

worſhip was often confined to the diſtrict which had experienced their kindneſs ; but I know alſo, that in the mythological, as well as in the natural world, there is a perpetual chain of beings riſing above each other by almoſt imperceptible degrees, from the lowly Dryad to Jupiter armed with the thunder. The Dryad, deſtitute of power, knowledge, and almoſt of ſenſation, exiſted in her native tree, from which ſhe was ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable. But Egeria was of a higher order, and not inferior to Faunus, who frequently came from Arcadia to the territory of the Sabines †; ſo that though the ancient wood near to Aricia was her proper habitation, this needed not to hinder Numa from conſecrating to her another, at the gates of Rome ; or from perſuading the people that ſhe frequently honoured him there with her preſence. It is a natural ſuppoſition that the whole country between Rome and Aricia was a continued foreſt, at each extremity of which there was a chapel conſecrated to the Nymph ; and that when the country was cleared, the trees were allowed to ſtand at both extremities from reſpect to Egeria. 2. The wood of Aricia is ſo far from being of a later date than the Porta Capena, that if we can have any dependence on the chronology of the fabulous ages, that wood was more ancient than the city of Rome. Hippolitus came into Italy 400 years before the birth of Romulus ; and the former prince is connected with all the traditions which prevailed in the country about Aricia. The name Virbius indicated his new life ; the nymph

† Horat. Carm. L. i. Ode xvii.

1763. nouvelle vie, la Nymphe Egéria qui l'accueillit dans ſon antre, et qui pleura ſi tendrement ſes malheurs †: ces traditions ſont fabuleuſes, j'en ſuis perſuadé, mais les fables ne ſont pas l'ouvrage d'un jour. Crues pieuſement de tout le canton, elles y ſont anciennes; le bois ſacré auquel elles ſont liées, l'eſt encore davantage; et ces fables mêmes renverſent la fable encore moins vraiſemblable, qui ne rapporte ſa conſécration qu'aux tems de la grandeur de Rome, et de l'aggrandiſſement de la ville, c'eſt à dire à celui d'Auguſte, ou du moins des derniers conſuls. 3. Le principe ſur lequel on établit cet uſage de reculer les lieux conſacrés, eſt contraire à celui de toutes les ſuperſtitions locales. On révère un lieu honoré par la préſence et les miracles d'un Dieu, où il a déployé ſa puiſſance, où il a prodigué ſes bienfaits, et non point un rapport imaginaire et fantaſque avec des endroits voiſins, qui lui ſont étrangers. Le culte, pour ainſi dire, eſt attaché au ſol, et l'on ne peut changer l'un ſans abolir l'autre. Le temple de Jupiter *Elicius*, *le Lupercal*, la maiſon de Romulus, ſubſiſtoient encore ſous les empereurs, et ſubſiſtoient toujours dans leur premier emplacement. L'exemple tiré des portes ne conclut rien, il faut néceſſairement ouvrir des portes nouvelles dans une nouvelle enceinte, et il eſt aſſez naturel de leur donner les noms

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nymph Egeria received him in her grotto, and tenderly compaſſionated his misfortunes †. Theſe traditions, I well know, are fables; but ſuch fables are not the work of a day. They were pioufly believed by the whole diſtrict, in which they had taken deep root; the ſacred wood, which was their ſcene, muſt have been more ancient than themſelves; and though fictions, they deſtroy the ſtill more improbable fiction of the conſecrating of the wood of Aricia in the age of Roman greatneſs, and the enlargement of the city, that is, in the time of Auguſtus, or, at leaſt, of the lateſt conſuls. 3. The ſuppoſition that ſacred places changed their ſite, and retreated as it were before the greatneſs of Rome, is contrary to the ſpirit of all local ſuperſtitions. The Pagans revered a place honoured by the preſence and miracles of a god, where he had diſplayed his power, and conferred his benefits; but they did not aſſociate with their reverence for this place, a veneration for all the adjacent country, which had any connection with the divinity. Their worſhip was attached, as it were, to the ſoil, and the one could not be changed without aboliſhing the other. The temple of Jupiter Elicius, the Lupercal, the houſe of Romulus, always remained in their original ſites. The argument drawn from the gates is not concluſive. New walls neceſſarily require new gates, which naturally retain the names of thoſe which they replace, and

† Virgil. Æneid, vii. 761—781; et Serv. ad locum. Ovid. Metamorph. L. xv.

noms des anciennes aux-quelles elles répondoient, et qui devenoient inutiles. 4. Comment auroit-on fongé à conferver le rapport ancien du bois d'Egéria avec la Porte *Capena ?* Du tems de Numa cette porte n'exiſtoit pas encore. Elle faiſoit partie de l'enceinte et des murailles que Servius Tullius conſtruiſit autour de la ville †. 5. Des trois exemples qu'on employe, le bois d'Egérie étoit hors de la Porte *Capena ;* le Lac de *Juturne* étoit dans le *Forum*, et le *Clivus Virbius* à la montée de l'Eſquilin. En les reculant, on auroit au moins fongé à conferver leurs rapports mutuels. Mais une ligne tirée du centre du *Forum* à travers chacun de ces endroits, les auroit autant éloignés les uns des autres, que de la ville, au lieu de les raſſembler tous dans les environs d'Aricie. 6. Selon Voſſius, les murs de Rome avançoient juſqu'au dixième milliaire ſur la Voye Appienne. Cependant Aricie étoit alors comme aujourd'hui à ſeize milles Romains de la capitale. Tous les auteurs en conviennent; et ſi Strabon paroît y mettre un plus grand intervalle, on fait voir que ce géographe ſe ſervoit d'une meſure de ſtade plus petite que l'Olympique ‡. Je prévois qu'on me répondra que cet intervalle ne conclut rien pour l'enceinte de la ville, puiſqu'on ne comptoit point les milles depuis les portes, mais depuis le milliaire d'or ; et qu'Aricie pouvoit être tout à

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and which are demoliſhed as uſeleſs. 4. On what principle was it neceſſary to preſerve the relative ſituation of the wood of Egeria with regard to the *Porta Capena?* In the time of Numa this gate was not in exiſtence ; ſince it belonged to the walls built around the city by Servius Tullius †. 5. Of the three examples given by Voſſius, the wood of Egeria was without the Porta Capena, the lake of Juturna was in the Forum, and the Clivus Virbius was at the foot of Mount Eſquiline. Had theſe monuments changed their ſites, care would have been taken to preſerve their relative ſituation with regard to each other. But a line drawn from the center of the Forum, and paſſing through each of thoſe places, while it removed them from the city, muſt alſo have removed them from each other, inſtead of collecting them all into one ſpot in the neighbourhood of Aricia. 6. According to Voſſius, the walls of Rome advanced to the 10th mile-ſtone on the Appian way. Yet Aricia was anciently, as it is as preſent, ſixteen miles diſtant from the capital. All authors agree in this point; and the greater diſtance aſſigned by Strabo has been ſhewn to proceed from his meaſuring by a ſtadium ſhorter than the Olympic ‡. I foreſee that it will be anſwered that ſince the miles were counted not from the gates of Rome, but from the golden pillar,

† Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. iv. p 902, 903, 904.

‡ Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 920; et ſequent. Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 165. Meſures Itinéraires de M. d'Anville, p. 15.

1763. à la fois à seize milles de cette colonne et du *Forum*, et à six milles seulement de la Porte *Capena*. La réponse est bonne, il est vrai; je ne dirai point là-dessus qu'un faiseur d'itinéraires peut compter la distance sur les milliaires, mais qu'un géographe comme Strabon, qu'un poëte comme Lucain, n'auroient point dit tout simplement, qu'Aricie étoit à seize milles de Rome, sans remarquer que les fauxbourgs occupoient la plus grande partie de cet intervalle. Les distances se comptoient donc toujours du milliaire d'Auguste. Mais *l'Aqua Claudia*, dont la source étoit entre le sixième et le huitième milliaire sur la route de Preneste, avoit-elle son origine dans la ville? Le système de Vossius le demande. Cependant on voyoit cette source dans une campagne (*Prædium*) de Lucullus*: donc les murailles de la ville ne se sont jamais étendues si loin. Cette observation, qui se porte sur tout le système de Vossius, me paroît décisive.

Quel génie singulier que ce Vossius! Il avoit beaucoup de lecture, de vivacité, et d'invention; mais c'est bien l'esprit le plus faux que je connoisse, le plus porté à outrer tous ses jugemens, et le moins capable de résister aux attraits d'une chimère brillante. C'étoit au reste un très mal-honnête homme. On peut lui reprocher des démarches les plus contraires à la probité.

Octobre

Aricia might be sixteen miles from this pillar and the Forum, and no more than six miles from the Porta Capena. The answer indeed would be good, had the distance been reckoned by a maker of itineraries; but it is not supposable that a geographer like Strabo, or a poet like Lucan, would have said that Aricia was sixteen miles from Rome, had the suburbs filled up the intermediate space, without making that remark. The distances then were always reckoned from the mile-stone erected by Augustus. I would ask whether the Aqua Claudia rose in the city, although its source is said to have been at the sixth and the eighth mile-stone on the road to Preneste? The system of Vossius requires the affirmative. Yet we find the source of this water at an estate (*Prædium*) belonging to Lucullus *. The walls of Rome therefore never extended to that distance. This observation, which bears against the whole of Vossius's system, appears to me decisive.

What a singular character was this Vossius! He had much reading, vivacity, and invention; but his understanding had a wrong bias; he was prone to exaggeration in his opinions, and incapable of resisting the temptation of a brilliant chimera. He was besides a very bad man. Some parts of his conduct betrayed a total want of probity.

October

* Sext. Frontin. de Aquæduct. Rom. L. i. p. 1635. iv. vol. Grævii. Thesaurus.

Octobre 4.]—J'ai lu *la Dissertation d'Octavio Falconieri, sur la Pyramide de C. Cestius, p.* 1461—1482. Ce monument, situé à la porte *Ostiensis*, et enchassé aujourd'hui dans les murs de la ville, est revêtu par tout d'un très beau marbre. Il a 165½ palmes Romaines de hauteur, et chacune des bases a 130 palmes de longueur. On a pratiqué une chambre au milieu de la pyramide qui a 26 palmes de long, 18 de large, et 19 de haut. C'est proprement le sépulchre. Les murailles étoient couvertes d'un grand nombre de figures ; il en reste quelques unes qui sont d'un très bon goût. Il résulte de l'inscription du monument et des explications que donne Falconieri de ces figures, que Cestius étoit un Romain distingué du tems d'Auguste, et que ces peintures se rapportent toutes à son emploi d'Epule, ou de curateur des fêtes sacrées. Jamais ancien n'a fait mention de cette belle pyramide. Quel regret cette réflexion ne donne-t-elle pas pour les ouvrages qui ont disparû, et dont les auteurs ont vanté la beauté ! La Dissertation de Falconieri est bien faite. 1763.

J'ai lu aussi la pièce du père Ciaconius, sur la *Columna Rostrata de Duillius*. Comme je croyois d'abord que l'inscription entière étoit originale, j'en tirois les plus belles conséquences. Heureusement j'ai vu enfin que l'original est gâté au point d'être inintelligible, et que le critique l'a rétabli assez heureusement par ses conjectures. J'en ai lu aujourd'hui p. 1809—1817.

Octobre

October 4.]—I read a Dissertation by Octavio Falconieri, on the Pyramid of C. Cestius, p. 1461—1482. This monument, which stood at the Porta Ostiensis, and which is now fixed in the city wall, is entirely covered with a beautiful white marble. It is 165½ Roman palms high, and the sides of its base are each 130 palms long. There is a room in the middle of the pyramid twenty-six palms long, eighteen broad, and nineteen high. This is properly the sepulchre. The walls were covered with a multitude of figures, some of which still remain in a very good taste. It appears from the inscription of the monument and the explanations given of it by Falconieri, that Cestius was a man of distinction in the time of Augustus, and that the paintings relate to his employment of Epulo, or manager of the sacred festivals. None of the ancients make mention of this beautiful pyramid ; a reflexion which creates regret for the loss of those monuments, whose beauty they highly celebrate. Falconieri's Dissertation is well written.

I read also a performance of father Ciaconius on the *Columna Rostrata of Duillius*. Taking the whole inscription for original, I began to draw from it many important consequences. Happily I discovered that the original had suffered so much from the injuries of time, that it was rendered unintelligible, and that the critic had successfully restored it by his conjectures. I this day read p. 1809—1817.

1763. Octobre 5.]—Quoique la Colonne Roſtrale eût trompé mon attente, j'ai voulu l'achever. J'y ai trouvé des reſtitutions fort ingénieuſes, et de très bonnes obſervations ſur l'orthographe Latine, laquelle comme dans toutes les langues a quitté peu à peu l'étymologie pour ſe régler ſur la prononciation. Malheureuſement la colonne de Duillius que nous avons, n'a pas l'autorité d'une pièce originale. On voit clairement par l'exemple de Maximus avec un *i*, qu'elle a été faite depuis Jules Céſar, et qu'on l'a réformée ſur la nouvelle orthographe.

J'ai fini cette *Diſſertation de Ciaconius*, *p.* 1817—1831. J'ai lu auſſi un *petit Morceau de Joſeph Caſtalio*, *ſur les Temples de la Paix et de Janus*, *p.* 1849—1856. Il eſt bien mauvais.

6.]—J'ai lu une *Diſſertation de Pierre Bargæus*, *de Everſoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, *p.* 1869—1892. Le préjugé commun fait regarder les barbares du Nord comme les ennemis des arts, auſſi bien que des Romains. C'eſt à un Alaric, à un Genſeric, à un Totila, qu'on attribua la déſtruction des beaux monumens de la ville. Jamais il n'y eut de préjugé moins fondé ſelon mon auteur. Alaric uſa à peine des droits de la guerre. Genſeric ſe contenta de piller cette capitale. Totila renverſa une partie des murailles dans un moment de fureur, et les rétablit auſſitôt par raiſon. La plupart des ouvrages publics ſubſiſtoient ſous Théodoric; et ce prince veilloit

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October 5.]—Although the Columna Roſtrata diſappointed me, I read to the end of the treatiſe. It contains ſome very ingenious reſtorations of the original, and excellent obſervations on the Latin orthography, which, as happens in all languages, gradually loſt ſight of etymology, and came to be regulated by pronunciation. Unhappily the inſcription on the pillar of Duillius has not the merit of originality. We ſee clearly by the example of Maximus, written with an *i*, that the old ſpelling had been altered for the new, which prevailed from the time of Julius Cæſar.

I finiſhed Ciaconius's Diſſertation, p. 1817—1831. I read alſo a ſmall Treatiſe by Joſeph Caſtalio, on the temples of Peace and Janus, p. 1849—1856. It is a poor performance.

6.]—I read a Diſſertation of Peter Bargæus, *de Everſoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, p. 1869—1892. By a common prejudice we conſider the northern barbarians as equally hoſtile to the arts and to the Romans; aſcribing the ruins of the fineſt monuments of the city to an Alaric, a Genſeric, or a Totila. Bargæus regards this opinion as totally unfounded. Alaric ſcarcely exerciſed the rights of war. Genſeric was ſatisfied with pillaging Rome. Totila deſtroyed part of the walls in his fury, and repaired them when he recovered his reaſon. The moſt of the public edifices were

veilloit à leur conservation avec beaucoup plus d'attention que ne l'avoient fait les derniers empereurs d'occident. Le zèle des Papes, et surtout de Grégoire le Grand, ne voyoit dans un temple que l'idole à laquelle il étoit consacré ; il établissoit la religion sur la ruine des beaux arts. Ce système, détaillé avec beaucoup de savoir et de vraisemblance, vaut mieux que les efforts qu'il fait pour justifier cette conduite des Pontifes ; conduite plus digne de l'Alcoran que de l'Evangile. On se forme une idée aussi fausse que peu avantageuse des nations qui ont inondé l'empire dans le cinquième siecle. On les regarde comme des sauvages sortis tout d'un coup du fond des forêts, pour briser ces barrières qui les séparoient du monde policé. Si l'on parloit seulement des nations Scandinaviennes, Scythiques, et Arabes, je ne disconviendrois pas de la ressemblance du portrait. Mais les Arabes agissoient par enthousiasme, les Danois par vengeance, et les Scythes par une férocité naturelle à tous les peuples nomades. Les nations Germaniques, les Goths†, les Vandales, les François, &c. avoient beaucoup perdu de leur ancienne barbarie avant que d'entrer sur les terres de l'empire l'épée à la main. Depuis plus d'un siècle des corps nombreux de leur compatriotes servoient dans les armées Romaines ; ils étudioient la langue de cette nation ; 1763.

† Il ne décide point la fameuse question de l'origine des Goths.

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were standing in the reign of Theodoric, who was more careful to preserve them than had been the last emperors of the east. The zeal of the Popes, and particularly of Gregory the Great, beheld nothing in a temple but the idol to whom it was consecrated : he established religion on the ruin of the fine arts. This account of the matter is explained by Bargæus with much learning and argument, and is far better than his attempt to justify this conduct in the Popes, which was surely more becoming the Alcoran than the Gospel Our notions are as false as unfavourable concerning the nations which over-ran the Roman empire in the fifth century. We look on them as savages just issued from the woods to break the boundaries which divided them from the civilized world. This opinion indeed may be applicable to the people of Scandinavia, to the Scythians, and the Arabs. The Arabs were actuated by enthusiasm ; the Danes by vengeance ; the Scythians by ferocity, common among wandering nations of shepherds. But the inhabitants of Germany, the Goths ‡, Vandals, and Franks, had divested themselves of much of their barbarism before they invaded the dominions of the Roman empire. For more than a century preceding that event, numerous bodies of their countrymen had served in the Roman armies. They learned the Latin language ; they adopted civilized

‡ He decides not the famous question concerning the origin of the Goths.

1763. nation ; ils en empruntoient les mœurs. Ils avoient adopté sa religion, ou du moins ils la révéroient. Ils avoient quelquefois du mépris pour les vaincus, jamais de la haine. Le soldat étoit quelquefois cruel, mais le général étoit rarement barbare, et le législateur ne l'étoit jamais. Je passe rapidement sur des objets qui mériteroient d'être approfondis.

J'ai lu aussi *la Dissertation du même Auteur, sur les Obéliſques de la Ville, p.* 1905—1934, *la fin.* Elle est savante ; mais, qui en retrancheroit les écarts, lui laisseroit à peine six pages.

Octobre 7.]—J'ai commencé un ouvrage *d' Olaüs Borrichius, de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ, dont j'ai lu p.* 1521—1546.

8.]—J'ai lu *Olaüs Borrichius, p.* 1546—1576. J'ai achevé le vingt quatrième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Hiſtoire du Ciel, par l'Abbé Pluche.* Cet auteur, mauvais philosophe, et littérateur superficiel, bâtit des systêmes ingénieux, qui n'éblouissent qu'un moment. Tirer des étymologies Egyptiennes de l'Hebreu, parcequ'on suppose que l'Hebreu ressembloit au Phénicien, et que le Phénicien n'étoit pas fort éloigné de l'Egyptien ! Ces signes des saisons et de l'agriculture, qui deviennent des Dieux ! Pouvoit-on se tromper sur des signes qui revenoient chaque année, et qui apportoient avec eux leur explication sensible ? Je demanderois au moins pour cette

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civilized manners ; and if they were not Christians, they at least revered Christianity. The contempt which they sometimes testified for the vanquished, was not mixed with hatred. The soldier was sometimes cruel, but the general was seldom barbarous, and the legislator never. I cast but a rapid glance on objects, which would deserve to be surveyed attentively.

I read also a Dissertation of the same author on the Obelisks in Rome, p. 1905—1934. It is learned ; but if superfluities were lopped off, might be reduced to six pages.

October 7.]—I began the work of Olaus Borrichius, *de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, and read p. 1521—1546.

8.]—I read Borrichius, p. 1546—1576. I finished the twenty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains the History of the Heavens, by the Abbé Pluche. This author, who is a bad philosopher and a superficial scholar, builds ingenious systems, which dazzle but for a moment. He draws Egyptian etymologies from the Hebrew, because he supposes that the Hebrew had much affinity with the Phenician ; and that the Phenician was not very remote from the Egyptian ! The signs of the seasons and of agriculture are changed into gods. But I would ask whether it was possible that mankind should so much mistake those signs which returned

cette métamorphoſe plus de ſiècles que l'Abbé Pluche ne m'en auroit accordé. *Hiſtoire de Charles XII. par M. Aderfeld.* L'Alexandre du Nord avoit déjà ſon Quinte Curce, il lui manquoit un Arrien. M. Aderfeld l'eſt plutôt par ſon exactitude que par ſon éloquence. *Lettres de Libanius, par M. Welf:* beau préſent. Nous n'avions que 250 de ces lettres. Ce ſavant nous en donne 1600, qu'il a tirées de la pouſſière de toutes les bibliothèques de l'Europe. *Ammonius de Differentiâ Verborum, &c. par M. Valkenaer:* c'eſt un petit recueil de quelques grammairiens Grecs, qui n'eſt pas ſans mérite. *Hiſtoire du Roi David:* ouvrage ſavant, ſingulier, et ridicule. 1763.

Octobre 9.]—J'ai lu *Olaüs Borrichius, de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ, p.* 1576—1600.

10.]—J'ai fini *Olaüs Borrichius, p.* 1600—1623. Je ſuis fort content de ce petit ouvrage. Borrichius eſt un homme curieux et inſtruit, qui parcourt tous les quartiers de la ville avec beaucoup d'ordre, et de netteté; qui laiſſe à l'écart toutes les minuties, et qui choiſit quelques objets curieux et principaux, dont il rend compte d'une manière aſſez intéreſſante, et dans un ſtyle coulant et facile. Il convient à tout homme, qui veut ſe faire une idée vraie, mais générale, de l'ancienne Rome; qui craint les grands ouvrages

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returned annually, bringing with them their own explication. Such an extraordinary metamorphoſis muſt have required at leaſt many more ages than the Abbé Pluche would be willing to allow.—The Hiſtory of Charles XII. by Mr. Aderfeld. The Alexander of the North had already his Quintus Curtius. He ſtill wanted an Arrian. Mr. Aderfeld ſupplies the defect rather by his accuracy than his eloquence.—Libanius's Letters, by Mr. Welf: a valuable preſent. We had only 250 of theſe letters. This learned man gives us 1600, recovered from the duſt of all the libraries of Europe.—*Ammonius de Differentia Verborum, &c.* by Mr. Valkenaer: a ſmall collection of ſome Greek grammarians, not without merit.—The Hiſtory of King David: a learned, ſingular, and laughable performance.

October 9.]—I read Olaus Barrichius, *de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, p. 1576—1600.

10.]—I finiſhed Olaus Borrichius, p. 1600—1623; and am much pleaſed with this little work. It is curious and learned. Borrichius examines the quarters of the city with order and perſpicuity; and, regardleſs of minute objects, fixes on the principal monuments, which he explains in a very entertaining manner, and in an eaſy flow of ſtyle. His work muſt be uſeful to thoſe who wiſh to form only a general, but juſt notion of ancient Rome; who are afraid of the large volumes of Donatus and

1763. ouvrages de Donatus et de Nardini, ou qui ſouhaite de raſſembler dans ſon eſprit les idées qu'il y a priſes. Pour trancher le mot, le livre de Borrichius eſt un excellent abrégé de Nardini, qu'il ſuit partout pas-à-pas. Il n'eſt que cela, et j'aurois voulu que le ſavant Danois ſe fût contenté de ce mérite, ſans aſpirer à celui d'auteur original: ce n'eſt pas qu'on n'y trouve quelques obſervations curieuſes, quelques endroits même ou il relève Nardini, et le relève avec raiſon. En voici deux. 1. Borrichius prouve aſſez bien qu'on ne donnoit jamais aux empereurs de leur vivant le titre de *Divus*; et que par conſéquent tous les monumens, où il ſe rencontre, leur ont été élevés après leur mort. 2. Il fait voir contre Nardini que tous les jeux de la Déeſſe Flore ſe célébroient dans ſon cirque; et que ce n'eſt que pour avoir mal compris un paſſage d'Ovide, que cet antiquaire a cru trouver deux fêtes de cette Déeſſe, dans une ſeule qui ſe chommoit le dernier d'Avril et le premier de Mai. Borrichius étoit Danois, et profeſſeur à Copenhague. Il paroît par différens endroits de ſon livre qu'il voyagea en Italie, en France, et en Angleterre vers l'an 1665; et qu'il publia ce petit traité près d'une vingtaine d'années après ſon retour. S'il ne ſe diſoit pas Danois, on le verroit aſſez à l'endroit où il parle des triomphes de Marius ſur le Mont Eſquilin. A la vue de ce monument de la défaite des Cimbres, ſon zèle national s'enflamme, un noble courroux

and Nardini, or who wiſh to digeſt methodically in their minds the knowledge which they have acquired from them. In one word Borrichius is an excellent abridgement of Nardini, whom he cloſely follows. I could have wiſhed this learned Dane had been ſatisfied with this merit, without aſpiring to that of an original author; yet it muſt be allowed that he makes ſome curious obſervations, and corrects Nardini judiciouſly; of which the two following are examples. 1. He proves in a very ſatisfactory manner, that the emperors were never honoured with the title of Divus in their life-time, and conſequently that all the monuments in which this title is found, muſt have been raiſed to them after their deaths. 2. He ſhows in oppoſition to Nardini, that all the games of the goddeſs Flora were celebrated in her Circus; and that by miſtaking a paſſage of Ovid, that antiquary has made two feſtivals of Flora out of one, which was held the laſt day of April, or the firſt of May. Borrichius was a Dane, and profeſſor at Copenhagen. It appears from different paſſages of his book, that he travelled in Italy, France, and England towards the year 1665; and publiſhed this little treatiſe about twenty years after his return home. Without his telling us that he was a Dane, we ſhould eaſily perceive it, from his manner of ſpeaking concerning the triumph of Marius on Mount Eſquiline. At beholding this monument of the defeat of the Cimbri, his patriotiſm is inflamed, a noble indignation ſeizes his ſoul. He aſcribes

courroux s'empare de ſon eſprit. Il attribue la victoire des Romains au ſoleil, au vent, à la fortune, à tout, plutôt qu'à la valeur de Marius. 1763.

Octobre 12.]—Un air de philoſophie, un fond d'ignorance, des penſées triviales ou fauſſes, un ſtyle affecté, des portraits communs ou outrés, voilà *les Amuſemens de la Raiſon*; ouvrage nouveau, que M. de C . . . m'avoit prêté, et où je n'ai trouvé ni raiſon ni amuſement. L'impertinente préface qu'il a miſe à la tête de ſa traduction du *Loiſir du Sage! De quoi nous ſert-il de ſavoir le nom d'un auteur? Ce nom qu'a-t-il de commun avec l'ouvrage?* Beaucoup pour l'intelligence de ſon ouvrage, de ſon but, de ſes alluſions; rien pour le jugement que nous devons porter de ſes ſentimens philoſophiques.

13.]—J'ai commencé aujourd'hui une entrepriſe conſiderable; c'eſt la lecture de *l'Italia Antiqua de Cluvier, en deux volumes in folio: à Leyde, 1624, chez les Elzevirs.* L'auteur n'en vit pas la publication, mais il y avoit mis la dernière main avant ſa mort. Son éditeur nous apprend qu'il méditoit une Géographie Univerſelle ſur le même plan; et qu'après avoir parcouru la Germanie, l'Italie, et la Sicile, il alloit travailler ſur la Gaule et la Grèce, et enſuite ſur tous les autres pays connus aux anciens. Strabon a embraſſé cet objet en dix ſept livres: les pays dont Cluvier a traité dans quatre volumes in folio, ne comprennent qu'environ trois de ces livres. L'ouvrage entier de

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cribes the victory of the Romans to the ſun, the winds, and fortune; to every cauſe rather than the valour of Marius.

October 12.]—An appearance of philoſophy, with real ignorance; thoughts trivial or falſe; affectation of ſtyle; exaggeration or vulgarity of deſcription; ſuch is the new work intituled Amuſements of Reaſon, which was lent to me by Mr. C . . .; and in which I find neither reaſon nor amuſement. The author's preface to his tranſlation of the "Wiſe "Man's Recreations," is impertinent in the extreme. Of what uſe is it to know an author's name? What has that name to do with his work? A great deal with his deſign, his alluſions, &c. but nothing with the ſentence that we ought to paſs on his philoſophical opinions.

13.]—I this day began a very conſiderable taſk; which was to read Cluverius' Italia Antiqua, in two volumes in folio: Leyden, 1624, Elzevirs. The author did not live to ſee its publication; but had completely finiſhed it before his death. His editor tells us that he had in contemplation to write an univerſal geography on the ſame plan; and that after deſcribing Germany, Italy, and Sicily, he meant to treat of Gaul, Greece, and all the other countries known to the ancients. Strabo comprehended the ſame ſubject in ſeventeen books; of which the countries deſcribed by Cluverius, in four volumes in folio, occupy nearly three. The whole deſign

1763. de notre ſavant aúroit pu aller à vingt trois volumes in folio. S'il avoit vécu quelques années de plus, il auroit peut-être rempli cette tâche immenſe. Nous aurions eu un répertoire prodigieux ſur l'ancienne géographie, traité à la verité avec un détail trop minutieux, et dont il n'y a peut-être que la Grece et l'Italie qui ſoient dignes. Un littérateur aime à connoître juſqu'aux plus petits recoins de ces pays célèbres, où le moindre village eſt fameux dans l'hiſtoire ou dans la poëſie. C'eſt pour me préparer tout à la fois à mon voyage l'Italie, et à mes études futures que je faiscettelecture, comme j'avois fait celle de Nardini. Ces auteurs bien liés et bien médités, me tiendront lieu d'un commentaire perpétuel, et ſur quelque endroit de Rome ou d'Italie que je puiſſe tomber, je n'y ſerai plus étranger. J'ai lu aujourd'hui *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi. p.* 1—46. Ces ſix chapîtres ſont comme les préliminaires de ſa deſcription particulière. Il y traite des noms différens que l'Italie a portés, de ſes limites, de ſon étendue, et de ſa figure, du Mont Apennin qui la diviſe, du ſol, et du climat, des différens peuples qui l'habitoient, et des langues qu'ils parloient. Partout il cite ſes garants, il les laiſſe parler, et il ne paroît lui-même que de tems en tems, pour les mettre d'accord, pour les éclaircir, et pour les corriger. Je dois remarquer, pour ſa juſtification, que M. d'Anville l'accuſe un peu trop facilement d'avoir confondu le mille Romain avec

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deſign of that learned man would have extended to twenty-three volumes in folio. Had he lived a few years longer, he would perhaps have executed this vaſt undertaking. We ſhould then have had an immenſe repertory on the ſubject of ancient geography, treated indeed with a degree of circumſtantial minuteneſs, which no other countries perhaps deſerve but Greece and Italy. A man of letters is deſirous to know every corner of thoſe celebrated countries, the ſmalleſt villages of which are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory or poetry. I begin to read Cluverius with the ſame views that I read Nardini, both to prepare me for my journey into Italy, and to aſſiſt me in my future ſtudies. Theſe two authors, ſtudied with care and reflexion, will ſerve me as a perpetual commentary; ſo that I ſhall not be a ſtranger in any part of Rome or Italy, to which my enquiries may lead me. I this day read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi. p. 1—46. Theſe ſix chapters are preparatory to his particular deſcription. He examines in them the different names of Italy, its limits, extent, figure, Mount Appennine, which divides the country; its ſoil, climate, inhabitants, and languages. He every where cites his authorities in their own words, and ſpeaks only occaſionally himſelf, to reconcile, explain, or correct them. Mr. D'Anville accuſes him too haſtily of confounding the Roman mile with that of the modern Italians.

Cluverius

avec le mille Italien moderne*. Cluvier ne les confon- 1763.
doit point; il ſavoit même que le dernier eſt plus grand. ⌣⌣
Il s'eſt expliqué très clairement là-deſſus†. Je conviens que cette connoiſſance lui étoit aſſez inutile, puiſqu'il ignoroit le rapport précis de ces deux meſures itinéraires.

Octobre 14.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. p.* 46---90. Il parcourt toutes les côtes de la Ligurie depuis *le Varus*, qui la ſéparoit des Gaules, juſqu'au fleuve *Macra*, qui la bornoit du côté de la Toſcane; côtes ſtériles et eſcarpées, qui en refuſant tout à ſes habitans ne leur donnoient que la force et le courage. Il eſt ſingulier que ce peuple entreprenant n'ait jamais franchi l'Apennin pour s'établir dans cette belle plaine qui s'étend depuis ces montagnes juſqu'au Po; et qu'il n'ait enfin dû cette acquiſition qu'à un arrangement politique des Romains. L'article de *Pollentia* m'a amuſé. Stilicon y combattit l'armée des Goths. Les hiſtoriens Chrétiens nous repréſentent cette affaire comme une trahiſon indigne, qui ne valut aux Romains que la honte de l'avoir tentée ſans ſuccès. Claudien, au contraire, poëte payen, l'égale à la victoire de Marius ſur les Cimbres, et ne voit dans Stilicon qu'un héros qui a vengé ſa patrie, et qui a délivré l'Italie entière de la tyrannie des barbares.

Octobre

Cluverius does not confound them; he knew that of modern Italy to be the longeſt of the two, and has explained himſelf very clearly on that ſubject†. This knowledge indeed was not of much uſe to him, ſince he was ignorant of the exact proportion which the one mile bore to the other.

October 14.]—I read Cluverius, L. i. C. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. p. 46—90. He travels along the coaſt of Liguria from the Varus, which ſeparated that diſtrict from Gaul, to the Macra, by which it was bounded on the ſide of Tuſcany. This coaſt is rocky and barren; and, by denying all other advantages to its inhabitants, tended to increaſe their ſtrength and courage. It is extraordinary that this enterpriſing people ſhould never have thought of croſſing the Apennines, in order to ſettle in the beautiful plain which lies between thoſe mountains and the Po: and that they ſhould have finally been indebted for this acquiſition to a political arrangement of the Romans. I was amuſed by the article Pollentia. There Stilico fought the army of the Goths. The Chriſtian writers repreſent this tranſaction as a ſcandalous piece of unſucceſsful treachery, from which nothing but ſhame accrued to the Romans. Claudian, on the contrary, a Pagan poet, conſiders Stilico's battle as equal to Marius's victory over the Cimbri, and extols the conqueror as a hero who avenged the cauſe of his country, and delivered all Italy from the tyranny of barbarians. October

* D'Anville Meſures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.

† Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. iii. p. 25.

1763. Octobre 16.]—'J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xii, xiii, xiv. p.* 90---102. On y voit la politique d'Auguſte, qui dans toutes les affaires préféroit aux voyes de violence, les moyens doux et lents. Jules Céſar avoit ſubjugué les Gaules, mais ſa conquête étoit bien précaire, pendant que les Alpes étoient remplies des nations féroces, qui étoient maîtreſſes de tous les paſſages. Auguſte fut obligé d'en réduire une partie par les armes, mais il engagea Cottius, qui regnoit dans les montagnes du même nom, de civiliſer ſes ſujets, de recevoir une garniſon Romaine, et d'ouvrir lui-même les communications. Le détail de cette négociation ſeroit curieux. Je penſe qu'Auguſte ſut éblouir Cottius en lui prodiguant de vains honneurs, au point de lui faire oublier qu'il perdoit ſon pouvoir et ſon indépendance. C'étoit au moins le ſtyle de la politique de ce prince.

17.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xv, xvi, xvii. p.* 102—133. L'article des *Rhæti* et des *Euganei*, eſt un peu embrouillé. Vérone étoit une colonie Rhétienne. La choſe eſt poſſible. Mais depuis long tems ſes habitans, devenus Gaulois, regardoient *Brixia* comme leur métropole. Vérone auroit été bien mieux placée parmi les *Cenomani;* et les *Rhæti* auroient dû être relégués dans leurs montagnes, comme ils y étoient en effet. Encore en traitant de ces montagnes par rapport à l'Italie,

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October 16.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xii, xiii, xiv. p. 90 102. He ſets before us the policy of Auguſtus, who in all his tranſactions preferred ſlow and gentle meaſures. Julius Cæſar had ſubdued the Gauls, but his conqueſt was precarious while the Alps were peopled by fierce nations, who commanded all the paſſes. Auguſtus was under the neceſſity of reducing ſome of them by arms; but he perſuaded Cottius, who reigned over the mountains which bore his name, to civilize his ſubjects, to receive a Roman garriſon, and to open the roads through his country. It would be curious to know the circumſtances of the negociation. I imagine that Auguſtus ſo much flattered Cottius with empty honours, as to make him forget that he was ſurrendering his independence and power. This at leaſt would have been in the uſual ſtyle of his policy.

17.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xv, xvi. xvii. p. 102—133. The article of the Rhæti and the Euganei is ſomewhat puzzling. Verona was a Rhætian colony. The thing is poſſible; but for a long time its inhabitants, aſſuming the character of Gauls, conſidered Brixia as their mother country. Verona would have been placed more naturally among the Cenomani; and the Rhæti ought to have been confined to their native mountains, as they were in fact. In treating of theſe mountains as connected with Italy, I would alſo have taken notice that my

lie, jaurois averti que je ne traitois que d'une partie de la nation. Cette petite remarque auroit répandu une grande clarté sur toute cette déscription. 1763.

Octobre 18.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xviii. p.* 133—169. L'auteur parcourt toute la province dite *Venetia*. Padoue et sa fameuse fontaine *Apona*, l'arrêtent assez long tems. A l'occasion du *Portus Venetus*, auprès d'*Altinum*, à l'endroit où est Venise, il s'étend assez sur l'époque de sa fondation; et c'est avec beaucoup de vraisemblance, qu'il lui ôte une centaine d'années, puisque du tems de Théodoric et de Cassiodore, on ne voyoit encore dans ces isles que quelques cabanes de pêcheurs. C'est plutôt la fureur des Lombards que celle des Huns, qui a forcé les peuples voisins à s'y réfugier. La société politique qu'ils y ont formée, a dû pendant long tems être foible et dépendante, l'objet de la pitié, ou du mépris des princes voisins, et surtout des conquérans. Sans avoir approfondi ce sujet, la raison m'engage à croire, que la véritable liberté de Venise ne peut se dater que de la décadence de l'empire des François. Cet empire (pour le dire en passant) a contribué bien plus que les Croisades à faire confondre en Orient tous les peuples d'Occident sous le nom générique de Francs ou de François. Je ne suis point surpris que les Mahométans n'ayent

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my observations related to only one portion of the Rhætians. This remark would have contributed to the perspicuity of the whole of the description.

October 18.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xviii. p. 133—169. The author conducts us through the province called Venetia. He dwells on Padua, and its famous fountain Apona. In speaking of the Portus Venetus, near to Altinum, where Venice now stands, he treats at considerable length of the æra of its foundation, from which he cuts off a century with much probability; since in the time of Theodoric and Cassiodorus, the Venetian isles contained nothing but huts of fishermen. The people on the neighbouring coast of Italy sought refuge there, rather against the fury of the Lombards, than against that of the Huns. The community which these emigrants established, must have long continued weak and dependant, an object of pity or contempt to neighbouring princes, especially to conquerors. Without pretending to have deeply examined the subject, I am convinced that the liberty of Venice ought to be dated from the downfall of the empire of the Franks. This empire, we may observe, contributed far more than the Croisades to make the Orientals extend the name of Franks or Frenchmen to all the nations of the West. It is not surprising that the Mahomedans should be so ignorant

1763. n'ayent pas des idées plus exactes sur notre compte, quand je vois un empereur Grec*, qui donne le nom de France à cette province de *Venetia*, que Charlemagne avoit prise avec le reste de la Lombardie. L'erreur est même encore plus grossière, puisqu'en employant ce nom, il fait un anachronisme de trois cens ans. Cluvier donne une autre interprétation aux paroles de Constantin, mais celle-ci me paroît la plus naturelle.

Octobre 19.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xix, xx. p.* 169—204. Il est question des *Carni*. Auguste les ajoûta à la *Venetia*, et recula les bornes de l'Italie jusqu'à la rivière *d'Arsia :* il traite fort au long de la ville *d'Aquileia*, la première de la province, et la neuvième de l'empire entière. Très forte par sa situation, et fortifiée à la manière des anciens, elle couvroit la frontière la plus expossée de l'Italie contre les nations Illyriennes. Cette même situation entre les nations policées, et celles qui étoient encore barbares, devint dans la suite la source de sa richesse par le commerce qu'elle faisoit avec les unes et les autres. Si le commerce n'étoit que l'échange mutuel des productions de chaque pays, un peuple industrieux devoit souhaiter des voisins aussi industrieux que lui. Ce principe de mon ami M. de Mirabeau, est inconteſtable. Celui qui veut debiter une marchandise, cherche ceux qui ont des besoins, et des moyens pour les satisfaire. L'un et

norant of the distinctions among the nations of Europe, when a Greek emperor* gives the name of France to the province of Venetia, which Charlemagne conquered with the rest of Lombardy. In using this name, the emperor's mistake is still more glaring; since he is guilty of an anachronism of three centuries. Cluverius indeed gives a different interpretation of Constantine's words; but the above meaning appears to me to be the most natural.

October 19.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xix, xx. p. 169—204. He treats of the Carni. Augustus assigned this people to *Venetia*, and contracted the boundary of Italy within the river *Arsia*. He speaks at length of Aquileia, the first city in the province, and the ninth in the whole empire. Its fortifications, built after the fashion of the ancients, and its natural strength, enabled it to cover the frontier of Italy most exposed to invasion from the Illyrians. Its intermediate situation between polished and barbarous nations, became the source of opulence, acquired by its commerce with both. If traffic consisted merely in the mutual exchange of commodities, an industrious nation ought to wish for neighbours as industrious as itself. This principle of my friend Mr. Mirabeau appears to me incontrovertible. He who wishes to sell his goods, seeks for those who need, and can purchase them. Such purchasers are only to

* Constantine Porphyrogenitus. V. Cluver. Italia Antiqua, L. i. C. xviii. p. 138.

et l'autre ne peuvent ſe trouver que chez une nation riche et laborieuſe. Mais cet échange mutuel n'eſt qu'une partie d'un commerce actif et étendu. Celui qui rapporte le plus, conſiſte dans ces voyages, où des avanturiers hardis, mais entendus, vont chercher les productions d'un pays étranger, pour les porter aux peuples qui en ont beſoin. Mais dès qu'une nation eſt ſortie de cet état de barbarie abſolue, qui la rend inacceſſible aux étrangers, plus elle eſt groſſière, et mieux elle leur convient; puiſqu'alors on ne peut acheter que les productions du pays dans ce premier état de nature, qui fait méconnoître leur valeur réelle, et qui laiſſe à ſes nouveaux propriétaires le ſoin et les avantages de les travailler. *Aquileia* jouiſſoit de pluſieurs circonſtances heureuſes par rapport à ſon commerce avec les barbares. 1. Il lui étoit aſſuré, non point par des conventions injuſtes et précaires, mais par les loix de la nature, et la ſituation des lieux. Il ſe faiſoit par terre à travers les Alpes Juliennes, et cette ville étoit la ſeule porte de ces montagnes. Padoue, ou Milan auroient eu des déſavantages infinis dans la concurrence. Il en eſt bien différemment du commerce de mer, qui eſt toujours ouvert à toutes les nations, qui ont la hardieſſe et l'induſtrie de l'entreprendre. 2. Il étoit aiſé. Il ne falloit que charger les marchandiſes ſur des chariots, et les porter à *Nauportus*. Le chemin n'étoit 1763.

to be found in rich and induſtrious countries. But this mutual exchange is only one part of an extenſive and enterpriſing commerce. Another, ſtill more profitable, is carried on by bold and adventurous, but judicious mariners, who ſail in queſt of the productions of foreign countries, to carry them to the nations to whom they are objects of deſire: and when countries have emerged from the ſtate of barbariſm which renders them totally inacceſſible to ſtrangers, the more ignorant their inhabitants are, the profit of trading with them will be the greater; becauſe their articles of exportation will be ſold far below their real value, and in that rude ſtate of nature, which will leave the whole advantage of manufacturing them to their purchaſers. Aquileia was placed in moſt favourable circumſtances for carrying on traffic with barbarians. 1. This trade was ſecured not merely by unjuſt and precarious treaties, but by the laws of nature, and local ſituation. It was carried on by land acroſs the Julian Alps, the paſſage through which was naturally commanded by Aquileia. Padua and Milan would have had great diſadvantage in the competition. Maritime commerce is quite different, the ſea being always open to thoſe who have induſtry and boldneſs. 2. This trade was eaſy. The merchandize was conveyed on waggons to Nauportus, diſtant from Aquileia only

1763. n'étoit que de cinquante milles, et le paſſage du Mont *Albius* eſt le plus facile des Alpes. Des rivières navigables les voituroient de *Nauportus* juſques dans le Danube. 3. Ils devoient faire un grand profit ſur les eſclaves qu'ils achetoient à très bon marché. Ils n'avoient coûté que du ſang à leurs vainqueurs, et leur entretien auroit été inutile, diſpendieux, et dangereux. Mais pour les peuples policés, c'étoit une marchandiſe très précieuſe. L'Italie ſeule en demandoit des recrues conſtantes et nombreuſes pour le ſervice domeſtique, pour les jeux, et pour l'agriculture. Les eſclaves qui n'avoient que la vigueur du corps ſe debitoient bien ; mais lorſqu'ils montroient quelques diſpoſitions pour les arts ou les ſciences, on avoit ſoin de les cultiver ; et leur maître vendoit très chèrement cette ame et ces talens qu'il n'avoit point achetés. Ce principe de perfectibilité, qui n'exiſte que dans l'homme, devenoit un effet très réel dans le négoce. On peut remarquer que ce commerce ne pouvoit ſe faire qu'avec une nation barbare. Les peuples civiliſés achetent des eſclaves, mais ils n'en font point. 4. Ceux d'*Aquileia* ne portoient aux barbares ques des denrées de leur crû, l'huile et le vin ; l'entrée et la ſortie leur étoient ainſi également avantageuſes.

Octobre 20.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxi, xxii, xxiii. p.* 204—237. Après avoir parti de l'Iſtrie où les fables Grecques cherchoient vainement une embouchure du Danube, Cluvier revient ſur ſes pas pour examiner

only fifty miles ; and the paſſage by Mount Albius was the eaſieſt in the Alps. It was then tranſported by navigable rivers from Nauportus to the Danube. 3. The merchants of Aquileia muſt have been great gainers by dealing in ſlaves, whom they purchaſed at a cheap rate. They had coſt nothing but blood to their barbarous maſters ; to keep them in whoſe hands would have been not only uſeleſs, but expenſive and dangerous. But they were valuable articles of trade with poliſhed nations. Italy alone demanded a conſtant and large ſupply, for the purpoſes of domeſtic ſervice, the ſhows, and agriculture. Slaves who had only bodily ſtrength were ſure of ſelling well ; but when they ſhewed any diſpoſition for the arts and ſciences, their new maſters were careful to cultivate it ; and then ſold at a high price that mind and ingenuity which they had not purchaſed. That principle of improvement, which has place in man, became a gainful object of commerce. The ſlave trade, it may be remarked, can be ſupported only by barbarians ; for civiliſed nations purchaſe ſlaves, but do not produce them. 4. The merchants of Aquileia bought ſlaves with wine and oil, the produce of their country ; ſo that both the exports and imports were much in their favour.

October 20.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxi, xxii, xxiii. p. 204—237. After ſpeaking of Iſtria, where the Greek fables vainly placed

miner la Gaule Cisalpine. Il commence par donner une idée générale du pays, et des colonies qui y passèrent de la Gaule Celtique ; et ses premiers détails sont sur les *Lævi* et les *Libici*, qui habitoient les frontières du Piémont et du Milanois, et qui étoient dans la dépendance de la puissante nation des *Insubres*. 1763.

Je suis monté à la bibliothèque publique, dont mon ami Pavillard me confie la clef, pour consulter quelques livres. 1. *Une Dissertation de M. Frèret dans le vingt quatrième tome des Mémoires de l'Académie*, où il étoit question du fameux passage de Pline sur l'enceinte de Rome. J'en ai lu l'explication, et je l'ai abrégée. C'étoit par rapport à Nardini. 2. Ces Gaulois, dont je viens de parler, m'ont rendu curieux du sort de l'autre colonie qui s'est jettée en Allemagne dans le même tems. Pour cet effet j'ai consulté *Le Germania Antiqua de Cluvier*. 3. J'ai pareillement consulté *le Dictionnaire des Antiquités de Pitiscus*, par rapport à plusieurs passages de Juvénal. Les articles *Abella*, *Mandra*, *Bardaicus*, *Lectica*, *Carpentum*, *Rheda*, *Essedum*, et *Cisium*, m'ont utilement occupé. Celui de *Lectica* surtout me paroît très bien fait.

J'ai achevé *le vingt cinquième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. Je ne l'avois pas negligé, mais on m'avoit fait attendre la suite. J'ai trouvé dans ce volume le *Quintilien de Gesner :* bonne édition d'un écrivain excellent. *Journal du Voyage de M. le Légat Mezzabarba a la Chine*,

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placed the mouth of the Danube; he returns backwards to examine Cisalpine Gaul. He begins by giving a general notion of the country, and the colonies which went from Celtic Gaul. The first particulars which he mentions relate to the Lævi and Libici, who inhabited the frontiers of Piedmont and the Milanese, and who depended on the powerful nation of the Insubres.

I went to the public library, of which my friend Pavillard had given me the key, to consult some books—1. A Dissertation, by Mr. Freret, treating of the famous passage in Pliny concerning the circuit of Rome. I read and abridged his explanation, with a view to Nardini. 2. The Gauls, whom I just mentioned, made me curious to know the fate of the other colony, which penetrated at the same time into Germany. For this purpose, I consulted Cluverius's Germania Antiqua. 3. I also consulted Pitiscus's Dictionary of Antiquities, for clearing up some difficulties in Juvenal. The articles Abella, Mandra, Bardaicus, Lectica, Carpentum, Rheda, Essedum, and Cisium, furnished me with agreeable occupation. That of Lectica is particularly well treated.

I finished the twenty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. I had not neglected that work, but was obliged to wait for the continuation. It contains *Quintilian, by Gesner :* a good edition of an excellent author.

1763. *Chine, par le Père Viani.* Il eſt queſtion de cette controverſe ridicule ſur les cérémonies Chinoiſes. Il paroît par cette relation que l'empereur s'eſt bien donné la comédie avec la ſimplicité du bon Légat, et les artifices des Jeſuites qu'il mépriſoit comme miſſionaires, quoiqu'il les eſtimât en qualité de gens de lettres. *Strictura Juris Romani, par Jenſius.* Cet auteur apporte des argumens très forts pour prouver que le code de Juſtinien a été compoſé en Grec, et que le texte Latin qui nous reſte n'en eſt qu'une verſion. *Anti-Machiavel.* Rheinſberg et Potzdam inſpirent des idées très différentes; l'un a produit l'Anti-Machiavel, l'autre *les Inſtructions Militaires.* Mais quand le roi de Pruſſe écrit un ouvrage ſur la juſtice et la clémence, il convenoit que Voltaire le publiât à ſes dépens. *L'Hiſtoire du Dannemarck, par Cragius; le premier Extrait.* Il ne contient que la vie de l'auteur, qui a vecu à la fin du feizième ſiècle. *Corpus Juris Germanici:* ouvrage publié ſous les yeux de M. Heineccius. Il forme un recueil des loix des anciens peuples de l'Allemagne auſſi intéreſſant pour la philoſophie, qu'il l'eſt pour la juriſprudence. M. Heineccius, dans une ſavante préface, prouve très bien que les Francs firent les fameuſes loix Saliques, dans le tems qu'ils étoient encore payens, et établis dans la Franconie, peu de tems avant l'élection de leur premier roi, en un mot vers l'an 400; qu'ils

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—*The Voyage of the Legate Mezzabarba to China, by Father Viani.* It treats of the idle controverſy reſpecting the Chineſe ceremonies. It appears from the narrative that the emperor had diverted himſelf at the expence of the good legate, and with the intrigues of the Jeſuits, whom he deſpiſed as miſſionaries, though he eſteemed them as men of letters.—*Strictura Juris Romani, a Jenſio.* This writer alleges ſtrong arguments for proving that Juſtinian's Code was written in Greek, and that the Latin text, which has come down to us, is only a tranſlation.—*Anti-Machiavel.* Reinſberg and Potzdam inſpire very different ideas; the one produced the Anti-Machiavel, and the other, the Military Inſtructions. When the king of Pruſſia compoſed a work on juſtice and clemency, it was fit that Voltaire ſhould be at the expence of publiſhing it.—*The Hiſtory of Denmark, by Cragius; firſt Extract.* It contains only the author's life, who flouriſhed towards the end of the ſixteenth century.—*Corpus Juris Germanici*: a work publiſhed under the eyes of Heineccius, containing a collection of the laws of the ancient nations of Germany, equally intereſting to the philoſopher and the lawyer. Mr. Heineccius, in a learned preface, proves clearly, that the Franks made the famous Salic laws, when they were yet Pagans, and ſtill remained in Franconia, a little before the election of their firſt king; in one word, towards the year

qu'ils les rédigerent en Latin, comme elles ſont à préſent, mais que les rois Chrêtiens y firent quelques changemens. 1763.

Octobre 21.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii.* Les *Inſubres*, les *Orobii*, les *Cenomani*, et les *Ananes* ou *Anamani*. Une choſe qui prouve que la différence des noms n'implique pas toujours celle des nations, et que cette dernière différence eſt ſouvent plutôt politique que phyſique; c'eſt que des noms de neuf peuples Gaulois établis en Italie, on n'en retrouve que quatre dans leur ancienne patrie; et que les *Boii*, à peine connus dans les Gaules, formoient en Germanie et en Italie la plus nombreuſe et la plus formidable de toutes ces colonies. J'ai compté les *Inſubres* parmi les Gaulois ſur l'autorité de tous les anciens. J'ai vû avec ſurpriſe que M. Fréret les range parmi les *Ombri*; Polybe les appelle toujours *Iſombri*, et ce mot en Celtique ſignifie les *Bas Ombri* *. Mais ce même Polybe convient qu'ils étoient Gaulois ‡; et quand il n'en conviendroit pas, ſon autorité, très grande d'ailleurs, ne l'emporteroit pas ici ſur les voix réunies de l'antiquité. L'exactitude et la bonne foi brillent dans ſes ouvrages. Il étoit militaire, politique, et philoſophe; mais je doute qu'il fût bon grammairien ou antiquaire profond.

Octobre

* V. Origine des Peuples d'Italie dans le dix huitième tome de l'Hiſtoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

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year 400; and that they wrote them in Latin, as they ſtill remain, except that the firſt Chriſtian kings made ſome alterations.

October 21.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii. He treats of the Inſubres, Orobii, Cenomani, Ananes or Anamani. The difference of names does not always infer that of nations; and this laſt difference is often grounded on political rather than phyſical reaſons; for of the nine Gallic nations eſtabliſhed in Italy, the names of four only are to be found in their native country; and the Boii, ſcarcely known in Gaul, formed both in Germany and in Italy the moſt numerous and formidable of all the Gallic colonies. I reckoned the Inſubres among the Gauls, on the authority of all the ancients; but was ſurpriſed to ſee Mr. Freret claſſing them with the Ombri. Polybius indeed calls them Iſombri, which in Celtic ſignifies the Lower Ombri †. But Polybius acknowledges them for Gauls ‡; and even did he maintain the contrary, his authority, great as it is, ought not to prevail over the united teſtimony of antiquity. Accuracy and probity ſhine in his writings. He was a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, and a philoſopher: but I doubt whether he was a good grammarian, or a profound antiquary.

October

† See The Origin of the Nations of Italy, in the eighteenth volume of the Hiſtory of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

‡ Polybe, L. ii. apud Cluver Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxii. p. 228, 229.

1763. Octobre 22.]—Avant que de renvoyer Nardini que la bibliothèque de Genève me redemandoit, je l'ai repaſsé avec ſoin ce matin, tâchant d'imprimer toutes les idées principales dans ma mémoire. L'infirmité humaine en laiſſe toujours échapper une partie, mais je vois avec plaiſir qu'il m'en reſte, et qu'il m'en reſtera beaucoup.

J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxviii, xxix. p.* 271—316. C'étoit fort bien. Comme j'ai paſsé le jour dehors, je n'ai eu que la ſoirée, et l'après ſouper pour ce travail. Ces deux chapîtres comprennent le reſte de la Gaule Ciſpadane. Les *Boii*, les *Lingones*, et les *Senones* habitoient les Duchés de Parme, de Modène, de Ferrare, d'Urbin, le Bolognois, et la Romagne. Les Gaulois s'étendoient alors juſqu'à l'*Æſis*, qui les ſéparoit de l'Italie. Mais bientôt les Romains exterminèrent la nation des *Senones*, ajoutèrent ſon pays à l'Umbrie, et établirent le Rubicon pour la frontière de l'Italie. Convaincus que des nations Gauloiſes en deça du Po, leur ſeroient toujours redoutables, ils obligèrent encore les *Boii* à quitter leur pays. Ils refondirent en un mot toute cette province, qu'ils remplirent de places fortes, et de colonies Romaines; politique néceſſaire, mais ruineuſe; ils dépeuplèrent le pays pour le conſerver; quelques villes fondées par les vainqueurs, remplaçoient bien mal ces tribus nombreuſes de barbares répandus dans les campagnes,

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October 22.]—Before returning Nardini, which was wanted for the public library of Geneva, I this morning again went over it carefully, endeavouring to impreſs its principal contents on my memory. Human infirmity always loſes a part; but I ſee with pleaſure that much remains, and will continue to remain, with me.

I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxviii, xxix. p. 271—316. This was a good deal, conſidering that I ſpent the day abroad, and had only the evening, before and after ſupper, for ſtudy. Theſe two chapters compriſe the reſt of Ciſpadane Gaul. The Boii, Lingones, and Senones, inhabited the dutchies of Parma and Modena, of Ferrara and Urbino; as well as the particular diſtricts of the Romagna and Bologneſe. The Gauls therefore extended to the river Æſis, which ſeparated them from Italy. But ſpeedily the Romans expelled the Senones, and added their country to Umbria, eſtabliſhing the Rubicon for the boundary of Italy. As they were perſuaded that the Gallic nations on their ſide of the Po could always be formidable neighbours, they compelled the Boii to quit their country. They new-modelled, in fine, the whole province, which they filled with Roman fortreſſes; a neceſſary but ruinous policy, which, in order to preſerve the dominion of countries, rendered them deſolate; for a few cities, built and peopled by the conquerors, ill compenſated for the loſs of the numerous tribes of barbarians formerly inhabiting the plains, foreſts, and mountains. This province was croſſed by the Emilian

pagnes, dans les forêts, et dans les montagnes. Le chemin d'*Emilius* traverſoit la province de *Pollentia* à *Ariminum*; on y rencontroit un grand nombre de villes floriſſantes. Mais dèſqu'on quittoit cette ligne, on ne trouvoit que des déſerts. Tout étoit l'ouvrage de l'art et de l'oſtentation. Dans les derniers tems de la république, cette province fut le théâtre de pluſieurs évènements intéreſſans. 1. La campagne de Modène entre Marc Antoine et les Conſuls. 2. L'entrevûe des Triumvirs dans la petite iſle du *Renus*, auprès de Bologne. 3. Le paſſage du Rubicon par Jules Céſar. Les lieux ſont très bien déſignés par Cluvier, et chaque circonſtance fixée à ſon endroit propre. Le paſſage du Rubicon fourniroit matière à un bon commentaire politique et militaire. Céſar avoit toujours fait de Lucques ſon quartier d'hyver, quand il ne vouloit que voir ſes amis plus commodément, et ſe rapprocher de Rome ſans ſortir de ſa province. Mais à la veille d'une guerre, il s'établit à Ravenne. Tâchons de deviner ſes motifs. 1. Il vouloit s'emparer du *Picenum*, pays riche et bien peuplé, et arracher ainſi à ſon rival une province qui étoit entiérement dévouée à la famille de Pompée, et d'où ce général auroit pu en effet faire ſortir les légions, en frappant du pied. 2. Il vouloit tourner la capitale. S'il avoit marché droit à Rome, Pompée ſe ſeroit emparé des paſſages difficiles; il auroit arrêté ſa marche, et l'Italie 1763.

Emilian road from Pollentia to Ariminum, which on both ſides ſhewed many flouriſhing towns. But at a little diſtance from the road nothing was to be ſeen but deſerts: the reſt was the work of artifice and oſtentation. In the latter times of the republic, the tranſpadane region was the ſcene of many important tranſactions. 1. The war of Modena, between Mark Antony and the Conſuls. 2. The interview of the Triumvirs in the little iſland of Renus, near Bologna. 3. The paſſage of the Rubicon by Julius Cæſar. The events and places are well aſcertained by Cluverius. The paſſage of the Rubicon might be the ſubject of a good political and military commentary. Cæſar had always fixed his winter quarters at Lucca, when he wiſhed only to communicate more eaſily with his friends at Rome, without leaving his province. But at the approach of war, he eſtabliſhed his quarters at Ravenna. Let us endeavour to explain his motives for this alteration. 1. He wiſhed to get poſſeſſion of Picenum, a rich and populous country, and thus deprive Pompey of the reſources which he might have found in a province extremely devoted to his family, and from which that general might have made legions ſpring up merely by ſtriking the ground with his foot. 2. He wiſhed to turn the capital with his army. Had he attempted to march ſtraight to Rome, Pompey would have made himſelf maſter of the difficult

1763. l'Italie ſeroit devenue le théâtre de la guèrre. Mais en ſe portant ſur *Ariminum*, *Aſculum*, *Corfinium* et *Sulme*, il paroiſſoit couper la retraite à ſes ennemis, et il leur inſpira une telle épouvante par cette conduite aſſurée, qu'ils ne ſe crurent en ſûreté qu'en ſe ſauvant avec précipitation à *Brunduſium*. 3. Il vouloit s'aſſurer d'*Ariminum*. Cette place importante étoit éloignée du *Rubicon* de dix huit milles ſur la voye Emilienne, et de onze milles ſeulement ſur le chemin de Ravenne. Céſar pouvoit pouſſer des corps de troupes juſqu'à cette rivière ſous vingt prétextes différens, mais dès l'inſtant qu'il la paſſoit, il levoit le maſque, et il n'étoit plus queſtion que de s'aſſurer d'*Ariminum* par une marche forcée, et par un coup de main. Dans une pareille entrepriſe, il n'eſt pas néceſſaire d'être Céſar pour ſentir de quelle importance étoit cette différence de ſept milles ou de deux heures de marche.

Octobre 23.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. p.* 316—355; qui contiennent une deſcription géographique des Alpes en général, de leurs différentes parties, les Alpesmaritimes, Cottiennes, Grecques, Pennines, Rhétiques, Tridentines, Noriques, Carniques, Juliennes, et Pannoniques, et de quelques montagnes en particulier, telles que *Veſulus*, *Matrona*, *Adula*, et *Ocra*. J'ai

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difficult paſſes, and ſtopped his progreſs; and Italy would have become the theatre of war. But by marching towards Ariminum, Aſculum, Corfinium, and Sulma, he made it ſeem to be his deſign to cut off the retreat of his enemies; and his boldneſs threw them into ſuch conſternation, that they haſtened to embark at Brunduzium. 2. He wiſhed to make ſure of Ariminum. This important place was diſtant from the Rubicon eighteen miles by the Emilian road, and only eleven by that of Ravenna. Cæſar could ſend forward bodies of troops to the river under twenty different pretences, but the moment he paſſed it, his deſigns were unmaſked. Ariminum, therefore, was to be ſurprized by a forced march; and it is not neceſſary to be Cæſar, to perceive how much that enterpriſe might be facilitated by diminiſhing the diſtance by ſeven miles, or a march of two hours.

October 23.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. p. 316—355; which contains a general deſcription of the Alps, as well as of their particular branches, diſtinguiſhed by the epithets, Maritime, Cottian, Greek, Pennine, Rhetian, Tridentine, Noric, Carnic, Julian, Pannonian; and alſo a deſcription of ſome particular mountains, as Veſulus, Matrona, Adula, and Ocra.

I read

J'ai achevé *le vingt ſixième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.—Harangues de Lyſias, par le Docteur Taylor :* belle et bonne édition d'un orateur aſſez languiſſant. La harangue qu'on a inſérée en entier, donne une idée fort exacte de l'économie domeſtique d'un ménage Athénien.—*Hiſtoire de la Poëſie Françoiſe, par l'Abbé Maſſieu.* L'ouvrage eſt imparfait ; mais on y reconnoît le goût et l'aménité de ſon auteur. On parle des vers de l'empereur Adrien à ſon âme, et de ceux de la Princeſſe Marguérite avant ſon naufrage ; mais ceux que compoſa Villon, après ſon arrêt de mort, et d'une mort infame, ſont bien plus extraordinaires.—*Théologie de l'Eau, par M. Fabricius :* bonne compilation philoſophique.—*Dialogues de Corteſi ſur les Savans de l'Italie, après le Rétabliſſement des Lettres.* Corteſi avoit de l'eſprit, mais il étoit Ciceronien outré et ridicule.—*Lettres ſur Rouſſeau et Saurin.* Ce ſont deux lettres indépendantes ; celle-ci eſt de l'Abbé d'Olivet ; celle-là d'un Lauſannois anonyme. Le dernier veut ſeulement attaquer Saurin, mais l'Abbé d'Olivet prend la défenſe de Rouſſeau. Que ce procès interminable a fait de bruit !—*Hiſtoire du Dannemarck, par Cragius ; deuxième Extrait.* Meurſius n'avoit pas mal profité du MS. de Cragius. 1763.

Octobre 24.]—J'ai fini le premier livre de *Cluvier, C. xxxiii, xxxiv. p.* 355—418. Il y traite des paſſages des Alpes et des premiers qui les ont frayés ; d'Hercule, des Gaulois,

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I read the ſixteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *the Orations of Lyſias, by Doctor Taylor :* a good and beautiful edition of a languid orator. The oration, which is inſerted entire, gives a very accurate idea of the œconomy of an Athenian family.—*The Hiſtory of French Poetry by the Abbé Maſſieu.* The work is imperfect ; but it ſufficiently indicates the taſte and amenity of its author. He ſpeaks of the verſes of the Emperor Adrian to his ſoul, and of thoſe made by the Princeſs Margaret before her ſhipwreck ; but thoſe of Villon, after his condemnation to an infamous death, are ſtill more extraordinary.—*The Theology of Water, by Mr. Fabricius :* a good philoſophical compoſition.—*Corteſi's Dialogues on the learned Men of Italy, after the Revival of Letters.* Corteſi had talents ; but he is liable to all the ridicule of a hyperbolical Ciceronian. *Letters on Rouſſeau and Saurin.* Theſe letters are unconnected : the firſt is by the Abbé d'Olivet ; the ſecond by an anonymous writer of Lauſanne. This writer only attacks Saurin ; but the Abbé undertakes to defend Rouſſeau. To how many pleadings has this endleſs proceſs given birth !—*Hiſtory of Denmark, by Cragius :* ſecond Extract. Meurſius much availed himſelf of Cragius's manuſcript.

October 24.]—I finiſhed the firſt book of Cluverius, C. xxxiii, xxxiv. p. 355—418. He treats of the paſſages of the Alps, and of the firſt who croſſed them ; Hercules, the Gauls, Hannibal, Haſdrubal, and Pompey,

1763. Gaulois, d'Annibal, d'Asdrubal, et de Pompée. La discussion de la marche d'Annibal, et de la route que prit ce général pour entrer en Italie, est savante et curieuse. Après avoir lu et médité avec attention ce qu'on dit de plus intéressant là-dessus, voici les idées principales que je m'en suis formé. 1. Si l'on ne cherche qu'à compiler des passages, on peut entasser toutes les autorités de l'antiquité et du moyen age, et couvrir ainsi par une richesse apparente une pauvreté réelle. Mais si l'on veut éplucher toutes ces autorités par les règles d'une saine critique, on trouvera que de tous ces auteurs, il n'y en a que deux, que l'on puisse qualifier d'originaux, et que tous les autres n'ont fait que les copier. Ces deux auteurs ce sont Tite Live et Polybe. S'ils étoient d'accord, nous n'aurions plus qu'à les étudier et à les suivre. Malheureusement ce parti n'est pas possible ; leurs sentimens sont différens : il faut opter. Le premier fait traverser à Annibal les Alpes Cottiennes, c'est proprement le Mont Genevre auprès de Turin, pour le faire entrer par ces passages dans le pays des *Taurini*, ou la plaine du Piémont. Le dernier le mène par le *Summus Penninus*, ou le Grand St. Bernard, dans le pays des *Salassi* ou le *Val d'Aouste*. 2. Il faut donc opter. Pour le faire d'une manière judicieuse, il faut peser les caractères de ces deux écrivains, et la nature de leur témoignage. Personne n'admire

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Pompey. The discussion concerning Hannibal's march, and the road which he followed into Italy, is learned and curious. The following is the result of my reading and careful reflection on the subject. 1. By heaping together passages, and collecting all the authorities furnished by antiquity and the middle ages, it is easy to conceal our real poverty under the ostentation of riches; but when these authorities are weighed in the balance of sound criticism, we shall find but two authors deserving the name of originals, who have been servilely copied by all their followers. These two are Livy and Polybius. Did their accounts correspond, nothing would remain but to study and follow them; but unfortunately their sentiments are so different, that this is impossible, and we must make an option. Livy carries Hannibal over the Cottian Alps, properly Mount Genevre, near Turin, and makes him descend by this passage into the country of the Taurini, now the plain of Piedmont. Polybius leads him by the *Summus Penninus*, or Great St. Bernard, in the country of the Salassi, now the valley of Aoust. 2. To decide judiciously between these opposite authorities, we must weigh the character of the witnesses, and consider the nature of their testimony. Nobody admires more than I do, the historical merit of Livy, the majestic flow of his narrative; in which events follow

n'admire plus que moi les altens hiſtoriques de Tite Live ; la marche majeſtueuſe de ſa narration, qui fait ſuccéder les évènemens les uns aux autres rapidement, mais ſans confuſion, et ſans précipitation ; et l'énergie égale et ſoutenue de ſon ſtyle, qui arrache ſes lecteurs de leurs cabinets pour les placer ſur le théâtre. Mais il faut écarter ici l'orateur, pour ne voir que le témoin. Je n'apperçois plus qu'un homme de lettres, nourri dans la pouſſière de l'école, peu inſtruit de l'art militaire, negligent ſur la géographie, et qui a vécu deux cens ans après Annibal. Je ſens même dans tout ce récit que Tite Live a voulu plutôt plaire à l'imagination par une fable romaneſque, que ſatisfaire à l'eſprit par une hiſtoire vraie et judicieuſe. Le Dieu qui apparut au général Carthaginois*, ces montagnes inacceſſibles à tout autre qu'à lui, le vinaigre avec lequel il fendit les rochers †; tous ces faits ſont racontés ſans critique et ſans défiance. C'eſt Homère que nous liſons, et c'eſt Achille dont nous ſuivons les exploits. Dans Polybe, tout eſt raiſonné, tout eſt ſimple et ſans parure ; une juſteſſe d'eſprit peu commune dans ſon ſiècle et dans ſon pays, réunie avec une ſéchereſſe d'imagination qui y étoit encore plus rare, lui faiſoit facilement préférer le vrai qu'il connoiſſoit à fond, aux agrémens qu'il mépriſoit peut-être encore plus, parcequ'il en étoit incapable. Il avoit examiné lui même tout le pays entre l'Ebre et le Po, et il l'avoit examiné avec des yeux attentifs et éclairés. Il pouvoit y recueillir tous les veſtiges

1763.

follow each other with rapidity, yet without hurry or confuſion ; and the continual beauty and energy of his ſtyle, which tranſports his readers from their cloſets to the ſcene of action. But here we have to do, not with the orator, but with the witneſs. Conſidered in this view, Livy appears merely as a man of letters covered with the duſt of his library, little acquainted with the art of war, careleſs in point of geography, and who lived two centuries after Hannibal's expedition. In the whole of his recital, we may perceive rather a romantic picture, calculated to pleaſe the fancy, than a faithful and judicious hiſtory, capable of ſatisfying the underſtanding. The god who appeared to the Carthaginian general *, the mountains acceſſible to him alone, the vinegar with which he ſplit the rocks †, are fables which Livy relates without criticiſm as without ſuſpicion. We ſeem to read Homer deſcribing the exploits of Achilles. In Polybius, on the other hand, we meet with nothing but unadorned ſimplicity and plain reaſon. A juſtneſs of thinking rare in his age and country, united with a ſterility of fancy ſtill more rare, made him prefer the truth, which he thoroughly knew, to ornaments which he was perhaps the more inclined to deſpiſe, becauſe he felt himſelf incapable of attaining them. He had examined, attentively and ſkilfully,

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 22. † Id. ibid. 37.

1763. veſtiges précieux d'une tradition que ſoixante ans n'avoient pas encore effacés ; il pouvoit s'entretenir avec des vieillards du pays qui s'étoient oppoſé dans leur jeuneſſe au paſſage d'Annibal ; ou qui avoient combattu ſous ſes drapeaux. Il avoit entrepris ce voyage difficile dans le deſſein même de s'inſtruire ſur les lieux, et d'oppoſer à toutes les fables qui inondoient déjà le public, une hiſtoire vraie et ſimple de cette fameuſe expédition des Carthaginois *. L'ouvrage qu'il nous a laiſſé, eſt le fruit de ce deſſein. Pour achever ce parallèle, je n'ai plus qu'une obſervation à ajoûter. Il eſt auſſi difficile de concilier Tite Live avec lui-même qu'avec ſon antagoniſte. Les contradictions et les obſcurités qu'il a ſémées dans ſon recit, embarraſſent les plus habiles géographes †. Tout eſt clair, tout eſt lié dans le narré de Polybe. La vallée, qui eſt partagée par le cours du Rhône, détermine le pays dont Annibal s'approcha pour entrer dans les Alpes ; le territoire des *Inſubres* ſe préſenta à ce général à ſa ſortie des montagnes ‡. L'une et l'autre circonſtance conviennent parfaitement au paſſage du Grand St. Bernard. 3. Tite Live ſous l'empire d'Auguſte n'a pu parler des évènemens de la ſeconde guèrre Punique, que ſur des autorités plus anciennes que lui. Un paſſage de cet hiſtorien nous découvre les garans qu'il a eus pour les détails de la marche

ſkilfully, with his own eyes, the country between the Po and the Ebro : where he might collect the precious remains of tradition which the period of ſixty years had not been able to efface ; and where he might converſe with ſome of the old men of the country, who had in their youth either reſiſted Annibal's invaſion, or followed his ſtandard. His journey to thoſe parts was undertaken with the expreſs purpoſe of gaining information in the country itſelf, and of ſubſtituting, inſtead of the fables which already overflowed the public, a plain and authentic hiſtory of this famous expedition of the Carthaginians *. The work which has come down to us, is the fruit of this deſign. To finiſh the parallel, I muſt add that Livy's narrative cannot be reconciled with itſelf any more than with that of Polybius. His obſcurities and contradictions baffle the ableſt geographers †; whereas the account of Polybius is clear and well connected. The valley, being divided by the Rhone, aſcertains the country through which Hannibal made his approach to the Alps ; from which he emerged into the territory of the Inſubres ‡. Both theſe circumſtances clearly indicate the paſſage of the great St. Bernard. 3. Livy, in the Auguſtan age, could not deſcribe the events of the ſecond Punic war but from ancient authorities. A paſſage in this hiſtorian informs us who was his voucher

* Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 363.

† Cluver. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 370—375.

‡ Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii. Cluver. L. i. p. 365.

marche d'Annibal. C'eſt Annibal lui-même. Cette autorité ne l'emporte-t-elle pas ſur celle de Polybe? ou plutôt, que peut-on oppoſer au témoignage d'un général qui rend compte des pays qu'il a parcourus? Je vais développer ce fait intéreſſant. Ce détail, curieux en lui-même, répandra un grand jour ſur toute cette queſtion. L. Cintius Alimintus, un des plus anciens annaliſtes de la république, avoit été fait priſonnier dans la ſeconde guerre Punique Sa priſon le mit à portée d'entendre une converſation d'Annibal, où ce général avoua, que depuis ſon paſſage du Rhône, juſqu'à ſa deſcente en Italie, dans le pays des *Taurini*, il avoit perdu trente ſix mille hommes, et un grand nombre de chevaux *. Cette converſation, que Cintius avoit conſervée dans ſon hiſtoire, a fait pencher la balance, et a déterminé Tite Live à rejetter le ſyſtème reçu, qui conduiſoit Annibal en Italie par le pays des *Salaſſi*, et non par celui des *Taurini*. Voici les paroles de l'original: *Ex ipſo autem audîſſe Hannibale, poſtquam Rhodanum tranſierit, triginta ſex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, et aliorum jumentorum amiſiſſe in Tauriniis, quæ Gallis proxima gens eſt, in Italiam digreſſo.* Avant que de voir ſi cette converſation eſt auſſi déciſive qu'elle le paroît au premier coup d'œil, je pourrois demander ſi elle eſt bien conſtatée. La vanité eſt un ſi grand 1763.

voucher for the particulars of Hannibal's march. It was Hannibal himſelf. Is not this authority better than that of Polybius? or rather, what can be ſaid in oppoſition to the teſtimony of a general giving an account of the country through which he paſſed? This intereſting circumſtance deſerves to be explained, and the explanation, curious in itſelf, will throw much light on the whole queſtion. L. Cintius Alimintus, one of the moſt ancient annaliſts of the republic, was taken priſoner in the ſecond Punic war. His captivity gave him an opportunity of one night hearing the converſation of Hannibal, in which that general confeſſed, that from the time when he paſſed the Rhone, to that of his entering the country of the Taurini in Italy, he had loſt 36,000 men, and a great number of horſes *. This converſation, which was preſerved by Cintius in his hiſtory, was ſufficient to turn the balance, and to make Livy reject the received account, which brought Hannibal into Italy by the country of the Salaſſi, and not that of the Taurini. The following are the words of the original: *Ex ipſo autem audîſſe Hannibale, poſtquam Rhodanum tranſierit, triginta ſex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, et aliorum jumentorum amiſiſſe in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens eſt, in Italiam digreſſo.* Before examining whether this converſation be as deciſive as it at firſt ſight appears, it may be aſked whether it actually took place. Vanity

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 38.

1763. grand principe, et l'idée d'avoir puiſé ſon information de la bouche d'un héros ennemi, eſt ſi ſéduiſante, que cet Annibal a pu n'être qu'un ſoldat aſſez mal inſtruit du camp des Carthaginois. Je conviens cependant de bonne foi, que la ſimple poſſibilité ne ſuffit point, pour autoriſer ce ſoupçon, ſans y pouvoir ajoûter des connoiſſances, dont nous ſommes privés, celles du caractère perſonnel de Cintius, du jugement que ſes contemporains ont porté de ſon hiſtoire, et s'il la publia du vivant d'Annibal, ou après ſa mort. Je renonce donc entierement à ce ſoupçon; je ſuppoſe la vérité de cette converſation, et je me bornerai à quelques obſervations là-deſſus. 1. Y auroit-il de la témérité à récuſer l'autorité d'Annibal, et à lui préférer celle de Polybe? Un géographe étudie un pays dans les ſignes et les noms arbitraires que les hommes lui ont impoſés. Un général l'étudie en lui-même. Il ſe place ſur une hauteur pour embraſſer une grande étendue; il monte à cheval pour en parcourir le détail; il s'informe des gens du pays, des circonſtances qu'il ne peut pas connoître par lui-même. Dès qu'il a acquis cette ſcience réelle des lieux, celle des noms n'eſt preſqu'un objet de curioſité. C'eſt ſurtout dans un pays barbare, que le petit nombre de ces noms, qui s'eſt placé par haſard dans ſa mémoire, s'efface bientôt de ſon eſprit. Ses occupations ſe ſuccèdent avec rapidité, et ſes anciennes idées s'affoibliſſent inſenſiblement, pour faire place à celles qui ſont plus importantes, parcequ'elles ſont plus

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Vanity is ſo ſtrong a principle, and the notion of deriving our intelligence from the mouth of a hero, and an enemy, is ſo flattering to the mind, that this Hannibal perhaps was no other than ſome very ill-informed ſoldier belonging to the Carthaginian camp. I acknowledge, however, that bare poſſibility is not ſufficient to juſtify this ſuſpicion, unleſs we could ſupport it by proofs which are now wanting, namely, the perſonal character of Cintius, the opinion formed by contemporaries of his hiſtory, and the time of its publication before or after Hannibal's death. I give up therefore this conjecture; and, taking the converſation for authentic, ſhall make ſome remarks on its purport. 1. Is it poſſible without temerity to reject the authority of Hannibal for that of Polybius? A geographer ſtudies countries in the names or arbitrary ſigns by which they are known. A general ſtudies the countries themſelves. He aſcends an eminence to learn the general outline, and mounts on horſeback to examine the detail; converſing with the inhabitants to diſcover circumſtances which would otherwiſe eſcape his obſervation. Having acquired this real knowledge of the places themſelves, he is careleſs of the names by which they are called. Theſe names are eaſily effaced from his memory, eſpecially in barbarous countries, where their number is ſmall. His multiplied occupations rapidly ſucceed to each other; and his

plus nouvelles. Dans quel tourbillon Annibal n'a-t-il pas vécu depuis son passage des Alpes jusqu'à la bataille de Cannes ? car je décide hardiment que Cintius n'a pu être fait prisonnier avant cette affaire mémorable. Jamais auparavant le vainqueur ne s'étoit humanisé avec ses captifs Romains, au point de leur parler avec quelque douceur *. Ne peut-on pas soupçonner qu'au bout de deux ans, sa mémoire ne l'aura pas fidèlement servi à l'égard de ces noms barbares ? Dans la fameuse retraite des dix mille, nous possédons le général et l'écrivain dans la même personne. Sa relation n'est pas cependant exempte de quelques erreurs, et de quelques difficultés géographiques. Si l'on conçoit la negligence de Zenophon dans une composition travaillée, celle d'Annibal dans la simple conversation, ne doit pas nous surprendre. 2. Ces doutes me paroîssent légitimes ; je sens néanmoins qu'ils ont un air un peu trop recherché, et que le grand nom d'Annibal en imposera toujours. Eh bien ! ne doutons plus de son exactitude ; mais n'est-il pas permis de douter de sa sincérité ? Selon les maximes barbares de l'antiquité, un prisonnier de guèrre étoit traité en criminel. Il se voyoit chargé de fers, jetté dans un cachot, livré quelque fois à la cruauté des bourreaux, sans que la naissance, le rang, ou le mérite l'exemptassent de ce sort affreux. Annibal 1763.

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his old ideas are gradually obliterated to make room for others which are more important, because more connected with the actual state of his affairs. In what a perpetual storm did Hannibal live after passing the Alps till he won the battle of Cannæ ? Cintius, I am persuaded, was not taken prisoner before that engagement ; previously to which Hannibal was too much exasperated against the Romans to talk familiarly with his captives †. May it not therefore be suspected that at the end of two years he had lost an accurate recollection of those barbarous names ? In the famous retreat of the 10,000, the general has recorded his own exploits. His narrative, however, is not exempt from errors and geographical difficulties. The negligence of Xenophon in an elaborate composition, will remove our surprise at that of Hannibal in a simple conversation. 2. These doubts appear to me well founded ; yet I perceive that they have the appearance of too much refinement, and that the great name of Hannibal will be sufficient to make them vanish. Let us give full credit, then, to his accuracy, and only inquire whether the fame be due to his sincerity. According to the barbarous maxims of antiquity, a prisoner of war was treated as a criminal. He was loaded with irons, cast into a dungeon, delivered over sometimes to the cruelty of an executioner, without the smallest regard to his rank, birth, or merit. In this pretended conversation,

† Tit. Liv. xxii. 58.

1763. Annibal déroge ici à ſes maximes ordinaires ; il s'entretient avec un priſonnier Romain, non ſeulement avec douceur, mais avec confiance. Cintius n'a pu avoir cette converſation, ſans que le Carthaginois en fit naître l'occaſion, et dans quel deſſein l'auroit-il fait naître, ſinon dans celui de tromper ? Peut-être que ce général, á qui la ruſe étoit auſſi naturelle que la valeur, cherchoit à cacher aux Romains la route qu'il avoit priſe, et à couvrir la marche des ſecours qu'il attendoit. Les Romains n'avoient jamais fait la guêrre dans les Alpes, et la férocité de leurs habitans répandoit ſur elles une nuit épaiſſe, qui permettoit à Annibal de faire croire tout ce qu'il vouloit à l'égard des lieux qu'il avoit parcourus. 3. Mais il me reſte un moyen encore plus doux et plus naturel ; c'eſt d'expliquer ce propos d'Annibal au lieu de le conteſter. Il vouloit donner une idée des pertes qu'il avoit eſſuyées en paſſant les montagnes, par les combats, par le froid, et par la fatigue. Il commence par ſon paſſage du Rhône, et il finit par ſon arrivée dans le territoire des *Taurini*. C'eſt en effet dans leur pays, et par la priſe de leur capitale, qu'il commença la guerre en Italie *. Il falloit s'y arrêter, pour ne pas confondre deux choſes très différentes, ce qu'il avoit perdu dans les Alpes, et ce qu'il perdit en Italie. Il n'étoit pas néceſſaire que

verſation, Hannibal lays aſide ordinary maxims, and talks with a Roman priſoner with not only mildneſs, but confidence. Cintius could not have had this interview with Hannibal unleſs the Carthaginian had taken the trouble to bring it about; and with what view could that be, except to deceive him? Perhaps this general, who excelled as much in artifice as in valour, wiſhed to conceal from the Romans the road by which he had entered into Italy, and to cover the march of the reinforcements which he yet expected. The Romans had never fought among the Alps, the ferocity of whoſe inhabitants had involved them in ſuch obſcurity, that Hannibal might make the priſoner believe what fables he pleaſed concerning the countries which he had traverſed. 3. A way of arguing ſtill more natural and milder remains, which is to explain Hannibal's converſation, inſtead of calling in queſtion either its reality or ſincerity. He wiſhed to give an idea of the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in paſſing the mountains, in conſequence of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins therefore from his croſſing the Rhone, and ends at his arrival in the territory of the Taurini; ſince it was really in their country, and by taking their capital, that he began his operations in Italy *. Their territory, therefore, formed the limit between two things totally diſtinct; his loſſes in Italy and thoſe in the Alps. It was not neceſſary that the country

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 39. Polyb. Hiſt. L. iii.

que le pays des *Taurini* fût le premier pays d'Italie qu'il trouvât à ſa deſcente des Alpes, mais ſeulement que ce fût le premier où il livrât un combat. Tite Live adopte la première des explications ; mais la dernière me paroît très ſoutenable. Elle ôte à l'hiſtorien Latin la preuve qui lui paroît déciſive. Elle ſe tourne contre lui, puiſqu'elle ne ſert plus qu'à découvrir la ſource de ſa mépriſe. Non ſeulement l'autorité de Tite Live eſt réfutée, mais elle eſt détruite, et celle de Polybe ſubſiſte ſeule, et ſans rivale. J'avoue bien qu'on devine ce fameux paſſage, plutôt qu'on ne l'explique, tant la conſtruction en eſt embarraſſée, défectueuſe, et même vicieuſe. Les critiques ont voulu le corriger. N'eſt-il pas nuturel de dire que Tite Live avoit copié Cintius, et que celui-ci avoit conſervé avec plaiſir les propres paroles du général Carthaginois, dont la langue étoit celle d'un étranger. 4. Dans la recherche de la vérité hiſtorique, nous devons conſidérer l'autorité et la vraiſemblance, le caractère de l'écrivain lui-même, et celui des faits qu'il rapporte. Si le premier eſt entierement à l'avantage de Polybe, le dernier nous offre quelques circonſtances qui s'expliquent difficilement dans ſon hypothèſe, et qui paroiſſent même oppoſées à la vraiſemblance. 1. Dès qu'on jette les yeux ſur la carte, on eſt étonné et revolté du détour qu'Annibal a dû faire pour traverſer le St. Bernard, et l'on penſe avec Tite Live qu'un général auſſi habile n'auroit jamais préféré une route 1763.

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country of the Taurini ſhould be the firſt place of Italy into which he deſcended from the Alps; it ſufficed that it was the firſt where he fought a battle. The former explication is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of being defended. It deprives the Latin hiſtorian of what appears to him a deciſive proof. It even turns this alleged proof againſt himſelf, by laying open the ſource of his miſtake. The argument on which Livy builds, is not only refuted, but deſtroyed; and the authority of Polybius ſubſiſts alone and unrivalled. I confeſs indeed that the ſenſe of this famous paſſage is rather gueſſed at, than explained; ſo perplexed, defective, and faulty is its conſtruction. Critics have endeavoured to correct it; but it ſhould ſeem more natural to ſay that Livy copied Cintius, and that the latter had preſerved the very words of the Carthaginian general, who ſpoke Latin like a foreigner. 4. In our ſearch after hiſtoric truth, we muſt pay a regard to authority and probability; to the character of the author, and to the nature of the facts which he records. Although the firſt is entirely on the ſide of Polybius, yet the ſecond offers ſome circumſtances which it is difficult to explain on his hypotheſis, and which appear even contrary to probability.

1. When we caſt our eyes on the map, we muſt be ſurprized that a general of Hannibal's abilities ſhould have followed ſo circuitous a road

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1763. route longue, difficile, et hériſſée de peuples barbares, qui étoient plus Germains que Gaulois. On a beau dire que le Carthaginois vouloit éviter la mer, et l'armée de Scipion. La raiſon eſt fondée ; mais pour ſentir juſqu'où elle peut s'étendre, et ſi elle peut s'appliquer ici, il faut connoître la ſituation et les vûes d'Annibal. Ce général, après avoir paſſé le Rhône, eſſuya un petit échec dans un combat de ſes Numides avec la cavalerie de Scipion. Les Romains ne cherchoient qu'à engager une affaire générale ; mais Annibal, convaincu qu'on ne pouvoit les vaincre qu'en Italie, vouloit éviter une bataille. Il décampa ſans bruit, gagna trois jours de marche ſur l'ennemi, et arriva le quatrième, ſans être pourſuivi, à la jonction du Rhône et de l'Iſare *. Les Romains ne pouvoient plus l'atteindre : trois jours de marche ne ſe regagnent pas ſur un général actif, vigilant, et qui, par la ſupériorité de ſa cavalerie légère, eſt en état de couvrir toutes ſes manœuvres, et d'éclairer celle des ennemis. Annibal ne craignoit plus d'être pourſuivi ; et il a dû apprendre bientôt qu'il ne le ſeroit point, que l'armée de Scipion continuoit ſa route en Eſpagne, et que ce Conſul retournoit en Italie pour ſe mettre à la tête de celle qui étoit ſur les bords du Po. Libre de cette inquiétude, il s'arrêta

as that of St. Bernard, which was long, difficult, and ſurrounded by barbarians, who were rather Germans than Gauls. It is of no weight to ſay, that he wiſhed to keep clear of the ſea, and of the army of Scipio. The obſervation is juſt ; but to ſee whether it applies to the preſent queſtion we muſt make ourſelves acquainted with Hannibal's ſituation and views. After he had paſſed the Rhone, his Numidians met with a little check from Scipio's cavalry. The Romans wiſhed to come to a general engagement, which Hannibal deſired to avoid, being convinced that they were only to be ſubdued in Italy itſelf. He therefore ſilently raiſed his camp, gained a march of three days on the enemy, and on the fourth day arrived, without being purſued, at the conflux of the Rhone and the Iſere *. The Romans could not overtake him. The loſs of three days is not to be recovered in contending with a general, active and vigilant ; and who by the ſuperiority of his light-armed cavalry, was able to conceal his own movements, and to make himſelf acquainted with thoſe of the enemy. Hannibal was not therefore afraid of being purſued ; he ſoon learned that ſuch fear would have been groundleſs ; that Scipio's army continued its march into Spain ; and that the conſul himſelf returned into Italy, to take the command of the army on the banks of the Po. Hannibal being delivered from all uneaſineſs on this ſubject, made a halt in the country of the Allobroges, decided a conteſt between the heirs of the crown, and prepared his troops for the fatigues which they were

* Strabon. Geog. L. iv. p. 141. Bergier Hiſtoire des grands Chemins L. iii. C. 31. . 471.

s'arrêta dans le pays des Allobroges, décida une controverse entre les héritiers du royaume, et fortifia ſes troupes pour les fatigues qu'elles alloient eſſuyer. Le ſeul motif qui pouvoit encore le déterminer ſur le choix de ſa route, étoit l'envie de prendre la plus courte et la plus commode. Or celle du grand St. Bernard n'étoit certainement pas la plus courte. 2. Elle n'étoit pas non plus la plus commode. Du tems d'*Auguſte*, lorſque la politique Romaine avoit applani les Alpes, ce prince conſtruiſit deux voyes militaires, qui partoient d'*Auguſta Prætoria*, et qui ſe réuniſſoient à Lyon. Une de ces routes, qui traverſoit les Alpes Pennines, étoit encore ſi difficile, qu'on ne pouvoit point y paſſer en voiture *. Qu'on juge maintenant ce qu'elles devoient être du tems d'Annibal, et qu'on croye que ce général, qui trainoit après lui beaucoup de chevaux et d'éléphans, ait voulu, ou même qu'il ait pu, ſe frayer une route. 3. Annibal employa quinze jours à ſon paſſage, ſur leſquels il en faut déduire quatre; deux pendant leſquels il repoſa ſur le ſommet, et deux autres qu'il employa à ſe faire un chemin dans la neige. La traverſée des Alpes eſt de 1200 ſtades ſelon Polybe (150 milles Romains ‡). Ce calcul s'accorde avec l'état des lieux, mais s'accorde-t-il auſſi avec la vraiſemblance? 1763.

* Le paſſage du mont Pennin étoit cependant le plus court. Dans cet endroit les montagnes étoient fort reſſerrées.

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were going to undertake. In chooſing his route into Italy, he could be determined by no other conſideration but that of preferring the ſhorteſt and the moſt convenient. But the paſſage by St. Bernard is certainly not the ſhorteſt. 2. Neither is it the moſt convenient. In the reign of Auguſtus, when Roman policy had levelled the Alps, that prince made two military ways, which, diverging from Auguſta Prætoria, again united at Lyons. One of thoſe roads, which croſſed the Pennine Alps, was ſtill ſo difficult that it could not be paſſed by carriages †. When we conſider how much more difficult it muſt have been in the time of Hannibal, it is not credible that that general ſhould have been either willing, or able, to croſs it with his great numbers of horſes and elephants. Hannibal conſumed fifteen days in paſſing the Alps, from which four days muſt be deducted, two of which were ſpent on the top of the mountains, and two employed in clearing the road from the ſnow. The breadth of the Alps, according to Polybius, is 1200 ſtadia (150 Roman miles ‡). This calculation agrees with the geography of the country; but is the march conſiſtent with

† the paſſage by the Pennine Alps was, however, the ſhorteſt; here the mountains are much narrowed.

‡ Polyb. L. iii. Cluveri. C. 33. p. 382.

1763. vraiſemblance? Une armée nombreuſe, peut-elle faire quatorze milles par jour dans les Alpes, toujours occupée à lutter contre la difficulté des lieux, et ſouvent à repouſſer les attaques des montagnards? Je défére beaucoup à l'autorité de Polybe, mais j'en doute. Voilà quelques difficultés qui ſe préſentent dans le ſyſtême de Polybe, et qui ne paroiſſent point à mépriſer. 5. Rentrés, à force de recherches, dans notre première incertitude, quel parti faut-il prendre? Le récit de Polybe a toute l'évidence extérieure qu'on puiſſe demander; celui de ſon rival paroît s'accorder mieux avec d'autres circonſtances connues. Une ſeule réflexion peut nous déterminer. Il eſt plus vraiſemblable que nous nous trompons, qu'il ne l'eſt que ces circonſtances ayent échappé à Polybe. Elles ſont d'ailleurs fortes, mais elles ne ſont pas déciſives. La première et la plus importante dépend de pluſieurs ſuppoſitions: que les textes de Polybe et de Tite Live ſont corrompus; qu'au lieu du *Scaras*, qui eſt inconnu, et de l'*Arar*, qui n'eſt pas à ſa place, il faut lire *Iſara* dans l'un et dans l'autre. Je conviens que cette correction eſt des plus vraiſemblables; mais des vraiſemblances qui découlent d'autres vraiſemblances, s'affoibliſſent en s'éloignant de leur ſource. Si je ſuppoſe de mon côté, 1. que les Allobroges occupoient alors une partie du territoire des *Ambarri*; 2. que le mot *triduo* dans Tite Live eſt corrompu; ou, 3. qu'Annibal paſſa le Rhône plus haut

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with probability? Is it poſſible for a numerous army to proceed fourteen miles a-day, acroſs mountains where the ſoldiers were obliged continually to ſtruggle againſt the difficulties of the road, and often to repel the attacks of the mountaineers? I have great reſpect for Polybius' authority, but cannot help doubting the fact. Theſe are ſome of the difficulties which occur in his narrative, and which are not to be deſpiſed. 5. Our reſearches having brought us back to our firſt uncertainty, how are we to form an opinion? Polybius' narrative has all the external evidence that can be deſired; but that of his rival ſeems more conſiſtent with other circumſtances that are well aſcertained. One reflexion may ſuffice to regulate our deciſion. It is more probable that we ſhould be deceived, than that the above circumſtances ſhould have eſcaped the notice of Polybius. Theſe circumſtances are indeed important; but they are not deciſive. The firſt and moſt conſiderable depends on many ſuppoſitions; that the text both of Livy and Polybius is corrupt; that inſtead of the unknown word *Scaras*, and of *Arar*, which is miſplaced, we ſhould read on both occaſions *Iſara*. I acknowledge that this correction is extremely probable, but probabilities which reſult from other probabilities, continually grow weaker as they recede from their ſource. If I ſuppoſe on my ſide; 1. that the Allobroges then occupied a part of the territory of the Ambarri; 2. that the word *triduo* in Livy is corrupt; 3. that Hannibal

haut qu'on ne penſe, la première objection s'évanouit d'elle même. Annibal placé à la jonction du Rhône et de la Saône, prenoit la route la plus courte en paſſant le Grand St. Bernard. Concluons donc, mais avec un reſte de ſcepticiſme, que ſi le récit de l'hiſtorien Latin eſt plus vraiſemblable, celui de l'écrivain Grec paroît plus vrai †. Une ſeule choſe m'arrête. Dans la carte de l'expédition d'Annibal, par M. d'Anville, ce géographe exact, dont les poſitions ſont toujours raiſonnées, trace ſa marche à travers les Alpes Cottiennes. L'autorité encore plus grande, parcequ'il a caché les raiſons qu'il a eues, m'en impoſe et m'arrête. 1763.

Octobre 25.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 418—433. L'auteur y traite du nom et de l'origine des *Etruſques*. Il rejette, avec Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, leur origine prétendue Lydienne, et comme cet hiſtorien, il les croit indigènes. Mais Cluvier étoit bon Chrétien; quelle idée pouvoit-il attacher à ce mot? Il y en a cependant une, mais je doute que Cluvier l'ait apperçue. C'eſt celle d'une nation qui ſe forme par la réunion d'un grand nombre de familles, qui s'étoient établies dans ce

† Je n'ai preſque rien tiré de Cluvier, que ſa concluſion générale tournée très différemment. J'ai peu cité. La véritable citation, celle qui peut tenir lieu de toutes les autres, c'eſt le vingt-unième livre de Tite Live, le troiſième livre de Polybe, et le trente troiſième chapître du premier livre de Cluvier.

Hannibal paſſed the Rhone higher than is ſuppoſed, the firſt objection totally diſappears. Hannibal, at the confluence of the Rhone and Soane, followed the ſhorteſt rout into Italy, when he croſſed the Great St. Bernard. Let us conclude then, though with ſome remainder of ſcepticiſm, that though Livy's narrative has more of probability, yet that of Polybius has more of truth †. There is one perplexing conſideration behind. In Mr. D'Anville's map of Hannibal's expedition, that accurate geographer, whoſe poſitions are always choſen on reflexion, makes the Carthaginians paſs by the Cottian Alps. I am ſtopped and ſilenced by the authority of this learned man, which in this caſe is the greater, becauſe he conceals the reaſons on which his opinion is founded.

October 25.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 418—433. The author treats of the name and original of the Tuſcans. He rejects, with Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, their pretended Lydian deſcent, and believes with that hiſtorian that they were indigenes. But as Cluverius was a good Chriſtian, what idea could he affix to that word? There is, however, one, which I doubt whether he was ſenſible of: it is that of a nation

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† I have copied nothing from Cluverius, except his general concluſion, very differently modified. I have cited but few authorities. The only important citations, which ſuperſede all others, are the twenty-firſt book of Livy, the third book of Polybius, and the thirty-third chapter of the firſt book of Cluverius.

1763. ce pays en différens tems, et indépendamment les unes des autres. La nation, le corps politique, eſt indigène, quoique les individus ne le ſoient pas.

J'ai achevé *la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée, le tome vingt ſeptième.* J'y trouve, *Jubilé de l'Imprimerie, par M. Seiz.* On y ſoutient les prétenſions de Harlem, et l'on tâche de faire voir que Laurent Coſtar, bourgeois de cette ville, découvrit vers l'an 1440 ce bel art, que l'infidélité de Fauſte, ſon domeſtique, tranſporta bientôt à Mayence. Cette hiſtoire me paroît claire, liée, et dégagée de difficultés; mais ſi l'on avoit inventé l'imprimerie à Harlem, il paroît ſingulier que tous les pays de l'Europe l'ayent tenue, ou du moins qu'ils l'ayent cru tenir, de Mayence. Tant de filles ſe feroient elles réunies pour méconnoître leur mère? Je n'ignore point le voyage de Corſelis en Angleterre; mais après la réfutation du Docteur Middleton, il n'eſt plus permis de citer cette fable.—*Recueil de quelques Opuſcules ſur la Prononciation de la Langue Grecque, par M. Havercamp.* Dans cette fameuſe diſpute, Eraſme, avec ſa prudence ordinaire, ſe ſervoit lui même de la prononciation ancienne, quoiqu'il parût approuver la nouvelle. Quand on voit les orages que cette diſpute ridicule a ſuſcités dans le commencement du ſeizième ſiecle, (et ſurtout à Cambridge,) on ne ſauroit blamer ſa réſerve.—*Lettres d'Aretin.* C'eſt le commencement d'un grand recueil qu'on publie en Italie, des Lettres des

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formed by the re-union of different families, ſettled in the country at different times, and independently of each other. The nation and body politic is indigenous, but not the individuals.

I finiſhed the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*, volume the twenty-ſeventh. It contains the *Jubilee of Printing, by Mr. Seiz.* He ſupports the pretenſions of Harlem, and endeavours to prove that Laurence Coſtar, a citizen of that place, diſcovered in 1440 that beautiful art, which the diſhoneſty of his ſervant Fauſtus carried with him to Mentz. The narrative appears clear, well connected, and free from difficulties; yet if printing was invented at Harlem, it appears extraordinary that all the countries of Europe ſhould have received it, or believe they received it, from Mentz. Could ſo many daughters agree in miſtaking their mother? I am not ignorant of Corſelis's voyage to England; but after Dr. Middleton's refutation, it is no longer allowable to cite that fable.—*A Collection of ſome ſmall Works on the Pronunciation of Greek, by Mr. Havercamp.* In this famous diſpute, Eraſmus, with his ordinary prudence, uſed the ancient pronunciation, though he ſeemed to approve the new. When we conſider the ſtorms excited by this ridiculous queſtion in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, particularly at Cambridge, his caution will not appear blamable.—*Aretin's Letters.* The beginning of a great collection of letters between the learned men of the fifteenth century, which is publiſhing

des Savans du quinzième ſiècle. Il peut ſervir à l'hiſtoire littéraire.—*Hiſtoire de Dannemarck, par Cragius.* Elle me paroît aſſez bien faite. On y voit les commencemens de la réformation de ce pays, et la mauvaiſe foi d'Henri VIII. roi d'Angleterre.—*Le Czar Pierre I. en France.* C'eſt un Roman philoſophique, le fruit d'une imagination vive et féconde, mais ſans goût et ſans règle. De pareils ouvrages éblouiſſent un inſtant, mais ils ne ſe ſoutiennent jamais. 1763.

Octobre 26.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 434—455. On eſt étonné de voir les arts, le luxe, et les richeſſes des Etruſques. J'ai de la peine à croire avec Cluvier, que la Gaule Ciſalpine étoit l'ancienne patrie de cette nation. Il me paroît au contraire par tous les anciens, qu'elle habitoit, depuis les tems les plus reculés, l'Etrurie proprement dite ; et que dans la ſuite elle envoya deux grandes colonies, chacune compoſée, comme la métropole, de douze cités, dont l'une chaſſa les *Ombri* de tout le pays entre les Alpes et l'Apennin, et l'autre s'établit dans la Campanie. Dans ce tems là, on pouvoit dire, preſque ſans hyperbole, que les Etruſques étoient maîtres de l'Italie entière. Les Gaulois, qui ſubjuguèrent la première de ces deux colonies, vers l'an 800 avant l'ére Chrétienne, la trouvèrent riche, puiſſante, et amollie par les délices. Sa métropole l'étoit encore davantage.

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publiſhing in Italy. It may be uſeful in literary hiſtory.—*The Hiſtory of Denmark, by Cragius.* It appears to me well executed. We ſee in it the beginning of the reformation in that country, and the diſhoneſty of Henry VIII. of England.—*The Czar Peter I. in France:* a philoſophical romance, the work of a lively and fruitful imagination, but deſtitute of taſte or method. Such works dazzle for a moment, and are forgotten.

October 26.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. i. p.* 434—455. The arts, the luxury, and the riches of the Tuſcans, are matter of aſtoniſhment. I can ſcarcely believe with Cluverius, that Ciſalpine Gaul was the original ſeat of that nation. It appears to me on the contrary from ancient writers, that the Tuſcans, from the remoteſt times, inhabited Etruria, properly ſo called, and ſent forth two great colonies, each of which was, like the mother country, divided into twelve communities: one of which colonies expelled the *Ombri* from the whole of that tract which lies between the Alps and the Apennines; while the other formed ſettlements in Campania. It might have been ſaid in that age, almoſt without exaggeration, that the Tuſcans were maſters of Italy. The firſt of thoſe colonies was ſubdued by the Gauls, eight centuries before the Chriſtian æra, when it was already rich and powerful, but ſoftened by luxury. The mother-country exhibited the ſame character in ſtill ſtronger

1763. davantage. Elle penchoit déjà vers ſa ruine. Combien de ſiècles ne leur a-t-il pas fallu pour cette progreſſion lente, mais ſûre, qui conduit une nation de la barbarie à l'induſtrie, aux arts, au luxe, et à la molleſſe? N'en doutons point, les Etruſques étoient un des plus anciens peuples que nous connoiſſions.

Octobre 27.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. ii, iii. p.* 455—518. L'auteur y parcourt les côtes de l'Etrurie avec beaucoup d'exactitude, depuis *Luna* juſqu'à l'embouchure du Tybre, et les iſles qui ſont vis-à-vis. Toujours des fables Grecques! Pour la plupart des écrivains Grecs avant Polybe, on pourroit partager les lieux, comme Varron a fait les tems, en hiſtoriques, mythologiques, et inconnus. La Grèce, la Sicile, l'Afrique, l'Egypte, et l'Aſie Mineure, occuperoient ſeules la première claſſe. Dans la ſeconde, je placerois l'Italie, avec tous les pays entre la Grèce et le Danube, entre l'Euphrate et la mer Caſpienne. Tout ce qui eſt au delà de ces limites, ſeroit relégué dans le pays inconnu. Homere devroit ſatisfaire un génie qui aime la fable. Cependant ſes fables ne ſont que la partie la plus petite, et la plus vraiſemblable de la mythologie Grecque.

28.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii. p.* 518—537. L'auteur y parle de *Tarquinii* et de *Veii*, les deux cités d'Etrurie les plus proches de Rome. *Tarquinii* étoit fameux par la ſcience augurale, qui y avoit pris naiſſance. On peut ſe diſpenſer de chercher dans d'autres l'origine de cet

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ſtronger colours. It verged towards its ruin. How many ages muſt have been required for this ſlow, but ſure progreſſion, by which nations proceed from barbariſm to induſtry, arts, luxury, and effeminacy? We cannot doubt the fact; the Tuſcans are certainly one of the moſt ancient nations with which we are acquainted.

October 27.]—I read Cluverius, L. ii. C. ii. iii. p. 455—518. He deſcribes with much accuracy the coaſt of Tuſcany, with the oppoſite iſlands, from Luna to the mouth of the Tiber. We meet every where with Greek fables. With reſpect to the greateſt part of Greek writers before Polybius, ſpace may be divided, as Varro divided time, into the hiſtorical, fabulous, and unknown. The hiſtorical ground was confined to Greece, Sicily, Africa, Egypt, and Lower Aſia. In the fabulous, I would place Italy, with the countries between Greece and the Danube, and thoſe between the Caſpian ſea and the Euphrates. The countries beyond thoſe limits were altogether unknown. Homer might have ſatisfied the lovers of the marvellous; yet his fables form but the ſmalleſt and moſt probable part of the Greek mythology.

28.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii. p. 518—537. The author treats of Tarquinii and Veii, the two cities of Tuſcany that were neareſt to Rome. Tarquinii was celebrated for the ſcience of augury, to

cet art impoſteur. Il naquit chez les Etruſques. Je conclus par la fable ridicule de ce Tagès, qu'il étoit homme du pays ; pour concevoir un ſyſtême auſſi extraordinaire, et pour le faire adopter de ſes compatriotes, il devoit être homme de génie. Tagès ſortit d'un ſillon: il n'étoit pas étranger. Le poiſſon Oannès des Chaldéens s'éleva du ſein de la mer. Ce langage ſymbolique s'explique avec la même facilité. 1763.

Il eſt difficile de fixer la ſituation de l'ancien *Veii*, Les anciens avoient de la peine à la déterminer. Déjà détruite du tems de Lucain, on découvroit à peine les ruines de cette ville célèbre, dont la grandeur égaloit celle de Rome. On ne peut connoître ſon emplacement que par ſon éloignement de la capitale ; éloignement ſur lequel les auteurs ne ſont point d'accord. On peut les réduire à deux ſentimens. 1. Tite Live, parlant du ſiége de *Veii*, dit qu'il ſe faiſoit *intra Viceſimum lapidem**. Eutrope nous apprend que *Veii* étoit à dix huit milles de Rome. 2. Les Itinéraires le placent à douze milles de Rome†; et Denys d'Halicarnaſſe à cent ſtades, ou à douze milles et demi‡. J'apperçois auſſi deux moyens de conciliation. 1. *Falerii*, auſſi bien que *Veii*, étoit ſur une hauteur. Détruit par les Romains, on le rebâtit enſuite dans les environs, mais dans la plaine. Si la même

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to which it had given birth. The origin of this deceitful art need not be ſought elſewhere : it began in Tuſcany. The ridiculous fable concerning Tages, teaches us that he was a native of the country : his ſucceſs in contriving ſuch an extraordinary ſyſtem, and in making it be adopted by his countrymen, proves him to have been a man of genius. Tages ſprung from a furrow ; he was not a foreigner. The Chaldean fiſh Oannes ſprung from the ſea ; this ſymbolic language explains itſelf.

The ancients themſelves found it difficult to aſcertain the ſituation of Veii. In the time of Lucan, this famous city had already been deſtroyed, and the ruins of a place which had been as large as Rome could ſcarcely be diſcovered. Its ſite could only be known by its diſtance from the capital ; but with reſpect to this diſtance, authors are not agreed. Their opinions may be reduced to the two following. 1. Livy, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Veii, ſays, that it was carried on within the twentieth mile-ſtone*. Eutropius tells us that Veii was eighteen miles diſtant from Rome. 2. The Roman itineraries make the diſtance twelve miles†; and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, an hundred ſtadia, or twelve miles and a half‡. There are two ways of reconciling thoſe opinions. 1. Falerii, as well as Veii, was ſituate on an eminence. The former was deſtroyed by the Romans, and a town of the ſame name rebuilt on the plain

* Tit. Liv. L. iv. † V. Tabul. Peutinger. ‡ Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. ii.

1763. même choſe arriva à *Veii*, Denys d'Halicarnaſſe ne ſe ſera trompé, que par une mépriſe légère qui lui aura fait croire que *Veii* avoit toujours eu ſa ſituation actuelle. J'aime aſſez cette explication. L'intervalle de dix huit milles convient beaucoup mieux que celui de douze, pour y placer toutes les guerres que les deux républiques rivales ſe livrèrent. 2. On peut tout concilier en ne ſacrifiant qu'Eutrope, écrivain mépriſable, s'il en fut jamais. Les Romains avoient entouré *Veii* par de bonnes lignes et des retranchemens. Peu contens de s'être fortifiés du côté de la ville, ils avoient élevé beaucoup de forts, pour arrêter les ſecours qui pouvoient venir aux aſſiégés, des autres cités Etruſques†. *Veii* étoit donc à douze milles et demi de Rome, le diamètre d'une ville, qui égaloit celle d'Athènes et de Rome, devoit être de deux milles et demi. Si les forts les plus avancés, du côté de l'Etrurie, étoient à quatre milles au delà de la ville, nous avons dix neuf milles qui ſuffiſent à la rigueur, pour juſtifier l'expreſſion d'Appius Claudius.

Octobre 29.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii. p.* 537—550. J'y vois une bonne déſcription de *Falerii*, la capitale des *Faliſci ;* ville qui conſerva, juſqu'au ſiècle d'Auguſte, des veſtiges très marqués de ſon origine Grecque.

J'ai

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plain. If a ſimilar change took place with reſpect to Veii, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus would only be guilty of the ſmall miſtake of ſuppoſing Veii to have always had the ſame ſite. I am well pleaſed with this explanation. The interval of eighteen miles anſwers better than that of twelve, conſidering the many wars carried on within thoſe narrow limits, between the two rival republics. 2. All differences may be reconciled by giving up the authority of Eutropius, one of the moſt contemptible authors that ever wrote. The Romans had ſurrounded Veii with walls and entrenchments. Not ſatisfied with fortifying themſelves on the ſide of the city, they had alſo raiſed bulwarks to intercept the ſuccours that might be ſent to the beſieged, from the other cities of Tuſcany †. Veii was therefore twelve miles and a half from Rome, ſince the diameter of a city as extenſive as Athens muſt have been two miles and a half. If the moſt advanced forts on the ſide of Etruria were four miles beyond the city, we have the diſtance of nineteen miles, which ſufficiently juſtifies the expreſſion of Appius Claudius.

October 29.]—I read Cluverius, L. ii. C. iii. p. 537—550. That chapter contains a good deſcription of Faleria, the capital of the Faliſci; a city which preſerved to the age of Auguſtus clear marks of its Grecian origin.

I went

† Tit. Liv. L. v.

J'ai monté à la bibliothèque. Dans le grand recueil des Hiſtoriens d'Italie, par Grævius, tom. viii. partie iii, j'ai trouvé un ouvrage du ſavant Mazocchi, qui prétend que *Civita Caſtellana*, à trente milles de Rome, étoit l'ancien *Veii ;* et ſa réfutation par mon ami Nardini. Il falloit que Mazocchi fut bien aveuglé par un faux amour de ſa patrie. Il n'a pas juſqu'à l'ombre d'une preuve. 1763.

J'ai achevé le *premier tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Schedius, de Diis Germanis :* une compilation immenſe, ſans goût, ſans critique, et ſans diſcernement.— *Henry Ditton, Démonſtration de la Religion Chrétienne.* Qu'on a abuſé de ces deux mots !—*Lettre d'un Ex-Jeſuite, ſur les Paradoxes du P. Hardouin.* On y fait parler ce ſavant. Son zèle pour la tradition, et ſa haine des Janſéniſtes et des philoſophes, l'avoient jetté dans tous ſes égaremens. Comme il trouvoit dans les pères, et ſurtout dans St. Auguſtin, beaucoup de choſes favorables aux ennemis, il aimoit mieux renoncer aux faits qu'au dogme ; il concluoit hardiment que des ouvrages auſſi impies étoient ſuppoſés. La chûte du livre de St. Auguſtin, *de Libero Arbitrio,* faiſoit tomber tous les autres pères qui l'avoient cité. Ceux-ci entraînoient avec eux les auteurs profanes : et l'édifice entier s'écrouloit. C'eſt ce que ce Jeſuite appelloit *défiler le chapelet de l'antiquité.* Il auroit pu tirer beaucoup d'idées de M. de Barbeyrac, qui

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I went to the public library. In the great collection of Italian Hiſtorians, by Grævius, vol. viii. p. iii. I found a performance of the learned Mazocchi, pretending to prove that Civita Caſtellana, thirty miles from Rome, was the ancient Veii ; and a refutation of that work by my friend Nardini. Mazocchi muſt have been ſtrangely blinded by his prepoſſeſſion in favour of his native city. He has not the ſhadow of a proof.

I finiſhed the firſt volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Schedius, de Diis Germanis :* an immenſe compilation, without taſte, criticiſm, or diſcernment.—*Henry Ditton's Demonſtration of the Chriſtian Religion.* How groſsly have thoſe two words been abuſed !—*Letters of an Ex-Jeſuit, on the Paradoxes of Father Hardouin.* This learned man is here allowed to ſpeak for himſelf. His zeal for tradition, and his hatred towards the Janſeniſts and the philoſophers, involved him in all his abſurdities. Finding in the fathers, and particularly in St. Auguſtin, many things favourable to the cauſe of his enemies, he was willing to expoſe facts to opinions, and boldly declared Auguſtine's impious works to be ſpurious. The fall of Auguſtine's work, *de Libero Arbitrio,* brought down with it the other fathers by whom it was quoted. The ruin of the fathers involved that of prophane writers ; the whole edifice fell in pieces. This was what he called unſtringing the beads from the roſary of antiquity. He might have drawn many good thoughts from M. Barbeyrac, who wrote

1763. qui a fait un excellent *traité ſur la Morale des Pères.* Que ces docteurs de l'égliſe entendoient mal la première de toutes les ſciences! Ils interdiſoient les plaiſirs les plus innocens, et les occupations les plus légitimes. Tout cela ſentoit le mondain, ou pouvoit avoir quelque rapport avec l'idolatrie. Ils auroient voulu détruire le genre humain pour le ſanctifier. D'un autre côté, poſant pour principe que toute action rapportée dans l'ancien teſtament, ſans y être condamnée, eſt approuvée par ce ſilence, ils juſtifioient, ils louoient l'adultère, le menſonge, l'inceſte, et la cruauté.

Octobre 30.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii, iv, v, vi. p.* 550—624. L'auteur parcourt les autres cités Etruſques, ſituées dans l'intérieur des terres, *Volſinii, Cluſium, Aretium, Peruſia*, et *Cortona.* Les paſſages qu'il a raſſemblés au ſujet du lac de Traſymène, repréſentent au naturel ce terreiu fameux, bordé d'un côté par le lac même, et environné de l'autre par des montagnes très hautes, et qui ne s'ouvroient que par deux défilés fort étroits. Ce fut là qu'Annibal fut attirer habilement l'armée de Flaminius, pour la prendre d'un coup de filet. Cluvier paſſe enſuite dans l'*Ombrie;* il parle de l'origine de ces peuples (qui paroît Celtique, quoiqu'il en diſe). Il décrit le territoire, qui étoit coupé en un ſens par l'Apennin, et dans l'autre par la Voye Flaminienne. Cette

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wrote an excellent treatiſe on the morality of the fathers. How ill did thoſe doctors of the church underſtand the moſt valuable of all ſciences. They prohibited the moſt innocent pleaſures, and the moſt lawful occupations, as favouring of the world, and nearly connected with idolatry. They would have deſtroyed human kind in order to ſanctify it. But on the other hand, regarding it as a principle that every action related in the old teſtament, and not therein condemned, was by this ſilence approved, they juſtified and praiſed adultery, falſehood, inceſt, and cruelty.

October 30.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. iii, iv, v, vi. p. 550—624. The author deſcribes the other cities of Tuſcany, ſituate inland; Volſinii, Cluſium, Aretium, Perugia, and Cortona. The paſſages which he has collected, reſpecting the lake Thraſymenus, afford a very natural picture of this famous ſpot, which was bounded on one ſide by the lake itſelf, and on the other by a range of high mountains, which opened only by two narrow defiles. Thither Hannibal had the addreſs to decoy the army of Flaminius, that it might be taken, as it were, in a net. Cluverius afterwards paſſes into Umbria, and treats of the origin of its inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding his opinion to the contrary, appear to have been Celts. He deſcribes their territory, which was divided in one direction by the Apennines, and in another by the Flaminian

Cette portion qui se trouvoit entre la mer, l'Etrurie, et l'Apennin, l'occupe dans les chapitres V. et VI. 1763.

Octobre 31.]—Je suis resté tout le jour à la maison. Cluvier a profité de ma retraite; j'en ai lu *Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. vii, viii, ix, x. p.* 624—722. Près de cent pages tous les jours m'avanceroient bien; mais un pareil effort ne revient pas souvent. Dans ces quatre chapitres mon auteur finit l'Ombrie, en décrivant la portion de ce pays entre l'Appenin et le pays des Sabins. Celui-ci devient ensuite l'objet de ses recherches. Il traite finalement du Tybre, et des rivières qui s'y jettent. Ce chapître, avec celui du Pô, comprend presque toutes les eaux de l'Italie. Le fleuve lui-même se nommoit *Tiberis*, et par une licence poëtique *Tybris*. Le dieu du fleuve s'appelloit *Tiberinus*. Presque tous les bons auteurs ont observé cette distinction, qui nous est indiquée par Servius.

Novembre 1.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier, L. ii. C. xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p.* 722—762. L'auteur y décrit le *Picenum*, un des pays les plus fertiles et les mieux peuplés de l'Italie. Il passe delà à plusieurs nations peu nombreuses, mais distinguées par leur valeur. Les *Marrucini*, les *Marsi*, les *Vestini*, et les *Peligni*. *Corfinium* étoit une des villes principales de cette dernière tribu. Elle s'est vue une fois à la veille de faire une grande fortune. Si la guèrre sociale

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nian Way. That portion of it which lies between the sea, Etruria, and the Apennines, is the subject of his fifth and sixth chapters.

October 31.]—I remained all day at home, by which Cluverius was a gainer. I read Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p. 624—722. Nearly an hundred pages daily would greatly quicken my progress; but such efforts are seldom made. In those four chapters, the author concludes his account of Umbria by describing that portion of it which extends between the Apennines and the territory of the Sabines. That territory itself forms the next object of his research. He treats finally of the Tiber, and of the rivers which fall into it. This chapter, with that on the Pô, includes almost all the rivers in Italy. The river Tiberis was, by a poetical licence, spelt Tybris. The god of the river was called Tiberinus. All good writers have attended to this distinction, which is pointed out by Servius.

November 1.]—I read Cluverius, L. ii. C. xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 722—762. The author describes Picenum, one of the most fertile and best peopled districts in Italy. He then proceeds to several communities, inconsiderable in point of their numbers, but highly distinguished by their valour; the Marrucini, Marsi, Vestini, and Peligni. Corfininm was one of the principal cities belonging to the last. This place was once in hopes of being highly distinguished. Had the social war been prosperous,

Rome

1763. ſociale avoit réuſſi, Rome faiſoit place à *Corfinium*, qui devenoit ſous le nom d'*Italica*, la capitale de la nouvelle confédération. Je vais hazarder quelques idées ſur cette guèrre ſingulière, dont l'Abbé de Vertot a un peu défiguré les circonſtances eſſentielles. Ses ouvrages, qui ſe font lire comme des romans, ne leur reſſemblent que trop. 1. L'Abbé de Vertot fait paroître les Latins ſur la Scène aſſez mal-à-propos. " C'étoient ces Latins, ces " peuples du *Latium*, ceux qui jouiſſoient du droit Latin, " à qui Druſus avoit fait eſpérer la bourgeoiſie de Rome, " et qui ſe ſoulevèrent, lorſque ſon aſſaſſinât leur avoit " ôté ce protecteur *." Cependant il eſt conſtant que les peuples du *Latium* ne furent point mêlés dans cette guèrre. Il ne ſe montrèrent même qu'une ſeule fois; c'étoit pour envoyer des troupes auxiliaires à l'armée de la république †. Ils ne ſongèrent point à rappeller un ancien procès, que le ſort des armes avoit décidé contre eux plus de deux ſiècles et demi auparavant. Avant que d'y ſuccomber, ils firent trembler la république plus d'une fois. C'eſt à cette époque qu'il rapporte tout ce que dit l'Abbé de Vertot, après Tite Live, de cette reſſemblance de langue, de mœurs, et de diſcipline militaire, qui lui donnoit l'air d'une guèrre civile ‡. Du tems de la guèrre ſociale, Rome s'étoit élevée trop haut, pour être encore un objet

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Rome muſt have yielded to Corfinium ; which, under the name of Italica, was to have been the head of the new confederacy. I ſhall venture to make ſome reflexions on this extraordinary war, the principal circumſtances of which have been ſomewhat miſrepreſented by the Abbé Vertot: an author whoſe works are read with the ſame pleaſure as romances, to which in other reſpects they bear too much reſemblance. 1. The Abbé Vertot introduces the Latines very unſeaſonably. " The Latines, thoſe " inhabitants of Latium who enjoyed the Latin law, and to whom " Druſus gave hopes of acquiring the citizenſhip of Rome, roſe in arms, " when aſſaſſination had robbed them of their protector *." Yet it is certain that the people of Latium had no ſhare in this rebellion. They are mentioned but once in the war; and, on that occaſion, as ſending auxiliaries to the army of the rebublic †. They did not think of renewing an ancient quarrel, which the fortune of war had, more than two hundred and fifty years before, decided againſt them. Previouſly to their ſubjugation, they had more than once made Rome to tremble. All that Vertot copies from Livy reſpecting that ſimilarity of language, manners, and military diſcipline, which gave to the ſocial, the appearance of a civil war, muſt be referred to the former æra ‡. In the time of the ſocial war, Rome was too great to be an object of jealouſy to the little

* Vertot Revolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 26—30.
† T. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxii. ‡ T. Liv. viii. 6.

objet de jalouſie aux petites cités du *Latium*, qui devenoient tous les jours des villages et des maiſons de campagne des environs de la capitale. La communication perpétuelle, et les alliances nombreuſes, avoient cimenté les liens de leur origine commune. Pluſieurs de ces cités avoient acquis la bourgeoiſie. Dans d'autres de ces villes, le droit Latin la donnoit tous les ans à deux familles. Elles jouiſſoient toutes de pluſieurs avantages qui devoient leur inſpirer de l'attachement pour la république, et de la haine pour les alliés plus récens. 2. L'auteur des révolutions Romaines exagère la confédération Italique au point de répandre ſur ſon récit un romaneſque, qui n'eſt pas moins réel, pour avoir échappé à la plupart des lecteurs. Non content d'y avoir fait entrer les Latins, il la fait ſigner à tous les peuples de l'Italie, qui envoyèrent une ambaſſade commune au ſénat pour demander la bourgeoiſie. On ne peut que s'étonner qu'une ſeule ville ait pu ſe défendre contre la réunion de tant d'alliés, qu'elle avoit ſubjugués ſi difficilement les uns après les autres. Heureuſement ce fait extraordinaire ne s'accorde pas mieux avec la vérité qu'avec la vraiſemblance. L'abbréviateur de Tite Live nous a conſervé les noms de tous les peuples qui formèrent cette alliance. Elle fut compoſée des *Samnites*, des *Lucani*, des *Picentes*, des *Marſi*, des *Peligni*, des *Veſtini*, et des *Marrucini* †. Sur un pareil fait, il n'y 1763.

little cities of Latium, which were continually converted into villages and pleaſure-houſes in the vicinity of the capital. Perpetual communication, and numerous alliances, had cemented the bands of their common origin. Many places had acquired the rights of citizenſhip; in others, the Latin law gave that right to two families annually. All the cities of Latium enjoyed many advantages, which muſt have naturally inſpired them with affection for Rome, and hatred towards her more recent allies. 2. The author of the Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Rome, ſo much exaggerates the ſtrength of the Italian confederacy, that an air of romance is thereby thrown on his whole narrative, though it may not be perceptible to the greater part of his readers. According to his account, not only the Latines, but all the nations of Italy, ſigned this alliance, and ſent a common embaſſy to Rome, demanding the rights of the city. It is a matter of aſtoniſhment that one city ſhould have been able to make a defence againſt the united force of ſo many allies, whom it had found ſo much difficulty in ſubduing ſucceſſively. Happily this wonderful circumſtance contains as little truth as probability. The abridger of Livy has preſerved the names of all the communities which compoſed this confederacy. They were, the Samnites, Lucani, Picentes, Marſi, Peligni, Veſtini, and Marrucini †.

† Tit. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxii.

1763. n'y a point d'autorité qui égale celle de Tite Live; et dans une énumeration de cette eſpèce, où abréger n'eſt que copier, je dois croire que ſon abbréviateur a fidellement rendu ſon ſentiment. Les Samnites étoient donc les chefs de cette ligue, dans laquelle ils avoient fait entrer ſix autres peuples leurs voiſins, leurs alliés, ou leurs colonies. Pluſieurs autres nations y entrèrent dans la ſuite, mais ce ne fut que lorſque les Romains, revenus de leur première conſternation, avoient eu le tems de rappeller leurs armées, de fortifier leurs paſſages, et de remporter même quelques avantages ſur les alliés. Tite Live convient de ces nouvelles défections*; mais c'eſt dans Appien† et Strabon‡, qu'il en faut chercher le détail. J'y trouve les trois nations des *Frentani*, des *Hirpini*, et des *Peucetii*, avec quelques cités de l'Apulie et de l'Ombrie. Parmi celles là, Appien nomme *Canuſium* et *Venuſia*; mais il ne parle des cités des *Umbrii* qu'en général. Je vois avec ſurpriſe qu'à ces alliés, cet hiſtorien ajoûte les *Pompeiani* §. Ce nom ne peut s'appliquer qu'aux habitans de *Pompeii*, ville maritime de la Campanie, aux environs de Naples‖. Mais cette ville exiſtoit elle du tems de la guèrre ſociale? Elle n'étoit pas plus ancienne que la famille dont elle a reçu le nom, et cette

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rucini. With regard to this fact, Livy's authority is better than any other; and in ſuch an enumeration, an abridger having nothing to do but to copy, it is to be ſuppoſed that he does it correctly. The Samnites then were at the head of this league, into which they had prevailed on ſix other communities to enter, who were their neighbours, allies, or colonies. They were afterwards joined by ſeveral other cities, but not until the Romans, recovering from their conſternation, had recalled their armies from abroad, fortified the paſſes into their territory, and even gained ſeveral victories over the allies. Livy informs us in general of thoſe ſubſequent revolts*, but the particulars are to be found in Appian† and Strabo‡. They number among the rebels, the Frentani, Hirpini, Peucetii, with ſome cities of Apulia and Umbria. Of the former, Appian names Canuſium and Venuſia; ſpeaking only in general of the *Umbrii*, I was ſurpriſed to find this hiſtorian alſo name the *Pompeiani* §. Theſe could only be the inhabitants of Pompeii, a maritime city of Campania, near to Naples‖. Did Pompeii exiſt in the time of the ſocial war? It cannot be of an earlier date than the family from which it derived its name; and this family was unknown until the time of the great Pompey's father, that Cneius Pompeius Strabo, who was conſul in the 665th year of Rome,

* Tit. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxiii. † Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374. 376. 379. ‡ Strab. Geograph. L. v p. 166, 167. § Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374. ‖ Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p. 1154.

cette famille étoit ignorée avant le père du grand Pompée, ce Cn. Pompeius Strabon, qui ne parvint au consulat que l'an de Rome 665, la seconde année de la guèrre sociale. Mais à supposer l'antiquité de *Pompeii*, peut-on croire qu'une seule petite ville, au milieu de tant de cités bien affectionées à la république, ait osé se déclarer contre elle ? Je sais qu'on a porté le théâtre de la guèrre dans la Campanie, et je veux bien croire qu'un corps d'alliés s'étant emparé de *Pompeii*, y aura soutenu un siege†; mais cette explication excuse l'erreur d'Appien plutôt qu'elle ne la justifie. J'ai mieux aimé chercher les peuples ligués contre Rome, dans les détails que Tite Live, et les autres historiens, nous ont laissés, de cette guèrre, que dans la déscription générale qu'Appien nous en donne, quand il dit que tous les peuples entre le *Liris*, ou le *Liturnus*, et la mer Ionienne, se soulevèrent contre les Romains‡. Un des membres de cette déscription est faux, et l'autre est peu exact. La mer Ionienne, prise dans plusieurs sens différens, signifie tout ce qu'on veut§. Le *Liris* et le *Liturnus*, très différens en eux-mêmes, n'avoient de commun que le nom de *Clanis*, ou *Clanius*, qu'ils 1763.

† J'ai vu de puis que l'étymologie de *Pompeii* est incertaine, et que le siège que j'avois deviné a eu lieu. *V. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C.* 16.

Rome, and the second year of the social war. But supposing the antiquity of Pompeii, can it be imagined that a single city, and that a small one, should have ventured to revolt against the republic, though situate in the midst of so many more important places, which faithfully maintained their allegiance? I know that the scene of the war was changed to Campania, and am willing to believe that a party of the allies, having taken possion of Pompeii, there stood a siege†: but this explication tends rather to extenuate, than to justify Appian's mistake. I am inclined to seek the names of the states which entered into confederacy against Rome, in the narrative which Livy and other historians give of the war, rather than to content myself with Appian's general description, when he says that the confederacy comprehended all the nations between the Liris, or Liturnus, and the Ionian sea‡. Of this description, one of the clauses is false, and the other inaccurate. The Ionian sea is taken in so many different meanings, that it denotes any thing you will§. The Liris and Liturnus were quite different rivers, and had only one circumstance in common, that both were sometimes called Clanis, or Clanius. Such then were the allies. They surely were formidable; but fear or affection

† I have since discovered that the etymology of *Pompeii* is uncertain, and that I was right in my conjecture of its having been besieged. *V. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C.* 16.

‡ Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

§ Vide Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. x. p. 1075; et L. iv. C. xvii. p. 1334.

1763. qu'ils portoient tous les deux. Tels étoient les alliés. Ils étoient redoutables ; mais il reſtoit encore beaucoup de nations Italiennes que l'amour, ou la crainte, attachoit aux drapeaux de la république : le *Latium* entier, la *Campanie*, le *Brutium*, la *Calabre*, le *pays des Sabins*, toute l'*Etrurie*, une *partie de l'Ombrie*, et *de l'Apulie*, et toutes les colonies de la grande Grèce. Les cités Etruſques alloient ſe déclarer pour les alliés ; mais le ſénat ſait parer ce danger, en accordant de lui-même la bourgeoiſie Romaine à cette province importante *. Un grand nombre de colonies répandues dans toutes les provinces de l'Italie, et dont l'intérêt, auſſi bien que la reconnoiſſance, aſſuroit la fidélité, préſentoient aux armées Romaines des magazins et des places fortes. Dans les cités qui s'étoient déclarées contre la république, les conſeils n'étoient certainement pas unanimes. Rome conſervoit, ou ſe faiſoit, des créatures dans chacune de ces communautés, dont l'oppoſition déclarée, ou les intrigues ſourdes, embaraſſoient les meſures du parti dominant †. Chacun ſe rangeoit ſous les étendarts du ſénat, ou de la ligue, qui devenoient les mots de railliement pour toutes les factions de l'Italie, ſemblable au nom de Guelfs et de Gibelins, qui diviſerent et déſolèrent les mêmes pays treize

† Vell. Paterc. L. ii. C. 16. Le *Minatius Magius* dont il y eſt parlé, étoit de la ville même qui commença la guerre, par le meurtre d'un préteur et d'un légat.

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affection ſtill collected many Italian nations around the ſtandard of the republic ; the whole of Latium, Campania, Brutium, Calabria, the Sabines, all Etruria, a part of Umbria and Apulia, and the whole of the colonies of Magna Græcia. The cities of Tuſcany prepared for joining the allies ; but the ſenate warded off this danger, by granting, of its own accord, the rights of the city to that important province *. A great number of colonies ſpread over all the diſtricts of Italy, whoſe fidelity being ſecured by intereſt as well as gratitude, ſupplied the Romans with magazines, and with the protection of their fortreſſes. In thoſe republics which declared againſt Rome, the citizens were not unanimous. The Romans had their creatures in each of thoſe communities, whoſe avowed oppoſition, or ſecret intrigues, diſturbed the meaſures of the prevailing party ‡. Each individual ſided with the ſenate or the league, which became the watch-word of faction, like the names Guelphs and Ghibelines, which divided and deſolated the ſame country thirteen centuries afterwards. The Abbé Vertot, when he explained the difficulties with which the Romans had to contend, ſhould alſo have mentioned the reſources by which

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

‡ Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. C. 16. The Minatius Magius there ſpoken of, belonged to the very city which began the war, by the murder of a prætor and a legate.

treize siècles plus tard. L'Abbé de Vertot, en expofant les obſtacles que les Romains avoient à combattre, n'auroit pas dû oublier leurs reſſources. 3. La nation des Marſes, redoutable par ſa valeur, étoit inférieure en force aux *Samnites* et aux *Picentes*. Elle eut cependant l'honneur de donner ſon nom à cette guerre, qu'on appelloit auſſi ſouvent la *Guerre Marſique* que la *Guerre Sociale*. Mais les Marſes furent la ſeule nation en deça de l'Apennin, qui osât ſe declarer contre les Romains. Leur pays devint le premier théâtre de la guerre, et lorſque le ſénat donna aux conſuls le commandement des armées, ce fut en leur accordant les *Marſi* pour leur province. Ce n'eſt pas la première fois que la partie la moins conſidérable d'une ligue de peuples, a fait donner ſon nom au corps entier, parcequ'elle s'eſt preſentée la première aux yeux des étrangers. Nous deſignons tous les anciens Scythes par le nom générique de Tartares, parceque la petite tribu des Tartares, formoit toujours l'avant garde des armées Mogoles dans les conquêtes étendues de Gengiſcan et de ſes ſucceſſeurs *. 4. Les alliés, quoique vaincus dans cette guerre, obtinrent à la fin cette bourgeoiſie qu'ils avoient recherchée avec tant d'ardeur. Mais ils ne devinrent citoyens de Rome, que pour participer avec elle, dans des malheurs dont ils étoient une des cauſes principales, pour la perdre, et pour ſe perdre avec elle. 1763.

Des

* Voyez Réflexions ſur les Anciens Peuples, par M. Fréret, dans le dix huitième tome de l'Hiſtoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

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which they were enabled to ſurmount them. 3. The nation of the Marſi, though formidable by its valour, was inferior in ſtrength to the Samnites and the Picentes. Yet it had the honour of giving its name to the war, which is as well known by the appellation of the Marſic, as the Social. The Marſi were the only people on the Roman ſide of the Apennines, who ventured to declare againſt the republic. Their country became the firſt theatre of the war, and when the ſenate aſſigned armies to the conſuls, it was by granting them the Marſi for their province. This is not the firſt example of the leaſt conſiderable portion of a league giving its name to the whole. We know the ancient Scythians by the general denomination of Tartars, becauſe the ſmall tribe ſo called always formed the van of the Mogul armies during the extenſive conqueſts of Zingis Khan and his ſucceſſors †. 4. The allies, though finally defeated in the war, obtained the rights of Roman citizens, which they had ſo eagerly deſired. But they obtained this honour only to participate with Rome in all the calamities of which their own revolt had been the principal cauſe; and to ruin that republic and themſelves. Genera's

† See Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Freret, in the eighteenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

1763. Des généraux armés au milieu de l'Italie, l'Italie elle même devenue une seule ville, dont les citoyens ne l'étoient que par une espece de fiction, tout lui annonçoit et lui préparoit des fers. Que les alliés ont dû regretter ce bonheur obscur et tranquille, dont ils jouissoient, sans en connoître le prix! Les cent vingt ans écoulés entre la seconde guerre Punique et la guerre sociale, ont vu fleurir les peuples d'Italie sous le plus doux de tous les gouvernemens. Ils avoient perdu ce malheureux droit de la guerre et de la paix, qui ne leur étoit plus nécessaire. Tranquilles sous la protection des Romains, ils n'avoient rien à craindre des étrangers; s'il survenoit quelque dispute parmi eux, la décision d'un sénat, qui les voyoit tous du même œil, les dispensoit de la triste nécessité de recourir aux armes. Pour tant de bienfaits, l'Italie entière ajoûtoit aux légions, un corps d'infantérie égal à celui qu'on tiroit de la seule ville de Rome, et le double de cavalerie *. Tribut leger, et qui d'ailleurs en aguerrissant la jeunesse des alliés, les rendoit respectables aux Romains eux mêmes. Tous les autres droits qui peuvent servir au bonheur des peuples, la justice, la police, l'économie

* T. Live, L. xxii. C. 36. Il paroît par beaucoup de passages de cet auteur, que c'étoit la proportion la plus ordinaire. Velleius Paterculus doit exaggerer un peu, quand il parle du double des troupes. L. ii. C. 15.

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commanding armies in the heart of Italy, and Italy converted into one city, whose inhabitants were citizens only by a kind of fiction, were circumstances which too plainly prepared the way for slavery. How much must the allies have regretted that tranquillity and happy obscurity, which they had long enjoyed without knowing its value! During the period of an hundred and twenty years that elapsed from the second Punic, to the Social war, the nations of Italy flourished under the mildest of all governments. They had lost that unhappy right of making war on each other, which was no longer necessary for their defence. Secure under the protection of the Romans, they had nothing to fear from invaders. Their domestic disputes were settled by the senate, who beheld them all with the same paternal eye, and whose interposition liberated them from the miserable necessity of having recourse to arms. In return for these benefits, the whole of Italy supplied a body of infantry equal to that drawn from the single city of Rome, and double the number of cavalry †; a light contribution in itself, and which, by giving a military turn to their youth, tended to render them respectable to the Romans. Their

† T. Livius, L. xxii. C. 36. It appears from several passages of this author, that this was the ordinary proportion. Velleius Paterculus exaggerates a little, when he speaks of double the number of troops. L. ii. C. 15.

l'économie politique, ils les poſſédoient en toute ſouve- 1763.
raineté. Ils ne voyoient point de ces gouverneurs, dont l'inſolence égaloit l'avarice, toutes leurs affaires évoquées à la capitale, et un mur d'airain qui ſéparât à jamais le citoyen et le ſujet. On refuſoit la bourgeoiſie Romaine aux cités; mais dèſqu'un particulier faiſoit paroître une ambition juſtifiée par les talens, la république connoiſſoit trop bien ſes intérêts pour ne pas la lui accorder*. J'écris dans le Pays de Vaud. Ses habitans doivent être contents de leur état. Qu'on le compare cependant à celui de ces peuples d'Italie. Je ſens qu'ils étoient exclus de quelques avantages dans la vie privée, dans les marriages, les teſtamens, &c. que l'orgueil ſeul des citoyens empêcha de leur communiquer. Je vois même qu'ils avoient à ſe plaindre de quelques actes de violence, ſurtout dans les derniers tems; et je ſais que de pareils traits frappent plus vivement, que tous les avantages généraux qu'on doit aux loix dont on s'apperçoit à peine. 5. Les Italiens oublièrent la prudence dans cette priſe d'armes; oublièrent ils auſſi la juſtice? Pouvoient ils juſtifier leur refus d'obſerver les anciens traités, et le ſoulèvement qu'occaſiona ce refus? Je ne vais point approfondir une queſtion auſſi étendue qu'elle eſt difficile. J'eſſayerai cependant de poſer quelques principes, 1. Les traités qu'un corps de nation fait avec un corps étranger doivent

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Their authority was ſovereign, as to all other matters which contribute to the happineſs of nations, namely, the affairs of juſtice, police, and political œconomy. They had not to endure the tyranny of governors, as inſolent as rapacious; their law-ſuits were not carried by appeal to the capital; and a wall of braſs did not form an unſurmountable barrier between the citizen and the ſubject. They were debarred indeed collectively from the rights of Roman citizens; but whenever an individual proved that his ambition was juſtified by his merit, Rome was too attentive to her intereſts not to acknowledge him for her own †. I write in the Pays de Vaud. Its inhabitants ought to be contented with their condition; yet it will not gain by a compariſon with that of the people of Italy. I know that ſome advantages were withholden from that people by the pride of the Romans, as to the concerns of private life, marriages, teſtaments, &c. I perceive alſo that they had reaſon to complain of ſome acts of violence, eſpecially in latter times; and I am ſenſible that ſuch things are more ſtriking to the fancy, than all the general advantages derived from the operation of good laws, which paſs almoſt unobſerved. 5. In undertaking this war, the allies were guilty of imprudence; were they alſo unjuſt? Could they juſtify their refuſal to obſerve their former treaties, and the inſurrection which their refuſal produced? I do not mean completely to diſcuſs a queſtion as extenſive as it is difficult. I will endeavour,

† Tacit. Annal. xi. 24.

1763. doivent lier leurs héritiers, et leurs ſucceſſeurs, puiſqu'il faut toujours ſuppoſer qu'ils n'ont pris des engagemens onéreux, qu'a proportion des avantages qu'on leur a aſſociés; et que ceux qui ont recueilli les bénéfices des uns, doivent ſupporter le fardeau des autres. Il n'en eſt pas de même dans ces contrats qu'un peuple eſt cenſé faire avec ſes chefs. Ceux-ci méritent à peine ce nom. Ils ſont deſtitués d'une condition eſſentielle à tout traité: l'indépendance mutuelle des parties, et le pouvoir de ſtipuler les avantages reſpectifs. C'eſt plutôt une reſolution commune, qui ne tire ſa force que de la volonté du corps qui l'a faite. 2. La validité d'un traité eſt fondée ſur la volonté des contractans. Cette volonté a dû être libre. On convient ſans peine que toute violence qui agit ſur le corps, ne peut produire que des actes nuls et ſans valeur. Mais cette violence ne gêne pas la volonté, elle l'anéantit. Il y a une violence plus douce, que nous éprouvons tous les jours, qui n'agit ſur la volonté, qu'en lui préſentant le choix preſque néceſſaire du bonheur ou du malheur. Jamais particulier, jamais nation, n'a pris des engagemens que par ce motif univerſel. Ou le droit naturel doit reconnoître qu'il peut ſubſiſter avec la liberté, ou la fidélité à ſes promeſſes, n'eſt plus qu'une vertu vaine et idéale. Si la crainte d'un autre côté, ne détruit pas

endeavour, however, to eſtabliſh the following principles. 1. The treaties entered into by the general aſſemblies of two nations ought to bind their heirs and ſucceſſors; becauſe it is not preſumable that either party has agreed to ſubmit to any inconvenience without obtaining ſome advantage in return; and he who reaps the benefit of one part of a contract, ought to bear the burden contained in the other. The ſame principle does not apply to treaties entered into between nations and their leaders. Theſe treaties hardly deſerve the name, being deſtitute of a condition eſſential to the validity of every contract; namely, the mutual independence of the parties, and their power to provide for their reſpective advantages. They deſerve the name rather of general reſolutions than of treaties, and derive their force merely from the will of thoſe by whom they were embraced. 2. The validity of a treaty is founded on the will of the contracting parties. That will ought to be free. It will be granted that every kind of violence, affecting the body, renders a contract null; for ſuch violence does not merely conſtrain, but annihilates the will. But there is a milder violence which we daily experience, that acts on the will by preſenting it with the almoſt neceſſary alternative of happineſs or miſery. It rarely happens that individuals or nations undertake engagements, unleſs when they are impelled by this univerſal motive. The law of nature muſt either allow that this violence is conſiſtent with liberty, or fidelity to our engagements will be reduced to an empty

pas les engagemens qu'elle fait prendre, l'honnête homme sera la victime de sa vertu, et les scélérats auront bientôt acquis un droit légitime sur tous les biens de la terre. Au moyen d'une distinction simple et facile, on peût éviter tous ces écueils. On n'est obligé de tenir sa promesse, qu'à l'égard de ceux qui auroient eu le droit de nous faire éprouver ces maux dont ils nous menaçoient. Ces maux changent alors de nature. Le mal que nous évitons devient un bien réel qu'il nous accordent, un avantage qui sert de base aux traités, et de contrepoids aux engagemens que nous prenons. 3. Puisque la société n'est que la réunion de tous les droits, et de toutes les volontés particulieres, il s'ensuit que la société en corps, jouit de toutes les prérogatives que les individus possédoient dans l'état de nature. Le droit de conservation est le premier de tous. Il renferme nécessairement celui de se défendre contre toute violence étrangère, d'employer la force pour repousser la force, et de rejetter sur l'agresseur injuste tous les maux, et jusqu'à la mort même, dont il nous menaçoit. Dans les sociétés politiques les mêmes droits ne peuvent que subsister; le magistrat est armé de la force publique pour faire la guerre, non point aux individus, mais aux membres de la société ennemie, dont ils ne sont que les instruments. C'est la société qu'il attaque. Si sa cause est juste, si la haine et la violence de son antagoniste, ne lui laisse de sureté que dans sa mort, il agit en homme naturel; 1763.

empty name. On the other hand, if fear does not nullify a promise, honesty must be its own victim, and robbers will acquire a right to all the goods of the earth. These difficulties may be removed by the following easy and simple distinction. Promises are binding only with respect to those who were entitled to inflict the evils with which they threatened us. These evils not being inflicted, change their nature, and become real goods bestowed on us, which serve as a sufficient basis to treaties; being a proper compensation for the burdens to which we engage to submit. 3. Society reuniting in the body politic the rights and wills of individuals, the community at large enjoy all the rights which were enjoyed by individuals in a state of nature. The right of self-preservation holds the first place. It necessarily includes the right of self-defence, of repelling force by force, and of subjecting the unjust aggressor to all the evils with which he threatens us, even to death itself. This right therefore still subsists in communities; the magistrate is entrusted with the national force to make war, not against individuals, but against the members of a foreign community, of which individuals are merely the instruments. He attacks the community only. If his cause is just, and the hatred and violence of his antagonist renders *his* death necessary to his own safety, he then exercises the rights of nature, and takes away his life; that is, his civil

1763. rel ; il lui ôte la vie ; c'eſt à dire la vie civile, la conſtitution politique ; il le ſubjugue. Voilà le droit de conquête. Si le vainqueur ſe ſert de ce droit dur et rigoureux, et que le peuple ſoumis le reconnoiſſe pour ſon maître, je crois qu'il eſt obligé de tenir ſes engagemens, par leſquels il s'eſt acquis la paix publique. Mais de ce point, le lien peut-être le plus foible de la foi des hommes, je vois deux genres de traités, qui s'éloignent inſenſiblement de leur ſource, et qui ſe fortifient en s'en éloignant. Dans le premier, à meſure que la conquête eſt moins complette, l'obligation diminue ; mais l'égalité augmente, juſqu'à ce qu'on remonte à cet état d'indépendance, où les deux ſociétés ont agi, avec la liberté la plus entière, dans leurs conventions reciproques. De l'autre côté, ſi le vainqueur, maître de détruire la ſociété ennemie, la laiſſe ſubſiſter, la convention acquiert de la force, à proportion des avantages qu'il pouvoit leur ôter, et qu'il leur a conſervés. Ce que j'ai déjà dit des peuples de l'Italie, peut faire comprendre quelle validité ces ſages vainqueurs, ces Romains, avoient ſu donner à leurs traités. 4. Mais leur avoient ils donné (me dira-t-on) la premiere de toutes les conditions ? Le droit de conquête n'eſt fondé que ſur la juſtice, qualité aſſez étrangère à ces brigands de l'univers. J'évite les diſcuſſions, il me faut ici des principes, et non pas des faits. Dans notre état d'erreur, de vice, et de foibleſſe, on eſt ſouvent obligé de

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civil life, by ſubduing and deſtroying the conſtitution of his country. On this principle the right of conqueſt is founded. If the conqueror exerciſe his right in all its rigour, and the conquered acknowledge him for their maſter, I think they are bound to maintain inviolate an engagement by which they have acquired the benefit of public tranquillity. But from this point, which is perhaps the feebleſt bond of human probity, two kinds of treaties gradually diverge, and gradually gain ſtrength as they remove from their ſource. The firſt is that, where, in proportion as the conqueſt is leſs complete, the neceſſity of contracting the obligation is indeed diminiſhed, but the equality between the parties is increaſed to that perfect independence, which leaves them at the full liberty of their own wills in their reſpective engagements. If the conqueror, on the other hand, having it in his power to deſtroy his enemies, has thought proper to ſave them, the contract acquires a degree of force proportional to the advantages which he might have taken away, but which he has been pleaſed to leave. The obſervations formerly made concerning the happy ſtate of the people of Italy, ſufficiently ſhow how much validity the wiſdom of the Roman conquerors had given to their treaties with the vanquiſhed. 4. But, it will be aſked, had theſe treaties the moſt eſſential of all conditions ? The right of conqueſt ought to be founded on juſtice ; a virtue to which thoſe robbers of the earth were ſtrangers. I wiſh not to enter into hiſtorical diſcuſſions, becauſe I am in queſt, not of facts,

de renoncer à la vérité réelle, pour s'attacher à une vérité de convention, qui eſt ſeule à notre portée. C'eſt ainſi que parmi les individus, ou parmi les ſociétés indépendantes, la raiſon nous permet l'examen ſur les fondemens de leur autorité, et la défend ſur l'exercice qu'ils en font. Il en eſt du droit de faire la guerre, comme de celui de profiter de ſes conquêtes; l'un et l'autre n'appartiennent qu'au parti de la juſtice. Mais comme notre raiſon n'a ſouvent pas aſſez de lumières pour le diſtinguer, et qu'elle ne peut jamais avoir l'autorité néceſſaire pour faire accepter ſa ſentence, elle eſt obligée de ſuppoſer cette juſtice à l'un et à l'autre, et de leur accorder tous les droits qui y ſont attachés. 1763.

Je me ſuis ſerré autant que j'ai pu. J'ai évité les réflexions acceſſoires, les conſéquences, et ſurtout les applications. Mais je ne puis que donner mes concluſions contre les alliés.

En tout cas, on ne pourroit que condamner Velleius Paterculus. Après avoir reconnu la juſtice des prétenſions des alliés †, il oſe louer la conduite de Minatius Magius, un de ſes ancêtres, qui demeura fidèle aux Romains, qui leva une légion lui même, et qui ſe diſtingua dans les ſièges d'*Herculaneum*, de *Pompeii*, et de *Caſa* ‡. Mais ce Minatius, l'appui de ſes tyrans ſelon Velleius, ne pouvoit être fidèle à Rome ſans être traître à *Aſculum*. On voit

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facts, but of principles. In our preſent ſtate of error, vice, or weakneſs, we are often obliged to give up abſolute truths, for thoſe that are merely conventional, becauſe the only truths within our reach. It is thus that, with regard both to individuals and ſocieties, reaſon allows us to examine the foundation of their authority, but not to find fault with the manner in which they are pleaſed to exerciſe it. Both the right, and the exerciſe of that right, ought to be founded on juſtice; but as our reaſon is not always able to diſtinguiſh wherein that juſtice conſiſts, we are obliged to ſuppoſe it on the ſide of thoſe whoſe power we are unable to reſiſt.

I have endeavoured to be as conciſe as poſſible, avoiding reflections merely acceſſory; conſequences; and, above all, applications. On the whole, I am forced to give ſentence againſt the allies.

But on every ſuppoſition, Velleius Paterculus is blameable. After acknowledging the juſt pretenſions of the allies †, he has the impudence to praiſe the conduct of Minatius Magius, one of his own anceſtors, who, maintaining his fidelity to the Romans, raiſed a legion for their ſervice, and diſtinguiſhed his valour in the ſieges of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Caſa ‡. But this Minatius, who, according to Velleius, was the defender of tyrants, could not approve his fidelity to Rome, without being a traitor

† Vell. Paterc. L. ii. C. 15. ‡ Ibid. C. 16.

1763. voit bien que l'adulateur de Séjan, étoit peu propre à juger des grands principes du droit naturel.

Novembre 22.]—J'ai lu la ſuite d'un extrait dans le deuxième tome de la *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*, dont le commencement eſt *l'Hiſtoire de Servet, rédigée par M. Alevoerde, ſous les yeux du fameux Moſheim.* Le journaliſte, (qui pourroit être M. de la Chapelle,) ajoûte beaucoup de recherches et d'obſervations ſur cet évènement ſingulier, qui ſont d'un prix fort au deſſus du livre lui même. Les deux auteurs avoient fort maltraité Calvin. Le journaliſte les relance vigoureuſement, et n'attribue cet acharnement qu'à un zele Luthérien, qui en vouloit au patriarche des Calviniſtes. Le ſupplice de Servet ne peut ſe juſtifier ; mais Calvin n'a point agi dans cette affaire par des motifs humains, mais par un zèle mal entendu, par un attachement à des maximes meurtrières à la vérité, mais qui étoient les maximes de toutes les égliſes Chrétiennes. Cependant il y a encore bien des choſes à dire. 1. Tous les exemples qu'on a ramaſſés, tant d'égliſes, tant de théologiens, qui ſe ſont declarés pour la punition des hérétiques, ſont un hors d'œuvre ici. Jamais les principes et les actions des hommes, ne ſont plus différents, que lorſque les principes ſont oppoſés aux ſentimens naturels de l'humanité. Le cœur corrige les erreurs de l'eſprit. Un caractère humain, ſous les influences d'un faux zèle, condamnera l'hérétique au

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to Aſculum. It is plain, that the flatterer of Sejanus was not a fit judge of the great principles concerning the law of nations.

November 2.]—I read the continuation of an extract in the ſecond volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*, containing the hiſtory of Servetus written by Mr. Alevoerde, under the eyes of the famous Moſheim. The journaliſt (perhaps Mr. de la Chapelle) has many obſervations and reſearches concerning this extraordinary tranſaction, which are far more valuable than the book itſelf. The two authors had treated Calvin with great ſeverity. The reviewer repels their attacks, which he aſcribes to the rancour of Lutheran zeal againſt the patriarch of the Calviniſts. The puniſhment of Servetus cannot indeed be juſtified ; but, in this buſineſs, Calvin was not actuated by worldly motives, but by a miſtaken religious zeal, and a reſpect for maxims which, though cruel and ſanguinary, were acknowledged and avowed by all Chriſtian churches. But many obſervations ſtill remain to be made. 1. The examples of churches and theologians who declare in favour of the puniſhment of heretics, are nothing to the preſent queſtion. Men's actions are never leſs guided by their principles, than when thoſe principles run counter to the natural ſentiments of humanity. The heart here corrects the errors of the underſtanding. A man of a humane character, under the influence of a falſe zeal, will in his cloſet

au ſupplice dans ſon cabinet, mais le conduira-t-il lui même au bucher ? Pour ne pas être effrayé au moment de répandre le ſang innocent, il faut un cœur dur et ſans pitié. 2. Je conviens que le zèle d'une conſcience erronée eſt bien puiſſant. Il fera taire la voix de la pitié, mais étouffera-t-il ſes murmures ? Ne verra-t-on pas dans le malheureux théologien un combat entre la religion et l'humanité ? Ne s'appercevra-t-on pas par ſa douleur et ſa triſteſſe, avec combien de regret il fait répandre le ſang de ſon frère. Brutus vit que la liberté, ou ſes fils alloient périr. Il prononça l'arrêt de ſes fils ; mais s'il les avoit envoyés au ſupplice ſans effort, et ſans douleur, on diroit avec raiſon que ſa férocité naturelle, l'empêchoit de ſentir la grandeur du ſacrifice, ou qu'il le faiſoit plutôt à ſa haine et à ſa vengeance, qu'au bien de la patrie. Je ne vois dans la conduite de Calvin qu'une dureté affreuſe à l'égard de Servet ; il l'accable d'invectives ; il tremble que ſa victime ne lui échappe, et c'eſt avec une eſpece de triomphe qu'il annonce ſa condamnation. Mais Servet épargna aſſez peu le théologien de Genève. Je le ſais. Mais l'un accable d'injures un malheureux qu'il a mis dans les fers, pendant que l'autre laiſſe exhaler trop amèrement le ſentiment de ſes maux. Malheur au cœur qui ne ſent pas cette différence ! 3. Quelques années auparavant, Servet avoit communiqué à Calvin toutes 1763.

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cloſet condemn a heretic to death ; but will he drag him to the ſtake ? Not to ſhudder at the ſhedding of innocent blood, requires a heart totally inſenſible to pity. 2. I acknowledge the power of falſe zeal and an erroneous conſcience. It is ſufficient to ſilence the voice of pity ; but can it ſtifle its murmurs ? Will not the unhappy theologian feel a combat in his own breaſt between religion and humanity ? Will not the outward expreſſions of ſorrow indicate how deeply he is afflicted to ſhed his brother's blood ? Brutus ſaw that the death of his ſons was neceſſary to ſave the liberty of Rome. He pronounced the fatal ſentence ; but had he ſent them to puniſhment without any emotions of grief, it might have been juſtly ſaid that his natural ferocity hindered him from perceiving the magnitude of the ſacrifice that he had made, and even that he had ſacrificed them rather to his own hatred and vengeance than to the ſafety of his country. In Calvin's behaviour, I can ſee nothing but the moſt abominable cruelty. He loads Servetus with invectives, he fears leſt his victim ſhould eſcape from his hands ; and, in a tone of triumph, paſſes on him his ſentence of condemnation. But Servetus did not ſpare the Geneva divine. I know it. But the one loaded with reproaches a wretch whom he had confined in irons ; the other only breathed out too loudly his agonies of ſuffering. Hard muſt be the heart which does not feel the difference ! 3. A few years before, Servetus had communicated to Calvin all his religious opinions. Their epiſtolary

1763. toutes ſes opinions. Cette controverſe épiſtolaire dura pendant quelque tems. Lorſque Servet fut arrêté à Vienne, Calvin envoya aux magiſtrats toutes ſes lettres. Je lui reproche ici d'avoir manqué à la probité d'un honnête homme, d'avoir violé la promeſſe tacite du ſecret qui eſt toujours ſuppoſé dans un pareil commerce, et d'avoir profité de la franchiſe de cet Eſpagnol pour le perdre. 4. Il faut ſe rappeller la ſituation de Calvin à Genève. Légiſlateur d'une république nouvelle, il ſubiſſoit le ſort des innovateurs. Une faction nombreuſe, ayant en tête le premier Syndic, le pouſſoit avec acharnement, et ce parti, voyant que leur miniſtre pourſuivoit Servet, avoit épouſé ſon parti. Le procès de l'hérétique étoit le procès de Calvin ; le journaliſte avoue ingénuement, que Calvin étoit perdu, ſi Servet ne périſſoit. Les amis du premier reconnoiſſent qu'il étoit opiniâtre, fier, et jaloux de ſon autorité. Qu'ils en tirent eux mêmes la conſéquence. Il falloit que le trône du réformateur, fût cimenté du ſang de Servet. 5. Dans une lettre écrite à un ami intime, Calvin ne diſſimule point ſon eſpérance, que Servet ſeroit condamné à mort ; il ſouhaite, cependant, qu'on adouciſſe la rigueur de ſa peine, qu'on lui épargne apparemment le ſupplice du feu. Il l'éprouva cependant ce ſupplice, et Calvin étoit tout puiſſant à Genève. Ou ce réformateur a trahi la vérité par une noire

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correſpondence was of conſiderable duration. But when Servetus was ſeized at Vienna, Calvin ſent all his letters to the magiſtrates. In this inſtance, he may juſtly be reproached with having violated the tacit promiſe which is always ſuppoſed in ſuch a correſpondence, and which an honeſt man would have held ſacred, inſtead of availing himſelf of the frankneſs of this Spaniard, for the purpoſe of deſtroying him. 4. We muſt recollect Calvin's ſituation in Geneva. He was the legiſlator of a new republic, and experienced the difficulties incident to innovators. A numerous faction, headed by the firſt ſyndic, preſſed on him with rancour, and eſpouſed the cauſe of Servetus becauſe Calvin was his enemy. The latter was ſenſible that the proceſs of Servetus was his own: and the reviewer ingenuouſly confeſſes, that unleſs Servetus periſhed, Calvin was ruined. Calvin's friends acknowledge that he was opinionative, haughty, and jealous of his authority. Let themſelves draw the conſequence. It was neceſſary that the throne of the reformer ſhould be cemented with the blood of Servetus. 5. In a letter written to an intimate friend, Calvin does not diſſemble his hopes that Servetus would be ſoon condemned to death. He wiſhes, however, that he may eſcape the utmoſt rigour of that puniſhment; probably, that he might not be burnt alive. Yet this very rigour was afterwards approved by himſelf; and that at a time when he was all-powerful at Geneva. Either this reformer concealed

his

noire hypocrisie, et par une douceur d'inquisiteur, ou quelque motif très différent de la religion, l'a empêché de solliciter une grace que sa conscience l'obligeoit de demander au magistrat, et qu'il auroit sûrement obtenue. 6. En rassemblant ces circonstances, et en les combinant avec le caractère connu de Calvin, ne conclura-t-on pas qu'un cœur dur et farouche, une ame ambitieuse, la haine pour un homme qui frondoit ses opinions, et qui mépriſoit ses instructions, s'étoient joints au zele religieux, pour engager Calvin à poursuivre le malheureux Servet? M. de Voltaire avoit donc raison, quand il a dit que Calvin avoit l'ame atroce et l'esprit éclairé. 1763.

Novembre 3.]—J'ai lui *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. xv, xvi. p.* 762—786; fin du premier tome. Il acheve la nation des *Marsi*, et parcourt ensuite le pays rude et montagneux des *Equi*, qui donnerent tant de peine aux Romains dans le commencement de leur état. *Alba Fucentia* étoit une colonie Romaine dans le territoire des *Marsi*, sur les bords du Lac *Fucinus*. Comme le pays étoit agréable, et que sa situation au milieu des terres le rendoit fort assuré, le sénat y envoyoit souvent des prisonniers d'état, des rois vaincus et detronés, à qui on vouloit accorder une prison douce et aisée. Perſée, roi de Macédoine, y mourut; on lui fit un enterrement public: traitement bien différent de celui qu'éprouva le malheureux Jugurtha,

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his real sentiments under dark hypocrisy and inquisitorial mildness, or motives very different from those of religion hindered him from soliciting from the magistrates a favour, which his conscience obliged him to demand, and which he was sure would not have been refused. 6. When we collect and combine all these circumstances with the acknowledged character of the reformer, can we doubt that a hard and cruel heart, an ambitious soul, and hatred towards the man who despised his instructions, and impeached his opinions, united with religious zeal in impelling Calvin to persecute the unfortunate Servetus? Voltaire therefore is right, when he says, that Calvin had an enlightened mind, but an atrocious soul.

November 3.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C. xv, xvi. p. 762—786; where the first volume ends. He concludes his account of the *Marsi*, and then describes the rude and mountainous country of the *Equi*, whom it cost the Romans, in the infancy of their state, so much trouble to conquer. *Alba Fucentia* was a Roman colony in the territory of the *Marsi*, on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*. The pleasantness of the country, and the security of its inland situation, made the Romans often send thither prisoners of state, conquered and dethroned kings, to whom they wished to give, instead of a prison, a soft and comfortable retreat. Perseus, king of Macedon, died there, and was honoured with a public funeral; a treatment very different from that of the unfortunate Jugurtha,

1763. Jugurtha, qu'on précipita dans le *Carcer Tullianus*, pour le laiſſer expirer de faim et de froid. La raiſon de cette différence ſera expliquée ailleurs *.

Novembre 4.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier L. iii. C. i. p.* 787—820. Il eſt enfin arrivé à la partie la plus intéreſſante de l'Italie; le Latium et les environs de la capitale; mais, avant que d'entrer dans ce détail, il faut eſſuyer des préliminaires aſſez ennuyeux; les *Oenotri* les *Siculi*, les *Pelaſgi*, et les *Aborigines*, recherches obſcures, où le fil nous échappe à chaque inſtant des mains. Cluvier n'avoit point aſſez de netteté dans l'eſprit, ni aſſez de critique pour débrouiller cette antiquité reculée. dont Fréret n'a pu réſoudre les difficultés, qu'en les diſſimulant.

J'ai achevé *le vingt huitième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Hiſtoire de la Société de Jeſus*: mauvaiſe rapſodie de contes aſſez connus, qui ſuppoſe partout, peut-être avec raiſon, que la crédulité du public, et la méchanceté des Jeſuites, ſont ſans bornes. Elle eſt au reſte mal écrite, ſans méthode, et remplie de hors-d'œuvres.—*Défenſe de la Traduction de l'Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente, par le père le Courayer*. Le journaliſte s'emporte contre cet écrivain aimable, pour avoir accepté le titre de Docteur

* Voyez Pieces Détachées, No. 7.

Jugurtha, who was thrown into the *Carcer Tullianus*, to die of cold and hunger. The reaſon for this difference will be explained elſewhere †.

November 4.]—I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. i. p. 787—820. He comes at length to the moſt intereſting part of Italy; Latium, and the neighbourhood of the capital; not however without leading us through the tireſome round of the *Oenotri*, *Siculi*, *Pelaſgi*, and *Aborigines*; in which obſcure reſearches the thread of connection is always ſlipping through our hands. Cluverius had not that clearneſs and criticiſm neceſſary for unravelling the perplexities of thoſe remote antiquities; the difficulties of which Freret has eluded, becauſe he was not able to reſolve them.

I finiſhed the twenty-eighth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. It contains the *Hiſtory of the Jeſuits*: an idle rhapſody of well known ſtories, the belief of which ſuppoſes, perhaps with good reaſon, unbounded wickedneſs in the Jeſuits, and unbounded credulity in the public. This work, beſides, is ill-written; without method, and deformed by digreſſions.—*Defence of the Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, by Father Courayer*. The reviewer is angry at this amiable writer for accepting of the degree of Doctor from the univerſity of Oxford. although he was not a proteſtant. Yet, without coming to a perfect identity of opinions, the two religions nearly meet; the univerſity carrying to the utmoſt

† See Detached Pieces, No 7.

Docteur de l'univerſité d'Oxford, ſans être proteſtant. 1763.
Cependant à moins que de vouloir une identité de ſenti-
ments, l'univerſité, à force d'outrer les doctrines Angli-
canes, et le père le Courayer, en adouciſſant celles de
Rome, s'étoient approchés d'aſſez près.—*Geſta Danorum extra Daniam, par Pontoppidan :* recueils curieux de vérités et de fables, pour ſervir à la gloire d'une nation qui n'avoit beſoin que des premières.—*Commentaire du P. Hardouin, ſur le Nouveau Teſtament*. Il veut que la Vulgate ſoit l'original, dont on a fait cette verſion, que nous appellons le texte Grec.—*Machiavel Républicain.* Dans cette défenſe l'on employe l'argument banal, que Machiavel n'a fait ſon *prince*, que pour inſpirer aux Médicis des maximes qui les rendiſſent odieux à tout le monde ; mais on l'affoiblit encore, en prouvant qu'il a écrit ce traité avant leur uſurpation.—*Antiquités de la Nation Françoiſe, par M. le Gendre.* Savantes, mais ſans critique. J'aime le bon Le Gendre, qui reconnoît les Scythes libres d'Hérodote, pour les ancêtres des François, à leurs égards pour les Amazones.—*Diſcours politiques de M. Gordon ; et Parallèle des François et des Romains, par l'Abbé Mably.* Voilà deux écrivains qui ſe ſont acquis une grande réputation ; l'un par la fierté de ſa marche, et par ſon enthouſiaſme ; l'autre par un air d'honnête homme, et par ſon ton ſec et raiſonneur. Je ne leur ai jamais trouvé cependant,

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utmoſt length the opinions of the Anglican church, and the Father Courayer ſoftening as much as poſſible thoſe of the church of Rome.—*Pontoppidan's Geſta Danorum extra Daniam* : a curious collection of truths and fable to raiſe the glory of a nation, which required only the former.—*Hardouin's Commentary on the New Teſtament.* He pretends that the Vulgate is the true original, of which the Greek text is only the tranſlation.—*Machiavel a Republican.* The author makes uſe of the vulgar argument, viz. that Machiavel wrote his Prince to inſpire the Medicis with maxims that muſt render them univerſally odious ; but this argument is deſtroyed by proving that treatiſe to have been written before their uſurpation.—*Antiquities of the French Nation by M. Le Gendre* : learned, but without criticiſm. The ſimplicity of the good Le Gendre diſcovers the Scythians to be the anceſtors of the French from their polite behaviour to the Amazons.—*Political Diſcourſes, by Mr. Gordon ; and a Parallel of the French with the Romans, by the Abbé Mably.* Theſe two writers have gained a great reputation ; the one by boldneſs and enthuſiaſm, the other by his appearance of honeſty and calm reaſoning. Yet I have never been able to diſcover in their works any thing but common place. I have been in company

1763. cependant, que des idées fort communes. J'ai vu le dernier; je puis répondre que ſon goût pour la monarchie, s'eſt bien ralenti depuis une vingtaine d'années.

Novembre 5.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ii. p.* 820—870. Il y joue plutôt le rôle d'antiquaire et de critique, que celui de géographe, qui lui convenoit bien mieux. Par une incrédulité inconnue aux Pouilly et aux Beaufort, il relegue toute l'hiſtoire des premiers ſiècles de Rome, dans la claſſe de fictions. Il fait main baſſe ſur les rois de Rome, auſſi bien que ſur ceux d'Albe. Il ne croit pas plus à Romulus qu'à Enée; les contradictions des écrivains ſur les origines de Rome, la groſſièreté des premiers Romains, l'hiſtoire peu vraiſemblable de la naiſſance et de l'éducation de leur fondateur; voilà ſes armes qu'il a raſſemblées avec ſavoir, mais dont il ſe ſert aſſez mal adroitement. Après avoir renverſé le ſyſtême reçu, il expoſe le ſien. Quand les Aborigines ſortirent du pays des Sabins, pour attaquer les *Siculi*, ils avoient pour alliés, une colonie Pelaſgique ſortie de l'Arcadie. La conquête achevée, le chef de ces Pelaſges s'empara de *Valentia*, ville des *Siculi*, ſur les bords du Tybre, et lui donna le nom de Rome. Ils ſe répandirent dans la ſuite, ſe mêlèrent aux Aborigines, et formèrent la nation commune des Latins. Cet évènement arriva plus de quinze ſiècles avant l'ère Chrétienne. C'eſt à ce chêf Pelaſgique, le véritable fondateur de Rome, qu'il faut rapporter le peu de

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ſompany with the latter, and can anſwer for it, that his admiration of monarchy has much cooled in the ſpace of twenty years.

November 5.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ii. p. 820—870. He is here rather the critic and antiquary than the geographer, which laſt character becomes him far the beſt. With an incredulity beyond that of Pouilly and Beaufort, he regards the whole hiſtory of the firſt ages of Rome as fabulous. He dethrones the Roman, as well as the Alban kings; and has no more belief in Romulus than in Æneas; uſing learned arguments, weakly urged, drawn from the contradictory accounts of writers concerning the origin of Rome, the groſs ignorance of the firſt Romans and the improbable circumſtances told of the birth and education of their founder. Having overturned the received ſyſtem, he proceeds to explain his own. When the Aborigines left the country of the Sabines to invade the Siculi, they were in alliance with a Pelaſgic colony from Arcadia. The Siculi were conquered; and the leader of the Pelaſgi took poſſeſſion of Valentia, one of their towns on the banks of the Tiber, and gave it the name of Rome. The Pelaſgi afterwards ſeparated; and mixing with the Aborigines, formed with them the nation called Latins. This event happened fifteen centuries before the Chriſtian æra; and

de vérités, ſur leſquelles on a bâti toutes les fables d'un Janus, d'un Evandre, d'un Enée, et d'un Romulus. Ce ſyſtème eſt neuf; il a des côtés ſpécieux, mais qu'il eſt foible! Deux réflexions ſuffiront pour le détruire. 1. Peut on comprendre que les Romains ayent perdu toute mémoire des huit premiers ſiècles de leur hiſtoire, et que ne pouvant remonter plus haut que le huitième ſiècle avant Jeſus Chriſt, ils ayent été obligés de cacher leur ignorance, ſous la fable aſſez groſſière qu'ils y ont placée, d'un prétendu fondateur? Beaucoup de villes ont inventé des fictions, pour reculer l'époque de leur fondation, pour ſe donner une origine plus ancienne et plus noble. Celle-ci en auroit-elle fabriqué une pour abréger ſa durée de ſept cens ſoixante ans, pour ſubſtituer à la vérité, qui lui donnoit pour fondateurs les anciens Pelaſges, une fable honteuſe, qui la peuple de bergers et de voleurs? Les Romains ſavoient, ils croyoient du moins, qu'Evandre s'étoit établi ſur le Mont Palatin; s'ils ignoroient l'hiſtoire des ſiècles intermédiaires, n'auroient-ils point ſu lier ces vérités éloignées par une chaine de noms, de générations, et de fables, comme ils ont ſu placer une ſucceſſion de rois Albains, pour remplir le vuide entre Enée et Romulus. On ne peut accorder à Cluvier toutes ces ſuppoſitions, qui lui ſont néceſſaires, ſans porter l'ignorance et la groſſièreté des premiers Romains, à un point inconcevable dans un peuple qui habitoit les villes et qui 1763.

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and to this Pelaſgic chief, the true founder of Rome, ought to be referred the few facts on the baſis of which ſo many fables have been built concerning the ſuppoſed perſonages—Saturn, Janus, Evander, Æneas, and Romulus. This ſyſtem is new, and in ſome parts ſpecious; but it is ſo weak, that two reflections are ſufficient to overturn it. 1. Can it be imagined that the Romans, having loſt all memory of eight hundred years of their hiſtory, and not being able to go higher than the eighth century before Chriſt, ſhould have been obliged to conceal their ignorance under the abſurd fable which they gave out concerning their pretended founder? Many cities have invented fictions for the purpoſe of magnifying their antiquity and nobility. But the fable fabricated by the Romans, abridges their hiſtory by the period of 760 years, and ſubſtitutes for their antient Pelaſgic origin, a pretended deſcent from ſhepherds and robbers. The Romans knew, at leaſt they believed, the ſettlement of Evander on Mount Palatine; and if they were ignorant of the tranſactions of the intermediate centuries, would not this ſpace have been filled up by names, genealogies, and fables, ſuch as were interpoſed to form the chain between Æneas and Romulus? Theſe ſuppoſitions are neceſſary for Cluverius' ſyſtem, but cannot be made without ſuppoſing in the firſt Romans a degree of groſs ignorance, inconceivable in a nation inhabiting

1763. qui avoit l'uſage des lettres. 2. Mais en les accordant à Cluvier, elles ne prouveroient que contre lui. Cette ignorance, qui nous a défiguré l'hiſtoire des Romains, n'auroit-elle pas anéanti celle des Pelaſges, leurs ayeux ſi reculés? Quel privilege ſingulier que celui de ce peuple, dont on choiſit des migrations, comme des faits dont il n'eſt pas permis de douter, et qui doivent ſervir à diſſiper tous les nuages, toutes les fables dont on a obſcurci l'hiſtoire plus récente de leur deſcendans!

Le ſort de l'hypothèſe du ſavant géographe ne me paroît pas douteux; mais elle peut être chimérique, ſans que l'hiſtoire Romaine ſoit vraie. J'abandonne de bonne grace au Pyrrhoniſme hiſtorique, ou plutôt au mépris et à l'oubli, les hauts faits d'Enée, la colonie Troyenne, les rois d'Albe, et la louve de Romulus. Mais quel degré de foi peut on ajoûter à la première decade de Tite Live? Pour diſcuter une ſemblable queſtion, il faudroit du loiſir et des connoiſſances. Je n'ai ni l'un ni l'autre. Pour ouvrir cependant une route nouvelle dans un ſujet preſque épuiſé, je dirai ſeulement; 1. Il faut ſe fixer, plus qu'on n'a fait, a des idées préciſes. Cluvier lui même avoueroit qu'on peut y decouvrir quelques vérités enſevelies ſous un amas de fables. L'Abbé Sallier ne diſconviendroit pas que l'hiſtoire Romaine n'ait ſubi le ſort commun de toutes les hiſtoires, dont la pureté eſt ſouillée par quelques

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habiting cities, and enjoying the uſe of letters. 2. But theſe ſuppoſitions, if granted, would militate againſt the ſyſtem which they are meant to eſtabliſh. The ſame ignorance which obliterated the hiſtory of the Romans, muſt alſo have deſtroyed that of the Pelaſgi, their remote anceſtors. How extraordinary is the privilege granted to the latter nation, whoſe ancient migrations are ſuppoſed to be undoubted facts that admit not of diſpute, and that ought to be employed for diſſipating all the clouds that obſcure the hiſtory of their more recent poſterity.

The hypotheſis of the learned geographer muſt fall to the ground; but the falſeneſs of that hypotheſis does not prove the Roman hiſtory to be true. I readily give up to hiſtorical ſcepticiſm, or rather to contempt and oblivion, the high exploits of Æneas, the Trojan colony, the king's of Alba, and the wolf of Romulus. But what degree of credit ought to be given to the firſt decade of Livy? To diſcuſs fully ſuch a queſtion would require knowledge and leiſure. I have neither of the two. Yet merely to break new ground on a queſtion almoſt exhauſted, I would obſerve; 1. That it requires greater preciſion of ideas, than has hitherto been aimed at. Cluverius would allow that ſome truths may be diſcovered amidſt the heap of fables; and the Abbé Sallier would acknowledge that the Roman has ſhared the fate of all hiſtories, whoſe purity has been corrupted by ſome fictions. Before entering upon the controverſy,

quelques fictions. Avant que d'entamer la controverſe, 1763.
je donnerai mon ſymbole, et pour ne pas embraſſer trop de terrein, je me bornerai aux faits énoncés dans les abrégés des dix premiers livres de Tite Live. Je me chargerois hardiment de leur défenſe, ſans abandonner cependant celle de quelques détails qui me paroîtroient les plus vraiſemblables. 2. Toutes les preuves externes ſont épuiſées. Sur les grandes annales, les mémoires domeſtiques, &c. il eſt difficile d'ajoûter quelque choſe aux argumens de M. M. Sallier et Fréret, et aux objections de M. M. de Pouilly et de Beaufort. Je changerois de batterie, et je me ſervirois plutôt des preuves que les théologiens ont appellé internes. J'établirois que les premiers hiſtoriens Romains étant du tems de la guerre d'Annibal, les fables qu'ils nous rapportent ſelon mes adverſaires, ont dû être établies dans la foi publique, une cinquantaine d'années auparavant. Je combinerois la nature de ces fables avec l'état du peuple Romain, et j'examinerois s'il eſt vraiſemblable qu'on eût inventé, et qu'on eût pu faire adopter des fables de cette eſpèce ſous des circonſtances pareilles.

Novembre 6.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii. p.* 870—900. Il y parle des lieux maritimes du *Latium*. Ils étoient en petit nombre ; mais on y voit les noms célèbres du fleuve *Numicus* et *Oſtie*, de *Laurentum* et de *Lavinium* (qu'on a ſouvent confondu avec *Lanuvium*). Je

verſy, I ſhall give my own articles of faith ; and not to expatiate in too wide a field, ſhall confine myſelf to the tranſactions related in the abridgment of the firſt books of Livy. I would venture to maintain that theſe tranſactions happened, without giving up ſome of the more probable circumſtances with which they are ſaid to have been accompanied. 2. The ſubject of the external proofs is exhauſted. Concerning the great annals, the domeſtic memoirs, &c. nothing can be added to the arguments of Meſſrs. Sallier and Freret on one ſide, and the objections of Meſſrs. Pouilly and Beaufort on the other. I would change the mode of attack, and make uſe of the proofs which divines call internal. My argument would be, that the firſt Roman hiſtorians having lived in the days of Hannibal, the fables which, according to my adverſaries, they refuted, muſt have gained poſſeſſion of the public fifty years before that period. I would combine the nature of thoſe fables with the condition of the Romans, and examine whether it is likely that, under ſuch circumſtances, ſimilar fables ſhould either have been invented or believed.

November 6]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii. p. 870—900. He treats of the maritime places of Latium. They were few in number; we meet however with the celebrated names of the river Numicus, Oſtia, Laurentum, and Lavinium, often confounded with Lanuvium. I am

1763. Je ſuis ſurpris qu'il n'ait rien dit de la *Villa Laurentina* de Pline le jeune, que ſon poſſeſſeur a ſi bien décrite. Il auroit facilement pu en déterminer la ſituation, et placer fort à propos ces paſſages de Pline, qui nous repréſentent ſi vivement la face du pays. Je vois que ſelon Virgile, les Troyens remontèrent le Tybre, et qu'Enée appuya ſon premier camp ſur la rivière ; pendant que la foule des écrivains, fortifiée par la fable de la truye, et par quelques expreſſions aſſez vagues à la verité du poëte lui même, place le débarquement d'Enée à l'embouchure du *Numicus*, auprès de cet endroit, où il bâtit peu de tems après la ville de *Lavinium*.

Novembre 7.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iv. p.* 900—950. L'auteur continue à décrire le *Latium* ; la partie méditerranée renfermoit *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Alba*, *Tuſculum*, *Gabii*, &c. lieux célèbres dans les commencemens de Rome par la reſiſtance que ces cités libres lui oppoſerent, et dans la ſuite par tant de belles *villæ* dont les grands de la république, et les empereurs, remplirent tous les environs de la capitale. Toujours des fables Grecques : il n'y a preſque point de ces villes aux quelles on n'ait donné un fondateur de cette nation. De toutes ces fictions aſſez mal imaginées, que les Grecs ont fabriqué ſur les régions occidentales, et ſurtout l'Italie, il y en a quelques unes iſolées, mais la plupart tiennent à l'un de ces trois évènemens célèbres : le retour d'Hercule de

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ſurpriſed he ſhould omit to ſpeak of Pliny the younger's Laurentina villa, which is ſo well deſcribed by its maſter. He might eaſily have aſcertained its ſituation, and have very properly inſerted thoſe paſſages of Pliny, which exhibit ſo lively a picture of the circumjacent country. I perceive that Virgil makes the Trojans ſail up the Tyber, and places Eneas' firſt camp on the banks of the river ; whereas the greater part of writers, relying on the ſtory of the ſow, and ſome very vague expreſſions indeed of the poet himſelf, ſuppoſe that hero to have landed at the mouth of the Numicus, near to the place where he built ſhortly afterwards the city of Lavinium.

November 7.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iv. p. 900—950. The author continues to deſcribe Latium ; the inland country contained Lanuvium, Aricia, Alba, Tuſculum, and Gabii ; places famous during the firſt ages of Rome on account of their reſiſtance to its arms ; and afterwards, on account of the beautiful villas with which the great men of the republic, and the emperors, crowded the neighbourhood of the capital. Continually Greek fables ; there is ſcarcely one of thoſe cities which has not a ſuppoſed founder belonging to that nation. Of all thoſe fables, often very ill-contrived by the Greeks, concerning weſtern nations, eſpecially Italy, there are ſome few that ſtand apart, but the greater number are connected with one or other of thoſe three celebrated events ; the

de ſon expédition Iberienne, les voyages des Argonautes, et ceux d'Ulyſſe. 1763.

J'ai achevé *le vingt neuvième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis, par Auſaldus.* La révélation primitive conſervée par la tradition, ou par des principes que chaque individu ne peut que découvrir par lui même ; ces deux ſyſtèmes, dis-je, produiſent le même effet, mais ce dernier eſt plus ſimple, et convient mieux aux attributs du créateur.—*Hiſtoire Univerſelle, par une Société de Gens de Lettres ; premier et ſecond Extrait.* On ſait que le commencement de ce grand ouvrage eſt excellent. Le journaliſte fait voir aſſez bien que la grêle, qui acheva la defaite des Cananéens, n'étoit qu'une grêle ordinaire, et que des hiſtoriens, qui y ont vu des pierres énormes formées et ſoutenues dans l'air juſqu'au moment de leur chute, ſont des phyſiciens un peu trop crédules.—*Catalogue méthodique des Plantes Suiſſes, par Albert Haller.* Un ouvrage de botanique m'intéreſſe peu, mais M. de Haller m'intéreſſe beaucoup. Ce génie univerſel a ſu réunir le feu du poëte avec la ſagacité et la défiance du phyſicien : ſes connoiſſances égalent ſes talens. Une application ſoutenue lui fait tout dévorer ; une conception facile le fait marcher d'un pas rapide ; une mémoire heureuſe juſqu'à tenir du prodige, ne laiſſe rien échapper de ce qu'on lui a confié. Il y a quelques années qu'il ſoupa chez

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the return of Hercules from his Iberian expedition, the voyages of the Argonauts, and thoſe of Ulyſſes.

I finiſhed the twenty-ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis, by Auſaldus.* The primitive revelation, whether preſerved by tradition, or by principles which each individual may diſcover by the exerciſe of his own reaſon, will be attended with the ſame conſequences ; but the latter hypotheſis is more ſimple, and more conſonant to the attributes of the Creator.—*The Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters : firſt and ſecond Extract.* The excellence of the firſt part of this great work is well known. The reviewer ſhows clearly that the hail-ſtones which completed the defeat of the inhabitants of Canaan, was only a ſtorm of ordinary hail, and refutes the credulity of thoſe hiſtorians who think that it conſiſted of large ſtones, formed and ſupported in the air 'till the moment of their fall.—*A methodical Catalogue of the Plants found in Switzerland, by Albert Haller.* I am little intereſted in a work on botany, but very much in Mr. Haller. This univerſal genius unites the fire of poetry with the ſagacity and diſcernment of the philoſopher ; his natural abilities are equal to his acquired knowledge. His memory is retentive to a degree almoſt miraculous. A few years ago he ſupped

1763. chez M. de G. dont la mémoire n'eſt pas moins ſurprenante : on y parloit des affaires de Suède, des antiquités de Rome ; et le littérateur redreſſoit toujours le voyageur. Parmi beaucoup d'admirateurs, il a cependant peu d'amis. A Gottingen, à Berne, au pays de Vaud, ſon caractère fier, violent, et ambitieux, a toujours révolté tout le monde. *Hiſtoire de Guillaume le Conquérant, par l'Abbé Prévôt.* J'y ai trouvé quelques morceaux d'un vieux chroniqueur, dont la naïveté m'a fait grand plaiſir.—*Hiſtoire du Mont Veſuve, par l'Académie de Naples :* très curieuſe. La chaleur des Lavanges, quand leur première fureur s'eſt amortie, eſt encore très ſupérieure au fer ardent.

Novembre 8.]—Me trouvant un peu incommodé, je n'ai rien fait que de lire un petit ouvrage que M. Pavillard m'avoit prêté. Il s'appelle *Lettres écrites de la Campagne.* Il roule ſur les troubles de Genève, que je ne connois que comme tout le monde. Ces lettres ſont d'un homme d'eſprit, qui affecte un peu trop la manière de Monteſquieu. Il ſe déclare pour le magiſtrat, et regarde comme un frein ſalutaire, cette approbation préalable du petit conſeil, ſans laquelle nulle affaire ne peut être portée devant l'aſſemblée générale. Il la compare à la voix négative du roi dans la conſtitution d'Angleterre. Mais quelle différence immenſe entre la voix négative qui précede la déliberation, et celle qui la ſuit !

Novembre

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with Mr. de G. whoſe memory is alſo ſurpriſing. The converſation turned on the affairs of Sweden, and the antiquities of Rome; and the ſcholar always corrected the traveller. With all his admirers, Haller has but few friends. Wherever he has happened to reſide, at Gottingen, Berne, or the Pays de Vaud, his harſh, haughty, and ambitious character has offended all his acquaintances.—*The Hiſtory of William the Conqueror, by the Abbé Prevôt.* I found in it ſome quotations from an old chronicle, the natural ſimplicity of which gave me great pleaſure.—*Hiſtory of Mount Veſuvius, by the Academy of Naples :* very curious. The heat of the lava, even after its firſt violence has abated, is far greater than that of red-hot iron.

November 8.]—Being unwell, I did nothing but read a ſmall work which Mr. Pavillard had lent to me. It is entitled, *Letters written from the Country*, and relates to the troubles of Geneva; concerning which I know nothing more than the public at large. Theſe letters are written by a man of abilities, who affects too much however the ſtyle of Monteſquieu. He is an advocate for the magiſtrates, and conſiders as a ſalutary check the previous approbation of the little council, before any bill can be propoſed to the general aſſembly. This regulation he compares with the King's negative in the conſtitution of England. But there is a wide difference between a negative before, and after deliberation.

November

Novembre 11.]—J'ai achevé le *trentième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* J'y trouve *Lettres de Cuper ;* ſavantes, et qui donnent une auſſi bonne idée du cœur, que de l'eſprit de ce ſavant Hollandois.—*Hiſtoire Civile du Royaume de Naples, par M. Giannone.*—La candeur, la pénétration, et la liberté de cet excellent juriſconſulte, feront toujours eſtimer ſon ouvrage par tous les ſages. Les eccléſiaſtiques ne ſont pas de ce nombre.—*Poëſies du Roi de Navarre :* le rang de l'auteur, l'antiquité de ces poëſies, et plus encore leurs beautés réelles, leur donnent un très grand prix.—*Diſſertation de M. Taylor, ſur la Loi des Décemvirs contre les Débiteurs inſolvables.* L'idée n'eſt pas nouvelle. Il falloit vendre un tel débiteur, et partager le prix de l'eſclave, et non pas l'eſclave lui-même. Comme ce journal commence à s'humaniſer un peu trop, on n'a point oſé inférer le Latin, dont on peut à peine ſe paſſer dans cette diſcuſſion.—*Hiſtoire Univerſelle ; Extrait troiſième :* le journaliſte ramaſſe beaucoup d'exemples curieux ſur la force de la muſique.—*Hiſtoire Naturelle des Poiſſons, par Klein :* curieuſe.—*Lettres du Comte d'Eſtrades.* On y voit tous les reſſorts de la politique Françoiſe, et toute l'ambition de Louis XIV.—*Traité ſur le Nombre des Habitans de la Hollande et de la Weſt Friſe, par M. Kerſeboom.* Comme cet ouvrage curieux eſt en Hollandois, je m'étendrai un peu ſur cet extrait. Voici le précis de ſes obſervations. 1. Le nombre des enfans nés tous les 1763.

November 11.]—I finiſhed the thirtieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Cuper's Letters ;* which give as favourable an impreſſion of the heart as of the underſtanding of this learned Dutchman. —*The Civil Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Naples, by Mr. Giannone.* The candour, penetration, and freedom, of this excellent lawyer, will ever enſure to this work the eſteem of all wiſe men. Churchmen are not always of the number.—*Poems, by the King of Navarre :* highly valuable, on account of the rank of the author, their antiquity, and their own real beauties.—*Taylor's Diſſertation on the Law of the Decemvirs, againſt Inſolvent Debtors.* His concluſion is not new. He thinks the debtor was ſold as a ſlave, and the price received for him divided amongſt his creditors, and not the ſlave himſelf. As this journal begins to grow too faſhionable, the reviewer does not venture to inſert the Latin, which cannot however eaſily be diſpenſed with in this diſcuſſion.—*Univerſal Hiſtory ; third Extract.* The reviewer collects a great number of curious examples on the power of muſic.—*Natural Hiſtory of Fiſhes, by Klein :* curious.—*The Count d'Eſtrade's Letters* lay open upon the ſtrings of the French policy, and all the ambition of Louis XIV.—*A Treatiſe on the Number of Inhabitants in Holland and Weſt Friesland, by Mr. Kerſeboom.* As this curious work is in Dutch, I ſhall ſpeak of it at ſome length. The reſult of his obſervation is; 1. The number of children born yearly amount

1763. les ans eſt 28,000. 2. Le total des habitans eſt de 980,000; c'eſt à dire dans la proportion de 35 à un, aux naiſſances. 3. Il y a dans cette province 169,000 couples de gens mariés. Après avoir défalqué un nombre convenable de bâtards, ſur les 28,000 enfans, il reſultera une proportion exacte, que ſur treize marriages de tout âge, il y en a deux de procréans tous les ans. 4. M. Kerſeboom a trouvé par ſes combinaiſons, que de deux perſonnes mariées entre les âges de 20 et de 50 ans il y a 13 chances contre 7, qu'au bout de 20 ans l'une ou l'autre des deux ſera morte. 5. Sur 1400 enfans nouvellement nés, voici les vraiſemblances pour le nombre, d'entre eux, qui reſtera en vie à chaque âge.

Age.	Reſteront en vie.	Age.	Reſteront en vie.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

Novembre 12.]—J'ai lu un petit ouvrage nouveau, *un poëme en proſe*, nommé *Olivier*. Le ſtyle en eſt aiſé, facile, et coulant; mais rarement aſſez élevé, pour mériter à l'ouvrage le nom de poëme. Les détails ſont intéreſſans; les avantures de cet Olivier, qui ſubjugue la haine du Comte à force de bienfaits, nous attachent. Celles

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amount to 28,000. 2. The total of the inhabitants to 980,000; that is, in the proportion of 35 to 1, of the births. 3. The number of married couples is 169,000. After ſubtracting the baſtards, it turns out that of thirteen married couples of all ages, two produce children yearly. 4. Mr. Kerſeboom finds by his calculation, that of two perſons that enter into wedlock between the ages of 20 and 50, it is 13 to 7 that one will die before the lapſe of twenty years. 5. Of 1400 new-born children, the probable number of thoſe who will remain alive at each of the aſſigned ages, is as follows:

Age.	Alive.	Age.	Alive.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

November 12.]—I read a ſmall new work, a poem in proſe, intitled, *Olivier*. The ſtyle is eaſy and flowing, but rarely elevated to a pitch deſerving the name of poetry. The ſtory is intereſting; we are pleaſed with the adventures of this Olivier, who ſubdues the Count's hatred by

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Celles d'Enguerrand et de ſon écuyer, nous amuſent. 1763.
Son avanture dans le village du Limouſin, fait le pendant de Gil Blas, et de l'archévêque de Grenade. Elle eſt du vrai comique. Les voyages de Fleur d'Epine ſont partout trop extravagans. L'iſle des muſiciens n'eſt pas mauvaiſe; cependant toute la plaiſanterie n'eſt fondée que ſur un jeu de mots, et ſur l'équivoque du mot *air*. Mais l'ordonnance du poëme eſt déteſtable. Ces recits, coupés par chants, et repris quand on les a preſque oubliés, m'ont excedé. C'eſt la méthode de l'Arioſte. Eh bien! la méthode de l'Arioſte ne vaut rien; mais pourquoi confondre les écarts naturels d'un génie qui ne connoît point de regles, et le deſordre étudié d'un eſprit qui extravague avec méthode, et qui ſe gêne pour violer les loix qu'il connoît?

Novembre 14.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iv, v. p.* 950—979. L'auteur y parcourt les autres villes Mediterranées du Latium; *Tibur, Præneſte, Gabii.* &c. Il paſſe delà aux *Rutuli*, qui occupoient un petit territoire entre les Latins, les Volſques, et la mer. Il paroît que cette petite tribu s'étoit détachée du corps politique des Latins, puiſqu'elle ne participoit point aux ſacrifices du Mont Albain, qui le réuniſſoit tous les ans. Mais les poëtes ont ſouvent confondu ces deux peuples, qui ſembloient l'être déjà par la ſituation de leur pays et par

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good offices. The characters of Enguerrand and his ſquire are amuſing. His adventure in the village of the Limouſin is a counterpart to that of Gil Blas with the Archbiſhop of Grenada. The travels of Fleur d'Epine are throughout too extravagant. The iſle of muſicians is not a bad fancy; but the whole pleaſantry is founded on a pun, the double meaning of the word *air*. The arrangement of the poem is deteſtable. I am provoked to find the narrative continually broken into cantos; and thoſe parts of it reſumed which had been almoſt forgotten. The author has imitated Arioſto. That is true; but Arioſto's arrangement is good for nothing. Beſides, we ought not to confound the natural wanderings of a great genius unacquainted with rules, and the ſtudied diſorder of a writer who is extravagant by deſign, and who gives himſelf much trouble to violate thoſe laws of compoſition with which he is acquainted.

November 14.]—I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. *iv*, v. p. 950—979. The author treats of the other inland cities of Latium; Tibur, Præneſte, Gabii, &c. He thence proceeds to the Rutuli, who inhabited a ſmall diſtrict between the ſea, the Latins, and the Volſci. This little community muſt have ſeparated itſelf from the political confederacy of the Latins, ſince it did not participate in the ſacrifices on Mount Alba, which the members of that confederacy annually met to celebrate. The poets, however, often confound thoſe two nations; which were indeed nearly united by the ſituation of their territories and their common origin.

Ardea,

1763. par leur origine commune. La ville d'*Ardea* étoit la capitale des *Rutuli*, prise et incendiée par Enée ; les poëtes la font sortir de ses cendres, pour se changer en oiseau. Quelle fable ! elle ne choque pas moins l'imagination que la raison. Mais le dogme général de la métempsycose, étoit très métaphysique ; d'une métaphysique dont les conséquences s'épuroient, à mésure que les fictions devenoient plus absurdes. Notre religion nous assure de l'immortalité de l'ame. Ou y trouve son immatérialité ; mais le dogme de la résurrection du corps, nous fait regarder ce corps comme une partie essentielle de l'homme, et nous insinue que sans le secours de pareils organes, l'ame seroit incapable d'agir. Mais la doctrine de la métempsycose détache l'ame du corps qu'elle occupoit, sans lui ôter la moindre de ses facultés. Elle ne les doit qu'à elle même, et l'homme toujours homme dans le corps d'un autre animal, peut penser, peut réfléchir, avec la même facilité que dans le sien. Dès qu'on a adopté ce dogme, on peut disputer sur la nature de cette ame, mais il faut convenir qu'elle n'a rien de commun avec le corps qu'elle habite.

Novembre 15.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C vi, vii, viii. p.* 979—1048. Cluvier jette un coup d'œil sur le petit pays des *Herniques*, niché parmi les montagnes. Mais il decrit fort au long, les territoires étendus des *Volsques : Antium* en étoit la capitale. Ces peuples avoient une marine composée de vaisseaux légers, avec lesquels ils faisoient

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Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, was taken and burnt by Eneas ; the poets feign that a bird flew from its ashes ; a strange fable, as shocking to the fancy as to reason. But the dogma of the metempsychosis was extremely metaphysical ; and of that kind of metaphysics, of which the consequences became the more refined in proportion to the absurdity of the fictions on which they were founded. Our religion assures us of the soul's immortality, and even immateriality ; but the doctrine of the resurrection makes us consider the body as an essential part of the man, and tends to persuade us that without the assistance of organs, the soul would not be capable of action. The metempsychosis, on the contrary, separates the soul and body without depriving the former of any of its faculties. These faculties it owes only to itself : man is still a man ; and in the body of another animal can think and reflect as well as in his own. When this opinion is adopted, though we may dispute concerning the nature of this soul, we must allow that it has nothing in common with the body which it inhabits.

November 15.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. vi, vii, viii. p. 979—1048. He casts a glance on the little country of the Hernici, inclosed in the mountains ; and describes at length the extensive territories of the Volsci, of which Antium was the capital. This nation had a marine, consisting of light vessels, with which they infested the seas

faiſoient des courſes dans les mers de l'Italie, et de la Grèce. Alexandre ſe plaignit à Rome par ſes ambaſſadeurs de ces déprédations ; et les Romains eſſayèrent de les réprimer. Quel étoit cet Alexandre ? Je penſe que ce fut le roi d'Epire, qui fit la guerre en Italie, et que les colonies Grecques choiſirent pour leur général et leur protecteur contre les barbares. Cet emploi devoit naturellement le mettre en liaiſon avec les Romains. Si quelques écrivains ont parlé d'une ambaſſade que le ſénat envoya à Alexandre le Grand, ils auront confondu l'oncle et le neveu. L'autorité des anciens, auſſi bien que la vraiſemblance, m'engageront toujours à croire que le peuple Romain n'a point connu le conquérant de l'Aſie. 1763.

Novembre 16.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ix. p.* 1048—1062. Il y eſt queſtion de cette confuſion de noms de peuples et de tribus, qu'il eſt ſi difficile de démêler. Des *Opici*, des *Oſci*, des *Auſones*, et des *Aurunci*. Ils ſont tellement confondus, qu'ils n'ont dû être que des noms différens pour le même peuple, ou les territoires de ces peuples ont été étrangement enclavés les uns dans les autres.

Novembre 17.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier, L. iii. C. x. L. iv. C. i, ii. p.* 1062—1102. L'auteur examine le détail du pays des *Auſones*, qui devint dans la ſuite une partie du nouveau Latium. *Formiæ* paroît avoir eu l'honneur infame d'être capitale des *Leſtrigones*, dans le tems que l'Italie

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ſeas of Greece and Italy. Alexander ſent ambaſſadors, complaining to the Romans of their depredations; and the Romans endeavoured to repreſs their piracy.—Who was this Alexander? I think he was that king of Epirus, who made war in Italy, and whom the Greek colonies there choſe for their general and protector againſt the barbarians. This office naturally connected him with the Romans. When ſome writers ſpeak of an embaſſy ſent by the ſenate to Alexander the Great, they confound the uncle with the nephew. The authority of the ancients, as well as the improbability of the thing itſelf, convince me that the Romans never had any communication with the conqueror of Aſia.

November 16.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ix. p. 1048—1062. He ſpeaks of that confuſion of the names of nations and tribes, which it is ſo difficult to unravel. The Opici, the Oſci; the Auſones, and Aurunci, are ſo continually confounded, that there muſt have been different names for the ſame people, or their territories muſt have been ſtrangely intermingled.

November 17.]—I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. x. L. iv. C. i, ii. p. 1062—1102. The author enters into particulars concerning the country of the Auſones, which became afterwards a part of New Latium. Formiæ was diſtingniſhed by the infamous honour of being the capital of the Leſtrigones, at the time when Italy was to the Greeks what the inland parts of America are to us. Homer has rendered this fable intereſting.

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1763. l'Italie étoit pour les Grecs, ce que l'intérieur de l'Amérique eſt pour nous. Cette fable eſt intéreſſante chez Homère; la découverte d'un pays inconnu, où tous les objets nous étonnent et nous touchent, où la curioſité eſt aiguiſée, et ſatisfaite à chaque inſtant, nous procure le plaiſir que nous goûtons dans les voyages. Cependant je reprocherois au poëte deux traits, dont le peu d'exactitude défigure un peu le tableau. 1. Les *Leſtrigones* ſont à la fois trop barbares et trop policés. Cependant ils ſont Antropophages. Heureuſement pour l'eſpèce humaine cette fureur n'a jamais ſubſiſté que chez les nations deſtituées de toute culture, et même parmi ces peuples, l'homme ne devore guères ſon ſemblable, qu'il n'y ſoit pouſſé par la diſette, ou la vengeance. 2. Les *Leſtrigones* étoient des géans. Tout devoit y être proportionné, leurs enfans, leurs maiſons, et leurs villes. Les eſpions d'Ulyſſe traverſent cependant le pays; il s'entretiennent avec la fille du roi; ils la ſuivent ſans défiance juſques dans la maiſon de ſon père, et ils ne s'effrayent qu'à la vue de la reine des *Leſtrigones*. Gulliver a mieux obſervé les proportions.

Novembre 18.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p.* 1102—1115. Après avoir déterminé la ſituation et les bornes de la Campanie, Cluvier décrit les côtes depuis *Sinueſſe*: *Vulturnum*, *Liternum*, *Silva Gallinaria*, et *Cumes*. Cette dernière ville lui fournit beaucoup. Sa fondation,

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The diſcovery of an unknown country, where every object ſurpriſes and affects us, where curioſity is continually excited, and continually gratified, affords a pleaſure ſimilar to that felt in our travels. Yet the poet may be reproached with two incorrect touches, which ſomewhat disfigure his picture. The Leſtrigones are either too refined, or two barbarous. They inhabit cities, they have chariots, and hired ſhepherds. Yet they are men-eaters. Happily for human nature, this ferocity never exiſted but in nations totally devoid of culture; and even among them man does not devour his fellow-creatures unleſs driven to this madneſs by famine or vengeance. 2. The Leſtrigones were giants. Every thing belonging to them ought to be in due proportion; their children, houſes, and cities. Yet Ulyſſes' ſpies travel through the country, converſe with the king's daughter, and follow her without diſtruſt to her father's palace. Their fears are not mentioned, till they ſee the queen of the Leſtrigons. Gulliver was a better obſerver of proportions.

November 18.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p. 1102—1115. After having determined the ſituation and bounds of Campania, he deſcribes the ſea-coaſt from Sinueſſe, viz. Vulturnum, Liternum, Sylva Gallinaria, and Cumæ. This laſt place is deſcribed at great length. Its foundation and power, above all its Sibyl, immortalized by Virgil, furniſh the geographer with an abundant crop. This laſt article

fondation, ſa puiſſance, mais ſurtout ſa Sybille, que Virgile a immortaliſée, lui fourniſſent une riche moiſſon. Ce dernier article me paroît bien traité, ſans confuſion, mais avec l'abondance qui eſt naturelle. 1763.

20.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p.* 1115—1146. Il pourſuit toujours ſon deſſein, et parcourt les côtes de la Campanie, de *Cumes* juſqu'à *Naples* : petit canton, mais célèbre dans tous les ſiècles. *Miſenum, Baiæ, Puteoli*, et les lacs *Avernus* et *Lucrin*, la terreur des premiers Grecs, et les délices des Romains, le rendront toujours plus intéreſſant.

21.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p.* 1146—1164. Il continue et acheve les côtes de la Campanie, de Naples juſqu'au promontoire de Minerve, qui la ſéparoit du territoire des *Picentini*. *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, *Stabiæ*, et *Surrentum*, ſont les principaux endroits qu'il trouve ſur la route.

Sur le lieu du ſépulcre de Virgile, il y a une diverſité d'opinions. St. Jerome et Donat paroiſſent d'un côté ; mais Cluvier, ſuivi d'Addiſon, rejette ſans façon leur témoignage, et ſe fonde ſur l'autorité de Stace, pour tranſporter ce monument à l'autre côté de la ville, et aux pieds du Mont Veſuve. Je préférerois bien avec eux l'autorité de Stace, s'il s'étoit exprimé d'une façon préciſe ; mais ce poëte ne parle qu'en général des rivages *Chalcidiques*, lieux qui avoient éprouvé la colère du Veſuve ;

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article is well treated, without confuſion, but with his natural copiouſneſs.

20.]—I read Cluverius, L. iv. C. ii. p. 1115—1146. In purſuance of his deſign, he deſcribes the coaſt of Campania, from Cumæ to Naples; a ſmall diſtrict, famous in all ages. Miſenum, Baiæ, Puteoli, with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, the terror of the early Greeks, and the delight of the Romans, will always render this coaſt highly intereſting.

21.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p. 1146—1164. He continues and concludes his account of the coaſts of Campania and Naples, to the promontory of Minerva, which ſeparated them from the territory of the Picentini. Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum, are the principal places deſcribed in his rout.

There are different opinions concerning the place of Virgil's tomb. St. Jerom and Donatus appear on one ſide; but Cluverius, followed by Mr. Addiſon, on the other, rejects without ceremony their evidence; and, upon the authority of Statius, tranſports this monument to the other ſide of the city, and the foot of Mount Veſuvius. I ſhould with them prefer Statius's information, were it conveyed in preciſe terms. But this poet ſpeaks in general only of the Chalcidic ſhores, places which experienced the rage of Veſuvius; and ſuch vague language ſeems merely to indicate the neighbourhood of Naples. St. Jerom and Donatus, on the

1763. Veſuve ; épithetes vagues, et qui ne ſemblent déſigner que les environs de Naples. St. Jerome et Donat nous apprennent que Virgile fut enſeveli à deux milles de cette ville ſur le grand chemin de Puteoli. Cette déſcription eſt claire en ſans équivoque ; elle peut s'accorder avec Stace ; elle eſt ſoutenue par la tradition du pays. Pourquoi la récuſer ?

Novembre 22.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iv. p.* 1164—1171. Il y eſt queſtion des îſles qui ſe trouvoient oppoſées aux côtes de la Campanie. Les deux plus conſidérables paroîſſent des ouvrages avancés, qui gardoient les deux promontoires de la Baye de Naples. L'une s'appelloit *Ænaria* et *Pithecuſa ;* et l'autre étoit la fameuſe *Caprée.*

24.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. v. p.* 1171—1179. Après avoir parcouru les côtes et les îſles de la Campanie, il paſſe à l'intérieur des terres. Nous y voyons les champs fertiles de *Falerne* et de *Capoue,* dont le vin et le bled faiſoient le revenu le plus aſſuré de la république, et qui nourriſſoient un ſi grand nombre des citoyens. Les côteaux du Mont *Maſſicus* bordoient les champs de Falerne. Les anciens ont ſouvent confondu ces deux crûs. Capoue paroît enſuite ; ville orgueilleuſe, qui croyoit follement qu'il ſuffiſoit d'être riche, pour ôſer lutter contre Rome. Les Romains détruiſirent la république de Capoue, mais ils épargnèrent la ville. S'ils ne

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the other hand, tell us, that Virgil was buried at the diſtance of two miles from that city, and on the high road to Puteoli ; this account is ſo clear, that it cannot be miſtaken. It may be reconciled with that of Statius, and is juſtified by the tradition of the country. Why ſhould it be rejected ?

November 22.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iv. p. 1164—1171. He treats of the iſles lying oppoſite to the coaſt of Campania. The two largeſt appear like advanced works, intended to guard the two promontories of the Bay of Naples. The one is called Ænaria or Pithecuſa ; the other is the famous Capreæ.

24.]—I read Cluverius, L. iv. C. v. p. 1171—1179. After having treated of the coaſts and iſlands of Campania, he proceeds to the inland country. We behold the fertile fields of Falernum and Capua, whoſe corn and wine formed the ſureſt revenue of the republic, and nouriſhed a vaſt multitude of citizens. The diſtrict of Falernum was bounded by the vineyards of Mount Maſſicus. The ancients often confounded theſe two growths. Capua appears next ; that proud city, whoſe inhabitants fooliſhly thought that their riches would enable them to contend with Rome. The Romans deſtroyed the republic, but ſpared the city ; and in never reeſtabliſhing its political conſtitution, an event which they always feared, they were guided rather by a concern for the ſafety of their own govern-

ment,

ne voulurent jamais y rétablir une conſtitution politique, qu'ils paroiſſoient toujours redouter, les craintes domeſtiques y avoient bien plus de part que la politique étrangère. Dans l'affaire de Rullus, Ciceron les a confondues à merveille ; il avoit des raiſons très ſages pour le faire. 1763.

Novembre 25.]—J'ai lu *Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C vi, vii, viii. p.* 1179—1205. L'auteur décrit tout le reſte de la Campanie, le territoire des *Picentins*, et le pays des *Samnites* et des *Hirpini*. Ces deux pays, remplis de montagnes et peu fertiles, étoient preſque déſerts du tems des Romains. Cette nation n'avoit pu vaincre les Samnites qu'en les exterminant. Florus avoit bien raiſon. On cherchoit vainement dans ces provinces l'objet de vingt quatre triomphes. Pourquoi faut-il que je trouve encore M. Addiſon ſur mon chemin ? mais auſſi pourquoi veut-il tranſporter dans l'Ombrie le lac d'*Ampſanctus*, que Virgile a ſi bien décrit ? Ignoroit-il, mépriſoit-il, les autorités de Ciceron et de Pline, qui le placent parmi les *Hirpini ?* La Furie ne faiſoit-elle pas un choix digne de ſon caractère, lorſqu'elle ſe plongeoit dans les eaux d'un lac, qui étoient fatales pour tous ceux qui oſoient y entrer ?

J'ai achevé le *trente unième tome de la Bibliothèque Raiſonnée*. J'y trouve *Le Lucien de MM. Hemſterhuis et Geſner*, qu'ils ont accompagné de tous les ſecours qui peuvent donner du prix à une édition : des manuſcrits collationnés,

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ment, than by maxims of external policy. Cicero artfully confounds thoſe two objects in his pleadings againſt Rullus ; he had good reaſons for ſo doing.

November 25.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. vi, vii, viii. p. 1179—1205. The author deſcribes the remainder of Campania, and the territories of the Picentini, Hirpini, and Samnites. Theſe two nations inhabited mountains of little fertility, which were almoſt deſerts, under the Romans ; who had conquered the Samnites only by extirpating them. Florus is right. It is impoſſible to find in theſe diſtricts objects worthy of twenty-four triumphs. Mr. Addiſon is again in my way. Why ſhould he place in Umbria lake Ampſanctus, which Virgil had ſo well deſcribed ? Was he ignorant of, or did he deſpiſe, the paſſages of Cicero and Pliny which place that lake in the country of Hirpini ? The Fury could not make a choice more worthy of her character, than that of plunging into a lake whoſe waters proved fatal to all who approached them.

I finiſhed the thirty-firſt volume of the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Lucian, by Meſſrs. Hemſterhuis and Geſner* ; accompanied with every help that can render an edition valuable : manuſcripts collated, a new tranſlation, and remarks of many of the learned. In ſpeaking of the Philopatris, the editors prove that it muſt have been written under an emperor

1763. collationnés, une verſion nouvelle, les obſervations d'un grand nombre de ſavans. A l'occaſion de *Philopatris*, ils prouvent qu'il étoit fait ſous un empereur de Conſtantinople, qui permettoit qu'on inſultât aux Chrétiens. Cette époque, qui ne convient qu'à Julien, fait tomber toutes les conſéquences qu'on a voulu tirer de cet ouvrage.—*Relation d'une Miſſion faite en Groenland, par M. Egede, en Danois.* Tout y eſt curieux : l'objet du voyage, aſſez rare parmi les Proteſtants, le pays, et ſes habitans. La nature y eſt affreuſe ; les animaux y ſont rares et petits. Il n'y peut venir que de ces plantes qui viennent à leur maturité pendant un été de deux mois, et qui peuvent ſupporter un hyver de dix. Au delà du ſoixante quatrième degré on ne peut pas faire croître le bled ; au ſoixante cinquième l'eſprit de vin gêle. Point de neige ; tout eſt en vive glace, dont les couleurs différentes égayent la ſcène au milieu de toutes ces horreurs. Oui, l'homme eſt naturellement bon : J'en appelle à ces Groenlandois, qui connoiſſent l'amour au milieu de leurs frimats, mais qui ne connoiſſent la guèrre qu'envers les animaux. Ils ſont pareſſeux, légers, ſans malice, et ſans vertus. Les Iroquois, qui mangent leurs priſonniers, ont auſſi des loix, des idées, des arts ; arts dont les autres ſont deſtitués. Comparé au Groenlandois, l'Iroquois eſt déjà un homme civiliſé. Que j'aime à voir la nature !—*Théologie des Inſectes, par M. Leſner :* très curieuſe.—*Lettres du Comte*

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emperor of Conſtantinople, who allowed the Chriſtians to be inſulted. This æra, being applicable only to Julian, deſtroys all the conſequences which have been deduced from this work.—*Account of a Miſſion into Greenland, by Mr. Egede*, in Daniſh. All here is curious : the deſign of the voyage, uncommon among Proteſtants ; the country ; and its inhabitants. Nature is clad in terror ; the animals are ſmall and few. No other plants can thrive, excepting thoſe which ripen in a ſummer of two months, and can bear a winter of ten. Corn will not grow beyond the ſixty-fourth degree ; beyond the ſixty-fifth ſpirits of wine freeze. There is not even ſnow ; all is hard ice, whoſe ſparkling colours gladden this ſcene of horror. Yes ; man is naturally good ; I appeal to theſe Greenlanders, who are no ſtrangers to love in the midſt of their frozen regions, but are ſtrangers to war excepting againſt the brute creation. They are lazy, inconſtant ; exempt from ill-nature, but deſtitute of great virtues. The Iroquois, who eat their priſoners, have alſo laws, ideas, and arts ; with which laſt the Greenlanders are unacquainted. Compared with the Greenlanders, the Iroquois are a civilived nation. How delightful is the contemplation of nature !—*Theology of Inſects, by Mr. Leſner :* very curious.—*Letters of Count d'Eſtrades :* highly uſeful for the hiſtory of negociations, a kind of hiſtory almoſt unknown to antiquity.—*Fourmont's Chineſe Grammar.* A ſtriking proof of the ſuperiority of the

Europeans

Comte d'Eſtrades : très utile pour l'hiſtoire des négociations qui compoſent un genre preſqu'inconnu à l'antiquité.— *Grammaire Chinoiſe de Fourmont.* Quelle preuve de la ſupériorité des Européens ! On fait des grammaires Chinoiſes à Paris : en fera-t-on jamais de Françoiſes à Pekin ; Je doute qu'il y ait des Mandarins qui ſachent leur langue d'une manière auſſi raiſonnée que M. Fourmont.— *Traité des Sens, par M. le Cat.* La connoiſſance des ſens touche d'aſſez près à celle de l'ame, dont ils ſont les organes. M. le Cat développe leur conſtruction, leurs fonctions, et leurs objets, avec une pénétration toujours guidée par l'expérience ; il m'a fait un plaiſir indicible.— *Hiſtoire univerſelle, par une Société de Gens de Lettres.* Cet extrait roule ſur l'hiſtoire des Perſes, selon les écrivains Orientaux, que les éditeurs préferent ſans façon aux Grecs. Beaucoup de ſavans ont été du même goût, qui me paroît inſoutenable. 1. Tout reſſent la fable ; point de chronologie ; des erreurs géographiques à chaque inſtant ; un merveilleux qui fait le fonds de la narration, au lieu d'en être l'acceſſoire. 2. Il y a dans l'hiſtoire de Perſe beaucoup de faits ſur leſquels les Grecs n'ont pu ſe tromper, tels que le tems de l'établiſſement de cet empire par Cyrus, et les guèrres entre les Perſes et les Grecs. Les Orientaux ne leur ſont cependant pas moins oppoſés ſur ces faits, qu'à l'égard de tous les autres. 3. Je ſais que les Grecs ne firent que ſe montrer en Perſe, 1763.

Europeans. Chineſe grammars are written in Paris : will French grammars ever be written in Pekin ? I am doubtful whether the Mandarins themſelves know the principles of their own language as well as Mr. Fourmont.—*A Treatiſe on the Senſes, by Mr. Le Cat.* The knowledge of the ſenſes approaches nearly to that of the ſoul, of which they are the organs. Mr. Le Cat explains their anatomy, functions, and objects, with penetration always guided by experience. His work has given me a pleaſure not to be deſcribed.—*The Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract relates to the hiſtory of the Perſians, according to oriental writers ; whom the editors boldly prefer to the Greek. Many learned men have entertained the ſame opinion, which appears to me indefenſible. 1. In the oriental writers, the characteriſtics of the fabulous are predominant ; there is no attention to chronology ; geographical errors abound ; and the marvellous forms the eſſential part of the narrative, inſtead of being merely an acceſſory. 2. In the hiſtory of Perſia, there are many tranſactions concerning which the Greeks could not be miſtaken ; as the time of the eſtabliſhment of Cyrus' empire, and the wars between the Perſians and themſelves. But the Perſian accounts differ as widely from the Greek, with reſpect to thoſe matters, as they do with reſpect to all others. 3. I know that the Greeks only ſhewed themſelves in Perſia, and that their eaſtern ſubjects lived quietly under their

1763. Perſe, et que leurs ſujets vivoient aſſez tranquilles ſous leurs loix. Mais les Parthes, leurs ſucceſſeurs, nation Scythique, et ennemie des Perſes, dont ils mépriſoient la moleſſe, les tinrent pendant cinq cens ans ſous un joug de fer. Une incendie, un fléau paſſager, détruit rarement les monumens d'une nation; mais un gouvernement dur, où chaque génération du peuple vaincu, eſt plus abrutie que ne l'étoient ſes pères, les fait abandonner bientot aux vers et à la pouſſière, et la vérité eſt bientot étouffée par une tradition fabuleuſe. L'hiſtoire des rois Saſſanides n'eſt point ſujette à des objections auſſi fortes. Elle eſt mieux liée, plus vraiſemblable, et plus conforme aux écrivains d'Occident. Cependant après les conquêtes des Arabes, il s'eſt écoulé quelque tems, avant que les Perſes ſongeaſſent à raſſembler leurs tradition et leurs monumens.

Novembre 27.]—Le fameux *factum* de Saurin contre Rouſſeau m'eſt tombé entre les mains. La ſingulière affaire! pendant que des guerres et des traités ſont preſque oubliés, ce procès de quelques particuliers occupe encore la mémoire, et fait agir les paſſions des hommes au bout de ſoixante ans. Tout ce que je trouve d'aſſuré, c'eſt que ce *factum* de Saurin eſt un grand morceau de goût et d'éloquence.

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their tranſitory reign. But their ſucceſſors, the Parthians, a Scythian nation who hated the Perſians, whoſe effeminacy they deſpiſed, kept them during five centuries under a yoke of iron. A conflagration, or other tranſient calamity, rarely deſtroys the whole monuments of a country; but, under a cruel government, which renders each generation more ſtupid than the preceding, they crumble into duſt, and become a prey to worms; and truth is ſoon ſtifled under a weight of fabulous tradition. The hiſtory of the dynaſty of the Saſſanides is leſs liable to objection. It is better connected, more probable in itſelf, as well as more conformable to the narratives of European writers. Yet a conſiderable time elapſed from the Arabian conqueſt, before the Perſians endeavoured to collect their hiſtorical monument.

November 27.]—I read Saurin's famous pleading againſt Rouſſeau. How ſingular a buſineſs is this! While wars and negociations are almoſt forgotten, this diſpute between two private individuals is ſtill remembered, and after the lapſe of ſixty years, ſtill foments party paſſions. All I can decide is, that this performance of Saurin's is a fine exhibition of taſte and eloquence.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.